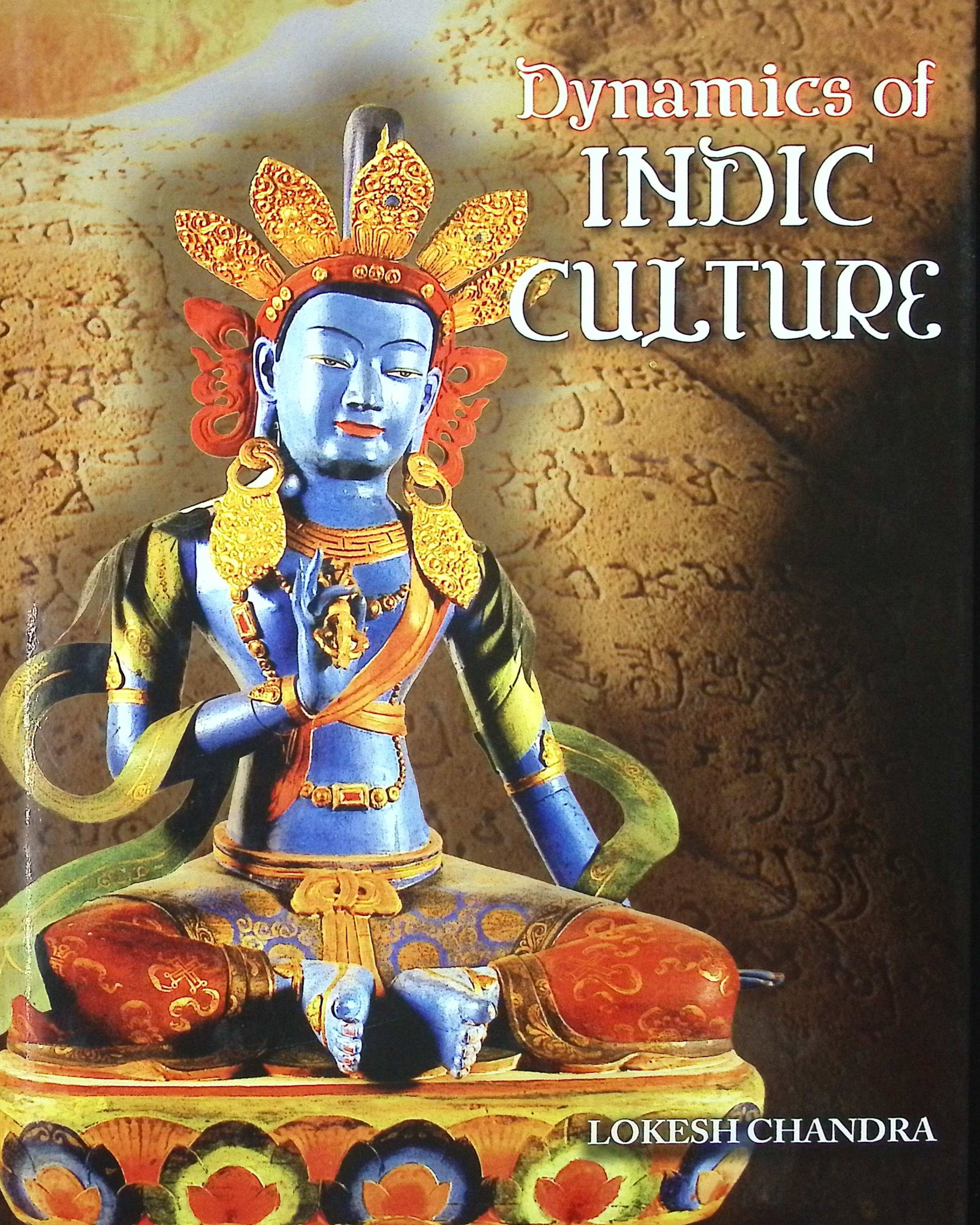

Dynamics of INDIC CULTURE

LOKESH CHANDRA

DYNAMICS OF INDIC CULTURE

ŚATA-PIṬAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 667

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West

Founded by
Prof. RAGHUVIRA *M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil.*
Continued by his son
Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

आचार्य—रघुवीर—समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्त्रोतसां संस्कृति—साहित्य—समुच्चय—
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

DYNAMICS OF INDIC CULTURE

LOKESH CHANDRA

INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF INDIAN CULTURE
and ADITYA PRAKASHAN, NEW DELHI

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PROLOGUE

Aśoka is the only historical emperor who held sway over the whole of 'Classical India' from Gandhara to the southern shores. His inscriptions assume the ancient political and social concepts and the Aśokāvadāna gives a glimpse of the familial differences from which arose the magnanimous social ethos so prominent in the exhortations of Aśoka to his people. For over a century the compound *vigaḍabhī cā* has been wrongly separated. It has been corrected herein for the first time as *vigaḍa-bhīcā* which makes it meaningful. Born of a brahmin mother, Aśoka was conscious of the Vedic credo of *iṣṭāpūrta*, the prime duty of an emperor. His pilgrimage to sacred stupas and their restoration was the *iṣṭa* (from the root *yaj*) and his constant efforts of ethical and social upliftment of the people was *āpūrta*. The striking absence of nirvāṇa in the edicts has been discussed. Aśoka did not wish to vanish in the extinction of nirvāṇa, but was keen to attain the divine pleasures of heaven (*svarga*). Aśoka replaced nirvāṇa by paradise. It became dominant as the Western Paradise of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha. Lotus Sutra the prime scripture of Ekayāna is even more flamboyant: "When they disappear from this world, ... be born in the company of the gods of paradise, and at that rebirth shall eightyfour thousand heavenly nymphs (*apsaras*) immediately come near them. Adorned with a high crown, they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs" (H. Kern, *The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, Oxford, 1909:435–36).

2. Aurangabad Cave 7 depicts the system of three Buddhas, a denseuse amidst six musicians to symbolise the *nāda-laya* of *haṭha-yoga*, Pañcika and Hārītī to give offspring for the continuation of the dynasty that donated this cave.

3. *Apalāla-damana* was the suppression of Apollo in the NW, where Buddhism had to counter Hellenist tendencies. Apalāla is a Sanskritisation of Apollo, and his epithet Nāgarāja means 'Greek'.

4. The word *pāramitā*, which had been translated as 'perfection' so far, has been interpreted as 'crossing over' the ocean of existence, on the basis of the Heart Sutra. *Bhava-sāgara* means the 'ocean of existence' but in Chinese it was translated simply as 'Ocean' or 'Sea'.

5. Lord Buddha designates his 'Way' as *mauneya* (from *muni*) which is a *hapax legomenm* in the Rigveda. He himself is a *muni* of the Śākyas (Śākya-muni). Hair rolled up in extra-large *uṣṇīṣa* in Gandhara icons is the *keśin* of *mauneya*. Vedic elements in Buddhism deserve a full length study. The earliest reference to *cīvara* is from a Vedic text. It occurs in the Śaṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra 2.16.2 (W. Caland's translation edited by me in 1953). The passage is reproduced in translation:

> 2. When the right (bullock) of the cart (used at the sacrifices and containing the rice etc.)[1] has been harnessed and the possessions have been deposited in this cart[2] he recites as inviting-verse to the sacrifice for Vāstoṣpati): "O Vāstoṣpati accept", and as offering-verse: "O Vāstoṣpati, may we be thy comrades":[3]
>
> [1] the *agniṣṭham anaḥ* or *śakaṭam*, see, eg., Āp. I.17.5.
>
> [2] *upohya cīvaraṃ*, the comm. explains: *āropya vittam*. It is doubtful whether *cīvara* can have this meaning. Could the meaning be the strap, the thong ('having inserted the strap'?)
>
> [3] ṚV.7.54.1, 3.

MW has translated *cīvara* as "the dress or rags of a religious (esp. Buddhist or Jain) monk, ŚāṅkhŚr, Pāṇini 3.1.20, Mahābhārata 1.36.38, Mṛcchakaṭika, etc. *Cīvara* means "possessions" in the present context. Compare Panjabi *kapaṛe latte* 'clothes and garments' in the figurative sense of "bag and baggage, possessions".

6, 7 are charts of scripts from Nepal, and tables showing development of Indian and SE Asian scripts from Brāhmī.

8. The Inscription of King Indravarman of Cambodia refers to the Imperial Preceptor Śivasoma the grandson of Mahārāja Jayendrādhipativarman. He was a personal disciple of Śaṅkarācārya. The inscription is unique for dating the Śaṅkarācārya.

9, 10 narrate the beginnings of Indological studies in the Netherlands. The life and works of Prof. J.H.C. Kern are followed by those of Prof. Willem Caland. While Kern unravelled the classical heritage of Indonesia along with that of India, Prof. Caland devoted his life to Vedic texts and hermeneutics. My father Prof. RaghuVira did his doctorate under him in December 1929. In 1950, as a student of Prof. Gonda, I listed the handwritten holdings of Prof. Caland in the library of the Utrecht University. The edited text of the grāma-geya and araṇya-geya of the Jaiminīya recension of the Sāmaveda are ready for publication. They are substantive for the history of Indian music and should be published in a facsimile edition.

11. Avataṁsaka-sutras (pl.) evolved in Bamiyan. Their prime text of Gaṇḍavyūha is illustrated in monasteries in Afghanistan, China, Japan and as far as Indonesia. The Sanskrit name of Bamiyan is Bhāma 'Land of Light' in the Mahāvastu. It was translated into Chinese by Āryasthira as early as 388–407 CE and is entitled Ramyaka-sutra 3. Ramyaka is the Lamqan Valley where Bamiyan is situated.

12. Amritananda wrote notes on Buddhism for Hodgson in the 19th century. He described the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu. Their specific context of the Vajradhātu was mistaken as a general statement. This error has confused the precise contextualisation of variations in Buddhist iconography. Different pentads of Buddhas with varying attributes in different sutras have been clarified.

13. Japan has the technical term *Chingokokka* for the role of Buddhism in the protection of the state. The article of Jacques May on it in the Hōbōgirin has been translated into English from French.

14. E.G. Browne designated Sufism as a 'reaction of the Aryan mind'. Bhāgavata and Buddhist elements are echoed in subtle nuances in Sufism. It evolved in Balkh once hallowed by the preeminent NavBahar monastery, and whence came the first two lay devotees of Lord Buddha, who offered Him water-melon (Trapuṣa) from their native land of Balkh (Bhallika). Lord Buddha gave them his hair and nail pairings for consecrating the first stupa in their metropolis of Asitañjana. Sufism was an effort to save the cultural identity of Balkh in the new dispensation of Islam. According to Petavatthu Kṛṣṇa the son of Vasudeva had killed the king of *Kaṁsabhoga* (Balkh). He is famous as Vaṁśīdhara 'player of the flute' as well as for his *rāsa* dance with the *gopīs* whirling around him. The whirling Sufi dance and the flute ignited by Love's fire in the mathnavi of Rumi hearken back to the lilt and passion of Kṛṣṇa. The Myrtic Love of Jami reminds of the concupicent images of NavBahar, some of which were once in the Kabul Museum. The Buddhist naya-maṇḍala, which is recited thrice every day in the Shingon (Mantrayāna) monasteries in Japan, shows Vajradhara surrounded by deities representing passion: Iṣṭavajriṇī (desire), Mānavajriṇī (pride), Rāgavajriṇī (love) and Kelikilavajriṇī (sporting), all of them accompanied by their male consorts. Vajradhara holds the vajra and bell representing the male and female, the two representing different aspects of the Mysterious One (my *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* 14.4110). A poem on naya-maṇḍala has been found in Khotan. It was known in the Iranian areas. The four elements of charkha, way, *sama* and *sūf* 'wool' of Sufism represent the dharma-cakra, *yāna* (as in Mantrayāna), *samādhi* and *duṣya* ceremony of Buddhism respectively. The ardent yearning of the Buddhist rites and images appears in Sufi poetry as the divine image remains in the eye.

15. The NW association of Padmasambhava arose from mistaking Uḍḍiyāna as Udyāna or Swat, by confusing cerebral *ḍ* ड with dental *d* द. Uḍḍiyāna is not Sanskrit but a Tamil word. The role of Tamil in the expansion of Indic culture along the eastern side of India and across the seas awaits detailed evaluation. Padmasambhava was born on the Cāmara island of Laṅkā. Lake Dhanakośa is a wrong reconstruction of *Ratnākara* 'ocean'. King Indrabhīti of Kanchi went in quest of a son to be adopted as the Crown Prince. He was impressed by the boy who was to be Padmasambhava, brought him to be trained as the Crown Prince. The boy left the palace to meditate, ultimately came to Śrīparvata where he found company with his native

monks of Laṅka (Tāmraparṇī). Thence he travelled to Bengal, Nepal and finally to Tibet. Trained as a would-be Prince of Kanchi, he had acquired organisational skills. He took four steps to establish Buddhism in Tibet: (i) interiorisation of local deities as defendants of dharma, (ii) construction of the Samye monastery, (iii) ordination of seven monks, and (iv) the translation of Buddhist texts. He is rightly revered as the Second Buddha in Tibet.

16 narrates in Hindi the historic pilgrimage of Korosi Csoma Sandor to find the origins of his people the Hungarians in Mongolia. He reached India and was advised to study Tibetan without which no communication was possible in Mongolia. He settled down in Ladakh to catalogue the Tibetan Kanjur and laid the foundations of Tibetology. On his planned journey to Tibet and thence to Mongolia he attained nirvāṇa in Darjeeling. He opened up the vast world of Buddhist literature and with his pioneering researches the Sanskrit originals of Chinese sutras were traced by Bunyiu Nanjio in 1883.

17 is a short life-sketch of Ḥjam.dbyaṅs.bzhad.pa I whose manuals of Buddhist philosophy were highly esteemed. They were studied in the monastic universities of Tibet, Mongolia, Buryatia and Kalmykia.

18 describes a votive plaque of the Silk God from Khotan in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. The Tibetan annals of Khotan relate that Queen Puṇyeśvarā had brought silk worms from China. They were burnt as being poisonous. Later she got silk from Kashmir, threw away the Chinese silk, and mixed the Kashmir silk with that of Central Asia as warp and woof. From Khotan silk was taken surreptitiously to Byzantine and thence it spread to the world.

19 traces the representations of Lord Kṛṣṇa in different countries. His legends on rugs have been discovered in Khotan, his representation in Kizil Cave 77, a painting on wood from Yarkhoto: all indicate a Kṛṣṇa cult in Central Asia. The Todaiji monastery at Nara in Japan shows the *caturvyūha* or four aspects of the Bhāgavata cult: Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva (= Kṛṣṇa) playing the flute is depicted separately. Thus far they were considered un-identified Bodhisattvas by Japanese scholars. They have been identified and contextualised here for the first time. They came with Buddhasthira of Champa who was participating in the consecration ceremony of this monastery. The Viṣṇu temple at Prambanan Indonesia has a series of reliefs of the legend of Kṛṣṇa.

20. The etymology of Bukhārā was considered to be *vihāra*, first realised by George Roerich while studying Mongolian in Paris. The Mongolian word is *buqar* or *puqar*. The vowel *u* of *pu*° or *bu*° is not possible linguistically. The presentation herein discusses all the words for the concept of donating land to monks or monasteries. In India bhūmihāra brahmins in Bihar own vast lands inherited from their ancestors. Buddhists changed bhūmihāra to bhūhāra (*bhū* 'land' = *bhūmi*) and it is the origin of Mongolian Buqar and of the city Bukhārā.

21. Looking at the Tibetan life of Kambala Siddha, I realized that the very first sentence had been misunderstood. The first phrase is *yul.kaṅka.ra.ma.bya.ba.na* (Robinson 1979:138). Albert Grünwedel (1916:175) translated: "Im Lande Kanakarāma war ein König..." and glossed over *bya.ba.na*. Robinson (1979:117): "In the land of Kankarāma, there was a king..." Keith Dowman (1985:179): "There was once a king of Kaṅkarama with two sons." Sum.pa.mkhan.po clarified that *kaṅkara* is the name of the kingdom. The adjective of *kaṅkara* is *ma.bya.ba.na* (ma- does not pertain to the name of the land and *na* is the locative suffix). Kaṅkara are the modern Kangar Turks who still reside near the ancient ruins. Kambala is the only siddha from Central Asia.

22. Western Twirling Girls came to perform amorous dances at the court of China from Samarkand. It was Marakanda in Greek accounts, that is Mārakanthā in Sanskrit.Māra = Kāmadeva (Cupid). As Māra represented Evil, the city was named Smarakanthā, without any semantic change. Eight scholars from hence translated sutras from Sanskrit into Chinese.

24. Samantamukha Avalokiteśvara is the 25th chapter of the Lotus Sutra. His name has been translated from Chinese as 'Avalokiteśvara Universal Gate', which gives no idea of his all-seeing and omnipotent

powers to save from the ten perils. When a sutra is available in original Sanskrit, the Chinese text should be translated in comparison with it.

25. For China, Khotan was an important centre for acquiring original Sanskrit sutras. Calligraphing sutras must have been a flourishing profession as is evident from the large-size Khadalik ms. (misnamed Kashgar ms.) of the Lotus Sutra. The first translation of the Lotus Sutra was done by Dharmarakṣa in 286 CE to strengthen the Western Chin Emperor Wu-ti (r.265–289) in accord with its use in Khotan to preempt foreign foes.

26. Empress Wu came to the throne in 684 when China had critical fiscal problems, and in 687 north China was facing severe famine. Prajñādevendra brought a powerful ritual text **Kalparāja** (KR) in 689 to mitigate the threat of privation. The very next year (690 CE) Mitrasena was invited from Tukhāra to Ch'ang-an for translation. A Tibetan invasion was crushed in 692 CE. Cintāmaṇi of the kṣatriya caste (for China of royal origin) was invited to Loyang where he translated texts on Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara to minimise the adversities. In 695 CE a special messenger was sent to Khotan to obtain the immense corpus of Avataṁsaka and invite Śikṣānanda to translate it into Chinese. The Empress took part in the translation herself. These were years of border raids, rebellion, crusade to depose the Empress, plunder of border perfectures and defeat of a large Chinese army by the Tibetans. The Avataṁsaka was a sacred assurance for the Empress. The translation of the Avataṁsaka was complete in 699 when she became seriously ill. The Kalparāja was a powerful ritual for the prolongation of life. In 700 CE Śikṣānanda translated it for her recovery. It disappeared as soon as completed. A team set up for its translation under Mitrasena accomplished it by 704, complete with the dhāraṇīs. All the seven dhāraṇīs have an underlying Vedic substratum of solar symbolism (*saptaraśmi*), *raśmi*, and uses the Vedic words *mantra* and *kalpa*. The rites of Kalparāja were also performed by Empress Kōken of Japan to return to the throne and to come out of depression. She had a hundred myriad copies of the second dhāraṇī printed and had them consecrated in stupas. Finally, she regained the throne in 764 and ruled for five years.

27. The Ratna-stūpa (Daitō) of Koyasan was erected in 819 CE by Kōbō-daishi. It is a representation of the Iron Stupa of South India according to Prof. Yamamoto Chikyo.

28. Emperor Aśoka's global vision, developed during his stay in Taxila, initiated India's voyages to Srilanka, though King Vijaya from Gujarat had already ruled Srilanka from 483–445 BC. The marine trade of the Gupta period was a major civilisational development begun by Emperor Śrīgupta founder of the dynasty. Beginning with the first century it flourished for a millennium. The Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty from Kerala created the first light-house (*ākāśa-dīpa*) of Asia. Transoceanic trade, development of ships to carry 700 passengers, sanskritisation of the tribal communities with cotton fabrics, scripts for communication, principles of governance, agriculture (in place of gathering food and hunting) were a splendid advance. Powerful states like Cambodia and Champa arose in the fast-evolving trade. Former non-alphabetic tribes became highly developed empires to create monuments like the Angkor, or the hundreds of Śiva temples by Champa near its long shoreline to bless shipping with safety.

29. An aspect of the acculturation of Indonesia was the contact of its simple dialects with the highly sophisticated Sanskrit with its rich semantic and grammatical structures. The *Chandahkaraṇa* designates Old Javanese (OJ) as Prakrit. OJ began its literary evolution with Sanskrit texts. Two texts are reproduced here to show how Sanskrit was taught. *Lĕṅkṛta* (Alaṅkāra) begins with *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ*, as learning was in hermitages under trees in the depth of forests. Baṇabhaṭṭa wrote his famous kāvya novel Kādambarī. As he was nearing the end, he summoned his two sons to find out as to who would complete it. He asked then to describe the tree in front. The grammarian son spoke of a dried up tree in equally dry and harsh words: शुष्कस्तिष्ठत्यग्रे वृक्षः। The literary son thought of a blossoming tree in a melodious flow of words: तरुरिह विलसति पुरतः। Father asked him to complete the great kāvya. It is interesting that *Lĕṅkṛta* also begins with a tree: *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ*. Words have been repeated several times so that they would trip down the memory lane of Indonesian students. Prof. S. Lévi had tried to edit it in 1933, but could not succeed without the OJ commentary.

It is being edited here for the first time and Sanskrit has been restored on the basis of only one palmleaf ms. (lontar).

The second text is Mātṛkākṣara Rāmāyaṇa, with two stanzas of benediction (*maṅgala*), followed by 49 stanzas each beginning with a letter of the alphabet: 16 vowels (including short and long ṛ and ḷ) and 33 consonants. Short ṛ = ṛta, long ṝ means 'heaven', short ḷ 'rattan', long ḹ 'divine female'. I had the OJ commentary only up to st.18, but the Sanskrit stanzas are complete. Prof. S. Lévi did not realise that every stanza began with a letter and the text could not be restored fully.

In 1950 I studied Old Javanese under Prof. Jan Gonda of the University of Utrecht. He taught me at his residence. I would walk early in the twilight of the morning, in the freezing cold of winter. Mme Gonda would offer me a hot cup of coffee to warm up. Prof. Gonda taught me a number of texts to give a feel of literary prose, poetry, and Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa with its early usages. Poṣyacarita of the Mahābhārata, selections from Bhīṣmaparva, and Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa have been reproduced herein with word meanings, running rendering and extensive grammatical notes.

34. Avadāna has long evaded satisfactory interpretation. It has been explained from the Pahlavi *apadāna*, its Persian derivative *aiwan* and the ruins of ancient palaces. Its tradition has continued in Indonesia where my sister and me witnessed the Kṛṣṇadūta being narrated and performed in the thrilling ambience of a royal pavilion.

35. The readings of Karaṅtĕṅah Inscription of King Samaratuṅga have been corrected by minor emendations of those of F.D.K. Bosch and J.G. de Casparis. Members of the family of Pramodavardhanī have been redefined.

36. The Rock Inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman are the very first edicts found on the island of Java. They have been interpreted with Vedic and Tamil usages which provide new insights. The inscriptions detail the development of channels for international trade and the creation of feudatory princes as the beginning of economic prosperity and strengthening of the first state of Indonesia.

37. Extant Tantric images of Indonesia have been correlated to five texts: 1. Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi°, 2. Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, 3. Sampuṭa-tantra, 4. Nayasūtra, and 5. Māyājāla-tantra. Pratisarā the first of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses is the *maṅgala* of Kuñjarakarṇa Dharma Kathana.

38. Amoghapāśa pentad at Candi Jago shows the constant relations of Indonesia with India's Buddhist monasteries. The pentad had been visualised by Śākyabhadra around 1197 CE and it was in Java around 1270 CE to bless the overseas expeditions of King Kĕrtanagara.

39. The magazine of the Garuda Airways (1973) adored the unique grandeur of the performances of the Rāmāyaṇa in a region rich in beautiful temples: "What the Odyssey is to the Greeks, the Ramayana is to us".

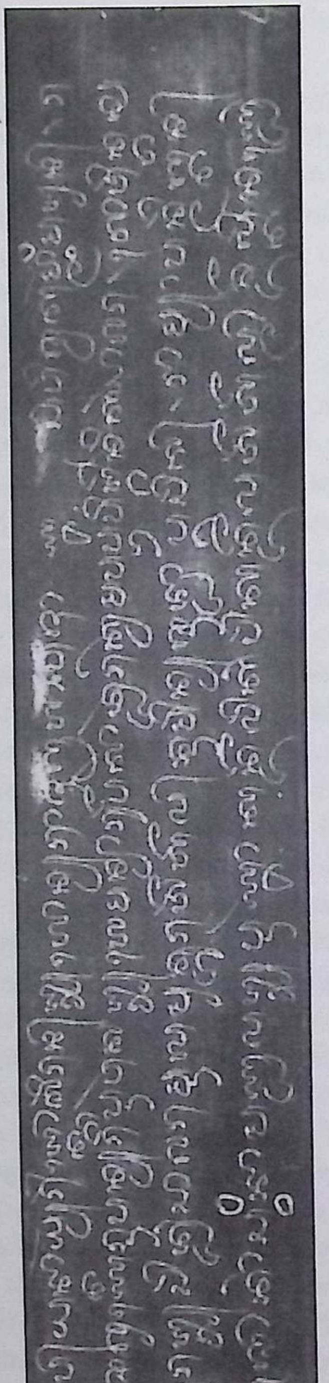
40. Short research notes contextualise the objects which had so far been unrelated to thought or ritual, to sutras or lineages. Ayrtam musicians (1) represent *nāda-laya* of yoga.

Chinese translations of Indian names have reversed the sequence of component elements. Śāntideva has become Devaśānti (3). They have been corrected. Ṛṣi has been translated as Deva-Bodhisattva in Chinese: Deva means Hindu. This meaning was missed and the Chinese names of ṛṣis could not be identified correctly. Such details have been rectified in the notes. The manufacture of paper is more ancient in India than China (15). It is remarkable that certain Buddhist terms, concepts or deities are from the Vedic tradition, e.g. Pratisarā (17). Buddha flanked by young Ānanda and old Kāśyapa in Tun-huang stem from the Lotus Sutra.

41. The book ends with Amoghavajra's five manuals for prolonging life. Amitāyuṣa empowers Vajrāyuṣ to confer long life. Vajrāyuṣ was translated from the Chinese as Adamantine Long Life while he is the Bodhisattva who performs this function.

It has been found that at times Buddhism was a revaluation of the earlier symbols. Creative forces gave rise to the multiple forms to respond to devotion, to ideas and fill them with life. Our effort has been to find the deep-rooted visions that unfolded in the universality of reality.

Lokesh Chandra



Old Javanese Kṛṣṇāyana, Leiden Cod. Or. 5040.

1. INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA AND BUDDHISM

After the learned interpretations of a much-discussed term in the **Rummindei Pillar Inscription** by Charpentier, R. Bhandarkar, Fleet, Hultzsch (Hu) and others, it has been possible to reinterpret the text by a new punctuation of the three sentences and a fresh breakup of *vigaḍabhī cā* (Hu). Hultsch has taken *cā* (with long *ā*) as the conjunctive *ca* 'and'. The inscription ends with the correct form *ca* (short *a*). It compels reconsideration of *cā*. There is *āgāca* (āgatya) where °*ca* stands for °*tya*. So we have a new option *bhītyā*. The breakup of the compound will be *vigaḍa-bhīcā*. *Vigaḍa* has been translated by Hultzsch as horse (?): "a stone bearing a horse (?)". What has a horse to do with the birth of the Buddha? *Vigaḍita* (Pali *vigaḷita*) "fallen down or off" (Edgerton p.482) occurs in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra 72.5: *niveśanaṁ ... vigaḍita-prāsādaṁ ca bhavet*, 83.5 vs: *gopānasī vigaḍitā tatra sarvā* (*gopānasī* means 'framework of a roof, rafters'). Thus we have finally the apprehension of Emperor Aśoka that the stone slab marking the hallowed nativity of Śākyamuni is in a precarious condition and may wear off, so he had it redone. The translation will be: "As the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here, fearing (*bhītyā*) the withering away (*vigaḍa*) of the stone slab, I got it redone."

The word *vigaḍa* can be compared to Hindi *bigaṛnā* 'to get spoilt, to deteriorate'. *ātpa* for *ātma* with the denasalisation of *m* to *p* is the beginning of Hindi *ap-nā* 'own'. The word *ātpa-pāsaṁḍa* occurs in the Girnar Rock Edict XII lines 3–6, 9, while in Kālsī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī it is *ata*, and *atva* in Mānsehra (Hultzsch 1925:205). The evolution of Sanskrit to the spoken form is quite advanced in the Aśokan inscriptions and calls for a reconsideration of the chronology of Vedic literature as well as of the time span of IE languages. The astounding proximity of **विगड** in the inscription and the Hindi **बिगड़** is clear when both are written in Devanagari.

Hultzsch has split the sentences by taking *ti* (*iti*) as a concluding particle. Stede (p.119) considers it as "pointing to something about to be mentioned, as referring to what follows". In both its occurrences on the pillar, it is the introductory clause (protasis) for expressing the consequent clause (apodosis). It means *iti kāraṇāt* 'for this reason'. The sentences end in a verb: *mahīyite*, *usapāpite*, and *kaṭe*. The new breakup is as follows:

(A) *Devānapiyena piyadasina lājina vīsati-vas-ābhisitena atana āgāca mahīyite*
(B) *hida budha jāte sakyamunī ti silā vigaḍa-bhīcā kālāpita, silā-thabhe ca usapāpite*
(C) *hida bhagavaṁ jāte ti lummini-gāme ubalike kaṭe, aṭhabhāgiye ca.*

The translation will be:

(A) When King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped.

(B) As the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here, fearing the withering away of the stone slab [marking it] [I] got it redone, and had a stone pillar set up.

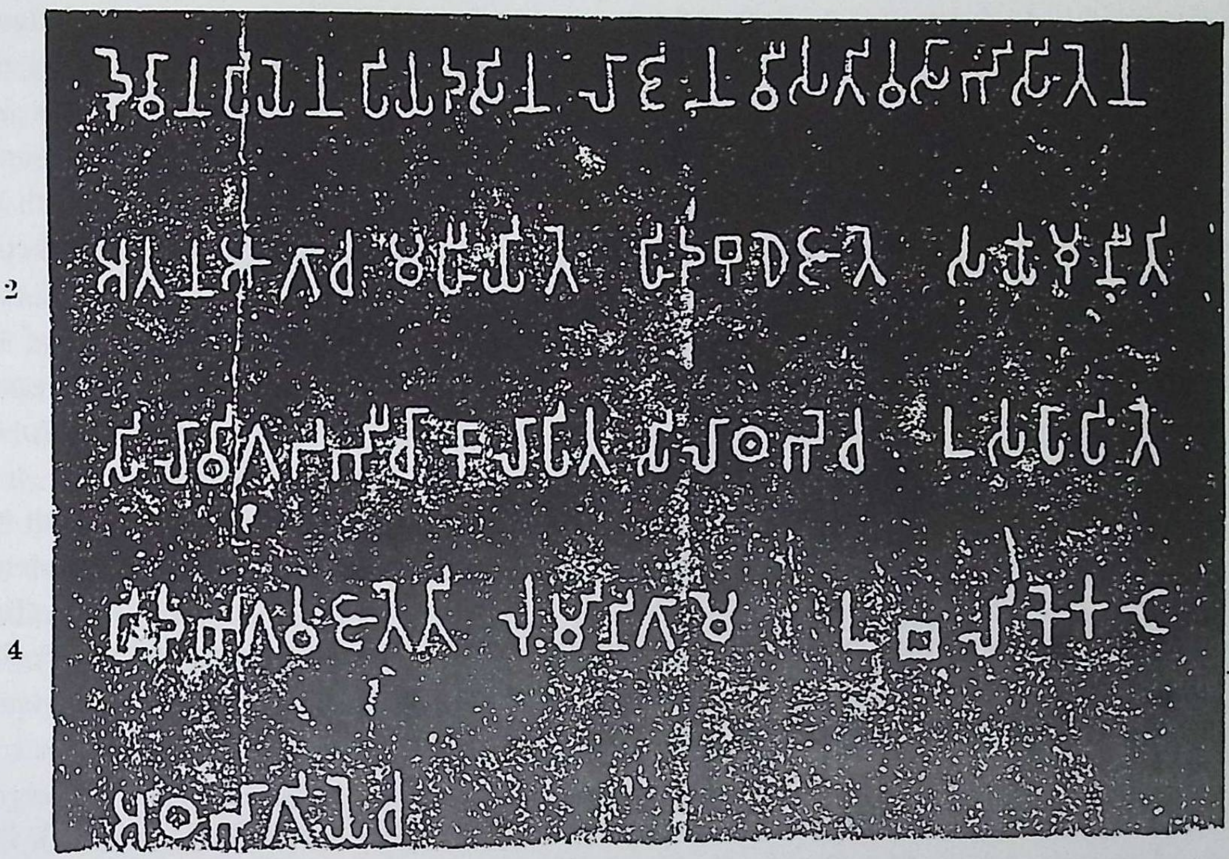
(C) The Lord was born here, [I] exempted the Lumbinī village from taxes, and [renovated the] *aṭhabhāgiya* [stupa].

The stops in the inscription do not mark the separation of words, but indicate the dictation stops of King Aśoka. Several years ago Dr. Ettinghausen came to see me and one of the topics of discussion was the spacing of these inscriptions. He pointed out that the King was dictating and the scribe marked his moments of pondering by empty spaces. To take a case, Ásoka has spoken that the Buddha had been born here, and suddenly it occurred to him *which* Buddha. He clarified that the Buddha is Śākyamuni. The spacing after *jāte* is graphically meaningful.

Aṭhabhāgiya does not refer to the reduction of taxes which are totally waived off in the preceding *ubalike*. The word for tax is *bali* and not *bhāga* 'part, portion'. As rightly pointed out by Falk (2012) this term also occurs in the inscription on a balustrade slab from Kanganhalli in Karnataka: *rāmagamilo āṭhabhāgathubo upari* "above [can be seen] the stūpa of Rāmagrāma [containing] the eighth part [of the relics of Lord Buddha]". The relics were divided equally between eight cities which included Lumbinī Kapilavastu. Falk (p.205) questions: "was there a stupa at all at Lumbinī? ... most scholars seem to take the presence of a stupa at Lumbinī for granted. This is possibly the result of the stotras from the tenth century praising the eight great stūpas". At the beginning of the seventh century Śīlāditya Harṣavardhana (r.606–647) wrote a eulogy of the eight great caityas (Lévi 1937:253–54) in which he mentions one at *Lumbinīkāpilālye*. This stotra was translitereated into Chinese by Fa-hsien (worked 989–999). He translated another Aṣṭa-mahāsthāna-caitya-stotra (K1228a) which specifies the eight events they celebrate:

1. Birth	garden of Lumbinī at Kapilavastu
2. Enlightenment	Bodhi tree at Gaya
3. Turning the dharmacakra	Vārāṇasī
4. Descent from heaven (*devāvatāra*)	Kānyakubja
5. Manifestation of miracle	Jetavana
6. Teaching	Rājagṛha
7. Meditation on the length of his life	Vaiśālī
8. Entry into nirvāṇa	Kuśīnagara

Aśoka had the stone slab marking the birth of Śākyamuni redone, and at the same time got the *aṭhabhāgiya* stupa renovated.



Rummindei pillar-inscription.

Four Buddhas. The normal approach will be that Buddha means Śākyamuni. So why this afterthought of Aśoka. Aśoka revered four Buddhas to whom he dedicated royal pillars or stupas. He erected a pillar to Krakucchanda, whose remnant has been found at Gotihwa (Lahiri 2015:244 fig.10.6). He expanded the stūpa of Konākamana at Nigālī Sāgar near Kapilavastu when he had been anointed fourteen years. He went personally to worship the spot [and had a stone pillar] set up. The words for stone pillar have been supplied from the Rummindei pillar, whose word *usapāpite* 'set up' is broken in the Nigālī Sāgar inscription. Hsüan-tsang mentions a stupa here in front of which was a high stone pillar with a lion on top built by Aśoka and inscribed by him (Beal 1884:2.199, Watters 1905:2.5–7, 313). Bhāma is prefixed to Konākamana in the Mahāvastu 1.294.20. Bhāma means Bamiyan. Konākamana came to the Bodhimaṇḍa or the diamond seat at Bodhgaya where Śākyamuni was also to gain enlightenment. It is the sambodhi spot of all the three Tathāgatas preceding Śākyamuni in the Mahāvastu 1.318.13: *etasmin Ānanda pṛthivī-pradeśe trayāṇāṁ tathāgatānāṁ arhatāṁ samyak-sambuddhānāṁ niṣadyā abhūṣi/bhagavato Krakucchandasya, bhagavato ca Kanakamunisya, bhagavato ca Kāśyapasya*. Konākamana is a Tocharian word: *konāka* 'sun' + *mana* 'moon' (see details in my *Embedded Narratives of Buddhism* 2019:41–45).

Śākyamuni is the fourth Buddha in the Mahāvastu. Mucilinda Nāgarāja invites him to lodge in his abode as the earlier three Buddhas had done: Krakucchanda, Konākamuni and Kāśyapa (Senart 1897:3.300, Jones 1956:3.287). Later on Bhagavān himself says: "Three have come and gone. I am the fourth" (Jones 3.322). The Sanskrit text: *trīṇi pratītāni ahaṁ caturtho* (Senart 3.330). So the afterthought of Aśoka to name *the* Buddha as Śākyamuni is in accord with the tradition of paying homage to the guru-paramparā of Four Buddhas by pilgrimage and erecting pillars at sites sacred to them.

The Four Buddhas pertain primarily to the Mahāvastu, which is a biography of the Mahāsāṅghika school. The Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra (T188, 190) pertains to the Dharmaguptas, Lalitavistara to Sarvāstivādins, Fo-wong-yin-un to Kāśyapīyas and Pi-ni-tsong-kan to the Mahīśāsakas. Thus Aśoka should belong to the Mahāsāṅghika school of Buddhism.

Aśoka must have erected a pillar or built a stupa to Buddha Kāśyapa also, which has disappeared over time. A stupa was erected at Balkh in the time of Kāśyapa, that is, centuries before Aśoka. Hsüan-tsang says that Kāśyapīyas were one of the five schools in Udyāna (Beal 1884:121). The topographic ending *hwa* in Pipra*hwa* and Goti*hwa* reminds of the Pashto Pakhtun*hwa*. Can it be the Sanskrit *sva*? H.W. Bailey derives *hvatana* 'Khotan' from *sva* + *tana*, signifying native land. The NorthWest of India had close relations with the Eastern parts.

Aśoka was conscious of the **role of five** in Buddhism: five first monks (*pañcavargīya*), first five moral precepts (*pañca-śīla*). Five is also frequent in Vedic texts (see *pañca* in the *Pali-English Dictionary* by T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede 2:387–89). The Buddha is accompanied by five hundred monks. The palace of Akbar at Agra is Panch Mahal. When Nepal was a monarchy, the King was Pāñc Sarkar and the Ranas who exercised actual power were the Tīn Sarkār. Five was a royal number and some of the categories in Aśoka's inscriptions are pentads. The Rummindei Inscription had four royal actions: (i) worshipping the spot, (ii) repairing the holy stone, (iii) erection of the stone pillar, (iv) exempting the village from taxes, and a fifth was added after the edict had ended, viz. (v) incomings from donations to the Stupa of Lumbinī.

Four pilgrimage sites. Aśoka sanctified four places of birth (Lumbinī), Sambodhi (enlightenment), promulgating the dharmacakra at Sarnath, and probably nirvāṇa at Kuśīnagara (no inscription or monument has survived). Rock edict VIII C says that he paid a visit to Sambodhi as the first *dhaṁmayātā*, distributed gold and instructed people in dharma. At Sarnath he built a magnificent stupa as stated by Hsüan-tsang. The Dhamek stupa is 110 feet high and an inscription says that this Dharmarājika stupa was restored on the orders of King Mahīpāla (*Indian Antiquary* 14.139f). Imperial grandeur was the hallmark of Aśoka's monuments. The word *dharmarājikā* is feminine and refers to *iṣṭakā* 'brick'. Eightyfour thousand dharmarājikā bricks were used to make magnificent stupas at places of great sanctity. The Thunder Hill Pagoda in China had 84,000 bricks, each consecrated with a dhāraṇī (detailed analysis in my *India and China* 2016:246–48).

The Dharmarājikā stūpa at Taxila is the fifth major stupa. Jīvaka the physician to Lord Buddha had studied here. Bimbisāra had sent Aśoka to quell a rebellion. During his reign Aśoka sent his son Kuṇāla to settle an uprising. This stūpa was dedicated to the blinding of Kuṇāla where blind persons could be blessed by sight.

Elephant is mentioned at Girnar XIII (Hu p.27 n.2): *[sa]rva-sveto hasti sarva-loka-sukhāharo nāma* 'the all-white elephant bringing happiness to all the world'. He is illustrated on the north face of the Kalsi rock with the caption *gajatama* 'the Supreme Elephant' (Hu p.50), and at the end of Dhauli VI (Hu p.88). The mother of the Buddha Māyā conceived him between forty and fifty years. On the day of conception she had a dream that she was taken to Himavān, bathed in the Anotatta Lake, clothed in divine robes, led into a golden palace, laid on a golden couch and the Bodhisattva entered into her right side in the form of a white elephant holding a white lotus in his trunk (Malalasekera 1938:2.600). She died seven days after the child was born. The elephant reminds of Gaṇapati to whom Māyā must have addressed earnest and persistent prayers and the child was born by the blessings of the Elephant-God who was represented as the Supreme Elephant and came to symbolise Siddhārtha himself. The vanquishment of Māra by the Buddha is a recreation of the conflagration of Cupid by Śiva. The Śākyas seem to have been Śaivas originally, and hence Gaṇapati as the elephant.

Svarga replaces nirvāṇa. The word *nirvāṇa* does not occur in the inscriptions. Aśoka speaks of *svarga* which occurs in Rock Edict VI and IX, Dhauli Separate Edicts I, II, and in five minor rock inscriptions. *Svarga* is different from nirvāṇa (Dhammapada 126, Hu p.liv). The lists of "evil passions (*āsīnava-gāmīni*) and dispositions (*jātāni*) do not tally with the *āsavas* and *kilesas* of Buddhists" (Hu p.lii). In the Brahmagiri record he speaks of the ancient rule (*porāṇā pakitī*) that leads to long life. He defines *dharma-guṇa* as:

(i) obedience to mother, father and elders (aged)
(ii) compassion towards animals
(iii) speaking the truth
(iv) reverence to the master
(v) suitable behaviour towards relatives

They are social values. Aśoka's *dharma* is secular and not quite Buddhist. He openly became a Buddhist (*sumi prakāsa sake*) only two and a half years after his coronation (Rupnath Rock Inscription), while his inscriptions elaborate social merits by adding courtesy to servants, liberality (*dhānaṁ*) to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, moderation in expenditure (*apavyayatā*) and moderation in possessions (*apabhāṇḍatā*). Note that brāhmaṇas precede śramaṇas. The earlier Hindu (deva) values continued to dominate the mind of the King and they surface every now and then. He repents the thousands slain or deported after the conquest of Kaliṅga. Moreover he felt even more highly deplorable as they had been and also were observing all the social values, the core of dharma.

Constant repetition of obedience to parents and elders springs from a sense of repentence of what he did to his father King Bindusāra. Bindusāra sent Aśoka to quell the rebellion in Taxila with the fourfold armed forces but without weapons. Aśoka declared: if my mind is such that I am to become king, may weapons of war appear before me. The devas brought forth the weapons. The Aramaic inscription from Taxila mentions Priyadarśin. Aśoka suppressed the uprising and returned victorious. Bindusāra sent Susīma to quell the rebellion in Taxila. Suddenly he fell ill seriously. He recalled Susīma who could not make it in time. The ministers said that install Aśoka as king and replace him when Susīma returns. The king was furious. Aśoka said: "if the throne is rightfully mine let the devas crown me". Instantly the devas did so. Bindusāra vomitted blood when he saw this and passed away. Aśoka assumed the throne. When Susīma returned he was drowned in the moat around the palace. As a young prince he had cutoff the heads of ministers and slaughtered women who did not respond to his advances as they disliked his rough skin. Inspite of his cruel actions, he wanted to attain heaven and not vanish in nirvāṇa. He admits in Kalsi Edict XIII W that only fruits in the other world are of great value (*mahāphala*). Conquest by morality (*dhaṁmavijaya*) bears fruit in this world and in the other world (Hu p.49). The intense feeling of remorse for his acts and their consequences was being resolved by personal and societal responsibilities to sustain dharma in moral intensity both in his life and in the life of the people.

Aśoka was so named perhaps after the name of a minister of Daśaratha in the Rāmāyaṇa 1.7.3 (MW). He was given the name of a minister deliberately, keeping in mind that the Crown Prince Susīma would succeed his father. Aśoka omits his name given by his father in the inscriptions, perhaps in acrimony and rancour of the treatment he met from him. At such critical moments he used to invoke the *devas* and they invariably helped him out. So he is the beloved of the devas, i.e. blessed by them. His epithet *devānāṁpriyaḥ* reflects him as dharmĀśoka and it replaces his paternal name. Priyadarśī refers to public measures adopted to make the people happy, to endear (*priya*) them. It was Gross National Happiness. The frequent phrase *hita-sukha* means that the king worked for the welfare of the people, but he also saw that they were happy by the measures adopted. It was the Buddhist concept of *bahu-jana-hitāya bahu-jana-sukhāya*.

Deva means Hindu. *Deva* in Devānāṁpriya refers to its Buddhist connotation. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (pp.134–35) specifies five religious denominations:

devayānaṁ brahmayānaṁ śrāvakīyaṁ tathaiva ca/
tāthāgataṁ ca pratyekaṁ, yānān etān vadāmy aham//

Devayāna is the Vedic tradition of Hinduism, brahmayāna is the Upaniṣadic tradition of Brahman, tāthāgata is Buddhism, and pratyeka is individual gurus. Hsüan-tsang uses the word *deva* in the sense of Hindu in his Travels. Beal (1884:2.335) rightly translates devas as Brahmanical gods. Hsüan-tsang mentions a hundred Deva temples in Varanasi and the majority of the adherents were devotees of Śiva. There was a bell-metal image of the Deva (probably Śiva) nearly 100 feet high in its awe-inspring majesty (Watters 1905:2.47). The epithet Devānāṁpriya glorifies his earlier pre-

Buddhist life. He brought harmony between the denominations which were divided earlier. The Maski Rock Inscription (Hu p.174) says: that those gods in India who were not respected before have now been accorded respect (*pure jaṁbu ..., si ye amisā devā husu ta dāni misibhūtā*). Aśoka encouraged inter-religious harmony. In Rock Edict XII he honours all sects (both ascetics and householders). Neither praising one's sect nor blaming others should take place. Other sects should be duly honoured. All the sects should be full of learning and should be pure in doctrine (Hu p.21). He dedicated caves to Ājivikas in the 13th and 20th regnal years.

Aśoka's exhortations to Dharma are his dedication to Deva values (not rites) of *iṣṭāpūrta* in the Brahmasūtras and Purāṇas. *Iṣṭa* is personal piety and *pūrta* are works for the benefit of others. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa says *iṣṭāḥ pūrtāś ca dharmau*. By performing them one attains heaven. The *pūrta* in the Varāhapurāṇa are:

vāpī-kūpa-taḍāgāni devatāyatanāni ca/
patitān uddhared yas tu, sa pūrta-phalam aśnute//

The general spirit of the Aśokan inscriptions veers around *pūrta* or public works, e.g. Pillar Edict VII records the plantation of banyan trees on roads to provide shade to cattle and men, mango-groves, wells dug at intervals of eight *kos* with flights of steps to descend to the water, drinking places, reverence and aid to all sects (Saṅgha, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Nirgranthas and others), Brāhmaṇas precede Śramaṇas in his respect to them, as earlier values were alive in his mind, even after he had become a zealous Buddhist. The iṣṭāpūrta were to fulfill his cherished desire to attain heaven in the yonder world with Deva rites as he had become king in this world by the blessings of Devas.

After his conquest of Kaliṅga, Aśoka devoted himself to a zealous study of dharma (*dhaṁma-vāye*), became attached to dharma (*dhaṁma-kāmatā*) and actively promoted instruction of (people) in dharma (*dhammānuṣaṭhi*) (Kalsi Rock Edict XIII.35–36, Hu pp.43–44, 47). This was his personal piety or *iṣṭa* because as a Buddhist he could not perform Vedic sacrifices. Iṣṭa is worship with sacrifices or just sacrifice in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 13.15.

As a part of *pūrta* he emphasised social values (Kalsi Rock Edict IV, Hu 30)

(i) abstention from killing animals (*anālambhana*)
(ii) abstention from hurting living beings (*avihiṁsā*)
(iii) courtesy to relatives (*saṁpratipatti*)
(iv) courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (*saṁpratipatti*)
(v) obedience to mother and father (*śuśrūṣa*)
(vi) moderation in expenditure (*alpavyayatā*) Kalsi RE III.8
(vii) moderation in possessions (*alpabhāṇḍatā*) Girnar RE III.5

Aśoka speaks of **honouring Devas** or the acceptance of earlier Hindu deities, along with Buddhism. When he openly became a Śākya, he was not very zealous, but as time passed he became zealous and visited the Saṅgha. Passages from the inscriptions show that at the same time he promoted the honouring of Devas or Hindu deities:

Sahasram Rock-Inscription, lines 2, 3
jambudīpasi aṁmisaṁdevā (saṁta munisā misaṁdeva kaṭa "And men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods" (Hu p.171).

Rupnath Rock-Inscription, line 2
yā īmāya kālāya jaṁbudīpasi amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā "those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now been made (by me) mingled with them" (Hu p.168)

Maski Rock-Inscription, lines 3–4
pure jaṁbu ... si ye amisā devā husu to dāni misibhūtā (Hu p.174)

Brahmagiri Rock-Inscription, lines 3–4
iminā chu kālena amisā samānā munisā jaṁbudīpasi misā devehi "but men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods" (Hu p.177)

Siddapura Rock-Inscription, lines 7–8
iminā chu kālena amisā samānā mu ... jaṁbud ... misā devehi (Hu p.178).

As shown above, Deva means Hindu gods and Aśoka continued to revere them. He had no inclination to nirvāṇa but was keen to attain heaven. He practised Buddhism as *iṣṭa*; and undertook works for the happiness of the people in the Vedic tradition as *pūrta* to ensure his paradise.

Twelve years of coronation. Aśoka distinguishes *dharma* and *śīla*. In Girnar Rock Edict 4.9, 10 Aśoka says that his descendents will abide by *dharma* (Hu: morality) and *śila* (Hu: good conduct). In line 10 he says that practice of dharma is not possible for a person devoid of śīla (*esa hi seṣṭe kaṁme ya dhaṁmānusāsanaṁ [.] daṁmacaraṇe pi na bhavati asīlasa*). This was dictated by Aśoka when he had been anointed for twelve years. Twelve years of reigning was an important milestone in his imperial life. In the abhiṣeka rites, thirtythree gods come to bless the king: Twelve Ādityas, Eleven Rudras, Eight Vasus, Dyauṣ (Sky) and Pṛthvī (Earth). Twelve Ādityas had endowed Aśoka's rule with glorious dharma conduct in contradistinction to his earlier years of travail and turbulence. Rhys David and Stede (1925:333) say: the number twelve is "connected with the solar cult, it is used with human arrangements to raise them to the level of heavenly ones and to impart to them a superior significance ... as measure of distance in space and time it implies ... great importance, a climax, divine symmetry etc.; 12 yojanas wide extends the radiance", in the commentary on Vimānavatthu 16. Reflecting on the twelve years, Aśoka makes it clear that the promulgation of dharma would not have been possible without *śīla*, translated by Hultzsch as "good conduct". *Śīla* has been taken as a general indication of morality, integrity and piety. Aśoka has used *śīla* in its technical Buddhist sense of five fundamental vows or *pañcaśīla* which are administered to a lay person when he becomes a Buddhist. The five are (1) refraining from killing, (2) not taking what is not given, (3) refraining from prohibited sexual activity, (4) refraining from unjust speech, and (5) abstaining from intoxicating drinks. *Śila* is also a component of threefold training (*triśikṣā*) and one of the six pāramitās. The threefold training is *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*. They correspond to the eightfold noble path (*aṣṭāṅgika mārga*):

śīla corresponds to (3) perfect speech (*samyag-vāc*) i.e. avoidance of lying, slander and gossip, (4) perfect conduct (*samyak-karmānta*) or avoidance of actions that conflict with *śīla*, (5) perfect livelihood (*samyag-ājīva*) avoidance of professions harmful to sentient beings, like slaughterer, hunter, dealer in weaponry or narcotics.

samādhi corresponds to (6) perfect effort (*samyag-vyāyāma*) cultivation of what is karmically wholesome and avoidance of the unwholesome, (7) perfect mindfulness (*samyak-smṛti*) mindfulness of body, feelings and thinking, (8) perfect concentration (*samyak-samādhi*) concentration of mind that finds its high point in the four *dhyāna*.

prajñā corresponds to (1) perfect view (*samyag-dṛṣṭi*) or view of understanding the four noble truths and anātman, and (2) perfect resolve (*samyak-saṅkalpa*) resolve of renunciation, good will and non-harming of sentient beings.

Samādhi and prajñā are practised by the monastic order and only *śīla* is the path of the laity. Hence Aśoka speaks only of *śīla*.

Śīla-pāramitā as one of the Six Transcendental Pāramitās includes eradication of all passions and rebirth for liberating all beings. Aśoka does not speak of nirvāṇa, but of heaven (*svarga*) which was his goal in trans-life existence as a place of happiness and long life.

After twelve glorious years of *dhammacaraṇa* 'leading a life of dhamma', and of *dhammānusāsana* 'instruction of the people in dhamma', Aśoka is gratified that he adopted Buddhism i.e. took the five śīla which has led to a dharma-oriented social order, and this ensures him divine life in heaven.

Aśoka lives in the glory of his name. Emperor of China, Chin Shih-huang-ti is supposed to have had the blood of Aśoka. The Sogdian chief in the Tonyukuk epitaph near Ulaanbaatar the capital of Mongolia bears the name Ašoqa. Khotanese used Aśśauka as a personal name. The Turks of Central Asia bear the name Ašuq. Prince of the Voguls living in Northern Siberia has the name Asyka in the Russian chronicles. Folk songs of the Voguls sing of Ošx (*Journal de la Société Finno-Ougriènne* 1958:60.59f). The gate of Chü-yung-kuan town of the Great Wall of China has a 36 feet long inscription in six languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan, Hsi-hsia, Uigur, Mongol and Chinese, to keep China safe from the inroads of the barbarians. Pentti Aalto (1970:249) has translated the portion relating to Aśoka:

<<"The great and illustrious Cakravartī King Aśoka, having assembled the relics of Lord Buddha of great virtue, adorned beautifully the vast world with stūpas, and made the great Dharma

shine greatly throughout the world". The propagation of Buddhism beyond the boundaries of India proper is considered to have begun with the council of Pāṭaliputra convened in 245 BC by Aśoka, and Kashmir and Gandhāra were in fact converted by Madhyāntika and his companions under Aśoka. The newly discovered inscription of Kandahār (dated in 258 BC) tells in Greek and Aramaic that, as a result of Aśoka's activity, "everything prospers over the whole earth.">>

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Aśoka **avoids his name** in the inscriptions, even though it was given by his mother. Only the Maski Rock Inscription begins with it (*devānāṁpiyasa asokasa*... Hu p.174).

Aśoka was ever keen to take away the reigns of the state from his aging father King Bindusāra. As a caution, the king could have conducted a yajña with hymn 1.70 of the Rigveda which points out that the sons appropriate the wealth of a father as he grows old. As the English translation of Griffith (1963:1.54) is not clear, the original (O) mantra and Sāyaṇa's (S) commentary thereon are cited below for ready reference:

O त्वा नरः पुरुत्रा वि... सर्पयन्
S त्वां मनुष्याः बहुषु देवयजनदेशेषु विविधं पूजयन्ति। पूजयित्वा च
O वेदः वि... भरन्त
S धनं त्वत्तो विशेषेण हरन्ति गृह्णन्तीत्यर्थः। तत्र दृष्टान्तः।
O जिव्रेः पितुर् न।
S जीर्णात् वृद्धात् पितुर् इव। यथा पुत्रा वृद्धात् पितुः सकाशाद् धनं हरन्ति तद्वत्।

The hymn begins with *suśoka* 'shining brilliantly' from the root *śuc* 'to be bright' (Dhātupāṭha 26.56). The other derivative *śuci* means 'shining, glowing, radiant, bright' in the Rigveda. *Suśoka* is an epithet of Agni: *agniḥ suśoko viśvāny aśyāḥ* 'may Agni with its brilliant shine pervade every act'. Suśoka of the hymn became a contrast to the name Aśoka in the mind of the king. While *suśoka* meant 'shining brilliantly', Aśoka was is negative and just the opposite 'having a disgusting appearance'. This must have hurt Aśoka deeply. King Bindusāra did not like him at all for his body was rough in touch (अशोको दुःस्पर्श-गात्रः। राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य-ानभिप्रेतः AA 1963:36). Once the King had summoned him and his brother Vītaśoka to the royal pavilion in the garden for prognostication by mendicant Piṅgalavatsājīva as to who would succeed him. The mother asked Aśoka to go to the garden. Aśoka replied: why should I go there. The King dislikes even my appearance (राज्ञोऽहम् अनभिप्रेतो दर्शनेनापि AA 1963:37). On another occasion the King sent Aśoka to quell a rebellion in Taxila without vehicles and weapons so that he be killed. As Aśoka invoked the gods, they blessed him with both mounts and arms. When Aśoka was crowned king, he called himself *Devānāṁpriyaḥ* 'beloved of the gods' as well as *priyadarśī* which means 'one who provides whatever the people love', both with a suggestion of his being 'charming (*priya*)'.

Aśoka became a Buddhist after his coronation. The earlier royal rites were performed on the basis of the Vedic tradition. The royal consecration was modelled upon the aindra mahābhiṣeka of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa to win all victories, to attain superiority, preeminence and supremacy over all kings, to be possessed of all the earth... (Keith 1920:331). King Bindusāra should have come to the rare word *suśoka* in a yajña. *Suśoka* is a *hapax legamenon* which is evidenced by a unique citation in the Rigveda in the whole of Sanskrit literature. It is an adjective qualifying Agni which is invoked for prosperity, security, protection, to become proficient, and fierce to shine in victories. Aśoka, the antithetical of the adjective *suśoka* became an aversion during his lifetime, though it continued in the avadānas.

When Aśoka issued his imperial edicts as the emperor of India, he gave up the negative name Aśoka. Only the negligible Minor Rock Edict of Gujjara has the name Aśoka (*devānāṁ priyaḥ priyadarśī rājā'śokah*) or its Maski version (*devānāṁ priyo'śokaḥ*, Mukh 1963:139). The naming of the newly born infant Aśoka is attributed to his mother by the Aśokāvadāna, but it goes on to point out that the body of the child has bad skin, and is rough and unpleasant to touch. Bindusāra did not like him (अशोको दुःस्पर्श–गात्रः। राज्ञो बिन्दुस्तरस्य -ानभिप्रेतः Mukh p.36).

The name *Aśoka* was meant to mean 'Non-shining, not blooming' in antithesis to the word *suśoka* 'shining brilliantly' in the Rigveda 1.70.1 as an epithet of Agni. Arthur Anthony Macdonell's *A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (Oxford 1929:318) gives 'flame, glow' as the very first meaning of the word *śoka*. *Arka-śoka* 'brilliance of the rays (*arka*)' of Agni occurs in RV.6.4.7. *Sahasra-śoka* 'emitting a thousand flames' refers to vajra in RV.10.96.4. *Triśoka* (RV 10.29.2) is the 'triple splendour' of the chariot. Triśoka is the name of a ṛṣi in RV.1.112.2, 8.45.30, and Atharvaveda 4.29.6, According to the Rigveda-anukramaṇī he was a Kāṇva and the author of the hymn RV.8.45. Aśoka is not 'without sorrow' but 'without sheen or brilliance'.

Respect to brāhmaṇas and Hindu Devas. The edicts of Aśoka place the brāhmaṇas above śramaṇas, e.g. the Girnar Rock Edicts and III and IX enjoin liberality (*dāna*) to brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas, and RE IV to extend courtesy (*asaṁpratipati*) to them. During his tours of morality (*dharmayātrā*) Aśoka visited brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas and made gifts (*dāna*) to them (RE VIII). The mother of Aśoka was a brāhmaṇa and is called a *devakanyā* (Mukh 1963:35). Aśoka did not aspire for the extinction of nirvāṇa, but for the attainment of heaven. He clearly says in the ninth RE: And what is more desirable than this, viz. the attainment of heaven (Hu 17). The tenth RE repeats: whatever effort King Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) for the sake of (merit) in the other (world, *pāratrikāya*, Hu 18). Aśoka held the sanctity of all denominations as leading to the attainment of heaven and happiness in the other world. He says in the Rupnath Rock Inscription that he honoured the Hindu gods inspite of his having become a very zealous Buddhist and having visited the Saṅgha: *yā [i]māya kālāya Jaṁbudipasi amisā devā husu, te dāni m[i]s[ā] kaṭā*. Hultzsch translates it "Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men) in Jambudvīpa, have now been made (by me) mingled (with them)". The word *miśra* does not mean 'mingled', and Hultzsch regards this interpretation an "enigmatical sentence". *Amisā* and *misā* are both plurals. As plurals at the end of a compound *miśrāḥ* are honorific epithets) (p.168). (MW): *ārya-miśrāḥ* 'respectable or honourable people', and also in singular at the end of a compound. Proper names with *miśra* are a way of respect: Vācaspati-miśra. Hultzsch (p.168) noted that “deva is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title Devānāṁpriya”. In Buddhist usage *deva* refers to Hindu deities and they had blessed Aśoka to get the throne whence his title Devānāṁpriya. He continued to respect the devas as much as the Saṅgha and aspired for *svarga* through the Vedic *iṣṭāpūrta* which constitute the implicit underpinning of his edicts.

Vedic iṣṭāpūrta. As part of the coronation rites, the kings used to get a coronation name. Aśoka took the coronation name Devānāṁpriya priyadarśin on the ancient Vedic principle of *iṣṭāpūrta*. He was a devoted to devayāna and embraced Buddhism only an year after the Kaliṅga war in the eighth year of his reign (c.262 BC). *Iṣṭa* means personal piety and *pūrta* is works for the benefit of the people. The Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi lexicon of Hemacandra (ed. Otto Böhtlingk und Charles Ribu, St. Petersburg 1847:835) indicates the works undertaken under *pūrta*, and the rites performed as iṣṭa:

वापी-कूप-तडागानि देवतायतनानि च।
अन्नदानम-ारामाः पूर्तम् अर्घ्याः प्रचक्षते॥
एकाग्नि-कर्म हवनं त्रेतायां यच्च हूयते।
अन्तर्वेद्यां च यद् दानम् इष्टं तदभिधीयते॥

The king had to provide a water system by digging wells, constructing ponds for rain water, building temples, distributing food, growing fruit gardens, etc. under the *pūrta* to fulfill (*pūr*) the needs of the subjects. Several other public works are mentioned in the smṛtis. *Iṣṭa* is the past passive participle of the root *yaj* ‘to perform sacrifices (*yajña*)’. It is performing fire-rites (*agnikarma*) or *havana* and giving donations. It was a bounden royal duty to fulfill both the personal and public aspects honestly as honesty behoves kings (Mahābhārata 1.7223.3):

इच्छया ब्रूहि तत्सत्यं, सत्यं राजसु शोभते।
इष्टापूर्तेन च तथा वक्तव्य-मनृतं न तु॥

The kings attain heaven by *iṣṭāpūrta* e.g. Taittirīya-saṁhitā 3.3.85 (recension of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda) says समम् अमुष्मिं लोक इष्टापूर्तेन गच्छति।

Devānāṁpriya means ‘blessed by the Devas’ and refers to the *iṣṭa* aspect of Vedic sacrifices. Priyadarsī means ‘one who fulfilled the needs of the people’ and is the *pūrta* aspect. The use of the word *priya* is to offset the dislike (*anabhipreta*) of his father. Aśoka sought endearment from the gods and from the people. As a Buddhist, he continued the *iṣṭa* by pilgrimages to hallowed sites of the birth, enlightenment and turning the wheel of Dharma of Lord Buddha. Divyāvadāna says he built caityas at Bodhgaya, Lumbini, Sarnath and Kuśīnagara (Lahiri 2015:237). Stupas to the previous Buddhas were also consecrated by Aśoka. A stupa to the immediate predecessor Buddha Konākamana was rebuilt and expanded by Aśoka in the Kapilavastu district (ibid.237). Two gigantic dharmarājikā stupas of 84,000 bricks were dedicated to Kuṇālā at Taxila (ibid.302) and to the first sermon at Sarnath.

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2. AURANGABAD CAVE 7 AND DUNHUANG

Cave is *guhā* in Sanskrit. It is derived from the root *guh* 'to hide, be secret'. A cave is the dreamt of region where deep meditation is experienced, away from the light and shadow of reflections. *Guhya* is esoteric. Atharva-veda 11.5.10 speaks of the treasured immanence of a meditator enshrined in the cave (*guhā nidhī nihitau brāhmaṇasya*). The cave is verily this heart in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 11.2.6.5 (*tasmād idaṁ guheva hṛdayaṁ*).

The Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad 3.20 says:

Subtler than the subtle, greater than the great
is the Self that is set in the cave of the [heart] of a being.
aṇor aṇīyān, mahato mahīyān
ātmā guhāyāṁ nihito 'sya jantoḥ

Guhagupta is a Bodhisattva in the Mahāvyutpatti and in the Lotus Sutra. The cave transcends into the light on the far horizon. Hypnotised by silence it becomes the repose of transcendence, the solemnity of the unfathomable. Here we are in the caves of Aurangabad to find the solemnity of the mind, in the void and vision of these caves which once drew humans to their depths.

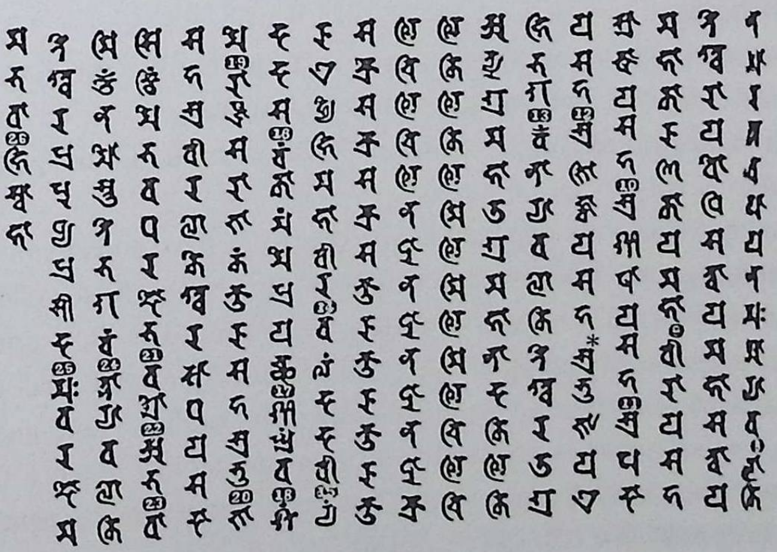
The **colossal statue** of Cave 7 is Maitreya sitting in bhadrāsana. The left panel of the central door has Avalokiteśvara as the saviour from eight perils (*aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa*). The right wall shows Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, both standing. The left wall has a charming danseuse dancing with six musicians playing. The right pillared chapel is graced by Pañcika and Hārītī.

Three Buddhas. The side walls have three seated Buddhas. The Dunhuang painting EO 1128 in the Collection of Paul Pelliot, of the first half of the 9th century shows two Buddhas, both accompanied by two acolytes each, depicted besides the dancing scene (Giès et al. 1994: pl.16–5). They are the three metamorphoses of Amitābha, alongwith the main image. Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Taisho 360–62) alludes to three bodies of Amitābha who welcome the deceased according to their merit (Giès 1996:59). The "three bodies" are (i) svabhāva-kāya or dharma-kāya, (ii) sambhoga-kāya, and (iii) nirmāṇa-kāya. The philosophical details as preserved in the Hossō, Sanron, Kegon, Tendai, Zen, Jōdo sects have been detailed in my "Amitābha/Amida in Japan" (*Cultural Horizons of India* 2.156f). The rituals are for effacing sins, assuring birth in paradise and achieving happiness for the deceased. Dunhuang Cave 427 has images of the Three Buddhas (Fan 2010:104–05). The central platform of Cave 55 holds a group of three seated Buddhas. They represent Maitreya at the three great assemblies he presided over after he became a Buddha (ib.206). Cave 2 of the Eastern Thousand Buddhas has Three Buddhas on the central platform (ib.223). It belongs to the Tangut period.

Avalokiteśvara vows to save all beings with great compassion. He saves devotees from the 'eight great perils' of fire, robbers, fetters, shipwreck, lions, snakes, elephants and demons. Aurangabad caves were on an international trade route, frequented by pilgrims, merchant caravans and diplomatic persons. Robbers and highwaymen were a constant threat to the rich caravans, besides ferocious animals. Avalokiteśvara who saved from the highway perils was invoked continually to preempt any mishap. He is represented on the right side wall of the sanctum, alongwith **Tārā** on the other side. She is the active power of compassion to save (*tārayati*) beings in distress. The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa 1.65 calls her the compassion of Avalokiteśvara (*Av.-karuṇā*). Tārā is from the root *tar* 'to lead across, to rescue' humans from all kinds of adversities.

The door of the main shrine has **two Tārās**, one to the right and the other to the left. They should be Śukla-Tārā 'White Tārā' and Śyāma-Tārā 'Dark Tārā'. Śyāma-Tārā is rendered as Green Tārā which is an incorrect translation. Śyāma is *sā̃vlā* in Hindi which means 'dark-complexioned' and it describes the charm of Lord Krishna. Hindi *sā̃vlā-salonā* 'dark and savorous' means attractive dark complexion. A swarthy complexion is considered a mark of beauty. Śyāmā (fem.) is described as a 'female of slender shape'. Śyāma-sundara 'name of Krishna' refers to him as dark and beautiful. Śyāmāṅga is the name of Buddha in a lexicon (MW). Tārā belongs to the cycle of 'cheating death' (Tibetan: *ḥchi.blu*). She protects from the eight perils of lions, elephants, snakes, fire, water, thieves, imprisonment and demons. She ensured life on the long inhospitable and forbidding terrains. As Aurangabad was on the trade route from the northwest to western India, she had to be invoked to protect the convoys and caravans in their long march across several desolate areas.

In 748 CE Amoghavajra performed the ritual of Thousand-armed Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara (Nj.1383, T1056, K1311) for the defence of China against the Arabs and allies. The Arabs retreated and China was saved from Islamisation. The following dhāraṇī was recited for several months.



A danseuse amidst six musicians is shown in the foreground of the Sukhāvatī paradise of Amitābha in the paintings and murals of Dunhuang. She performs on a stage accompanied by four or six musicians. To the right and left deities and devotees venerate Amitābha. The scene is supposed to be based on the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra whose Sanskrit original is lost, but it is found in the Chinese translation by Kālayaśas done in 424 CE. Shan-tao (613–81) wrote a commentary on it. The central section of Chinese depictions is based on the first chapter of his commentary. Dunhuang caves are the most magnificent repository of these paintings. Out of the 490 main and side caves, 62 contain murals of Sukhāvatī. Their function is clear in Japan. Dowager of Prince Shotoku commissioned a representation of Sukhāvatī paradise termed Tenjukoku mandala of "the land of heavenly long life" for the Prince to go to this Pure Land. After the death of Fujiwara Toyonari in 765, his queen commissioned a statue of Amitābha to be carved for her husband, mother and father to be reborn in Sukhāvatī. It was enshrined in the Kōfukuji Monastery in Nara.

Dunhuang was on the frontiers of China and was engaged in constant battles with the nomadic tribes. Chinese armies suffered heavy casualties in their victories over the centuries. The family members of the deceased soldiers and generals donated for the construction and painting of the caves with scenes of paradise so that their departed relations gain the Tuṣita paradise of Maitreya, or the Western Pure Land of Sukhāvatī of Amitābha. Ascension to paradise was through 'Sixteen Contemplations'. Shantao defines them to 'visualize' and 'realize' within oneself the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī on the basis of the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra. The sixteen contemplations are on: (1) the large Red Sun when it is about to go to the West i.e. when it is setting, (2) clear water, (3) earth, (4) trees of paradise, (5) lakes of paradise, (6) towers of paradise, (7) lotus throne of Amitāyus, (8) trinity of Amitābha flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, (9) sambhoga-kāya of Amitāyus, (10) nirmāṇa-kāya of Amitāyus, (11) dharma-kāya of Amitāyus, (12) imagine oneself born on a lotus flower in Sukhāvatī, (13) Great Body of Amitāyus, (14) highest degree of birth, (15) middle degree of birth, and (16) lower degree of birth.

The sixteen contemplations of Shantao are for transcending the terrestrial plane (1–3), visualizing paradise (4–6), contemplating the trinity of Amitābha (7, 8), meditating on the trikāya of Amitāyus (9–11), leading to the higher or lower degree of birth in Sukhāvatī according to one's karma in life (12–16).

The sixteen contemplations are depicted in six 'courts' of the Taima maṇḍala (1) empty space, (2) multistoreyed buildings, (3) various deities, (4) jewelled earth, (5) jewelled pond, and (6) the court of dance and music. They range from top to bottom. The first court of empty space corresponds to *ākāśī dhāraṇā* of Patañjali's yoga, the court of jewelled earth to *pārthivī dhāraṇā*, the court of jewelled pond to *āmbhasī dhāraṇā*, and the court of dance and music to the three types of *nāda*. The fourth *anāhata nāda* is depicted as sixteen musical instruments, flying in open space, without being played. They have to be *anāhata* 'unstruck' to be transcendent (**शब्दो ब्रह्ममयः शब्दोऽनाहतो यत्र दृश्यते। अनाहताख्यं तत् पद्मं मुनिभिः परिकीर्तितम्॥**). Yoga has eight ascending levels of concentration (*aṣṭāṅga*): yama, niyama, āsana, prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhi:

यमो नियमश् चासनं च प्राणायामस् ततः परम्।
प्रत्याहारो धारणा च ध्यानं सार्धं समाधिना
अष्टाङ्गान्याहुरेतानि योगिनां योग-सिद्धये॥

The last three levels are 'inner members' (*antaraṅga*). They constitute sixteen steps of 5 dhāraṇās, 5 nādas and 6 cakras. The five dhāraṇās are contemplations on earth, fire, sky, water and wind to transcend these five elements of existence (*pañca-tattva*). Dhyāna is four nādas of musical instruments played by percussion, by wind, operated by strings, anāhata nāda of unstruck instruments and praṇava. The six cakras are: mūlādhāra, svādhiṣṭhāna, maṇipūra, anāhata, viśuddha, and ājñākhya.

The total of sixteen contemplations was maintained in the Chinese Sukhāvatī tradition but the sixteen steps were confused. Did Shantao create a new Chinese categorisation or was it inherited from the Buddhist practice in India?

The **danseuse with six musicians** in Aurangabad Cave 7 symbolises the *nāda* of yoga. The musical instruments represent *nāda* which leads to spiritual experience. In the first stage the sounds are very loud like thunder, drums and cymbals (*jharjhara*). They are percussion instruments. In the intermediate stage, *nāda* is the sound produced by drum, conch, bell. They should really be wind instruments. In the final stage, the sound resembles those from trinkets, flute, vīṇā and bees. They should be string instruments. The three stages of *nāda* are not precise in the Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā but they are correctly represented in Dunhuang as three kinds of musical instruments of percussion, wind and strings. Female musicians play a zither, mouth organ and clappers on the right, and a stringed pipa, transverse flute and pan-pipes on the left in the Dunhuang murals. They represent the three kinds of instruments of percussion (clappers), wind (flute) and string (zither).

The Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā 79–105 details the practice of *nāda* to overcome all distractions, so that the mind becomes steady. In the begining the sounds are very loud, but as practice increases they become more and more subtle (stanza 83). Though hearing loud sounds, one should try to get in touch with the subtle sounds only (st.86). The mind is capable of being controlled by the sharp goad of *anāhata nāda* (*nirnāda*, st.90). The mind captivated by *nāda* gives up all activity and becomes completely calm (st.91) like a bird with clipped wings. Those desirous of the kingdom of yoga, should practise hearing *anāhata nāda* (st.92). The mercuriality of the mind is deprived of its unsteadiness by being calcined with the sulphur of *nāda*, and it roams in the *ākāśa* of Brahman (st.95).

Pañcika and Hārītī on the right pillared chapel are to ensure the continuing flourishing of the family. Hārītī is the protector of children (Appel 2000:291–301). She is the giver of children (Gaulier et al.1976:2.39, 51, fig.112). Hārītī is still worshipped in rural Japan for granting children, for the continuance of the family. She also holds a mongoose or cornucopia to symbolise that she bestows wealth.

Hārītī is the last of the eleven rākṣasīs in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (ed. Kern and Nanjio p.400) who vow to the Buddha to protect and to ensure the well-being (*rakṣāvaraṇa-guptiṁ kariṣyāmaḥ, svasty-ayanaṁ ca kariṣyāmaḥ*) of all who preserve and propagate the Sutra.

In the Mahāmāyūrī (ed. Oldenburg p.241) Ten Mahārākṣasī led by Hārītī rākṣasī protect the Buddha while in the womb, while being born, and when born (*mātuḥ kukṣigato rakṣito, jāyamāno rakṣito, jāto 'pi rakṣitaḥ*). They are endowed with miraculous powers, with elegance (*dyutimatyaḥ*), and with charming complexion (*varṇavatyaḥ*). By means of this Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī they protect and defend, give prosperity and peace, prevent punishments, armed attacks and poisoning, and also ensure boundaries and kingdoms. Thereby men live for a hundred years and *enjoy* a hundred autumns: *tā apy anayā Mahāmāyūryā vidyārājñyā mama sarvasattvānāṁ ca rakṣāṁ kurvantu, guptiṁ paritrāṇaṁ paripālanaṁ śāntiṁ svastyayanaṁ daṇḍaparihāraṁ śastra-parihāraṁ viṣa-dūṣaṇaṁ viṣa-nāśaṁ sīmā-bandhaṁ dharaṇī-bandham ca kurvantu, jīvatu varṣaśataṁ paśyatu śaradāṁ śatam.*

The opening chapter of the Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra (ed. Nobel p.3) says that the most fierce calamities of those who listen to this Sutra will end, and the Four Lokapālas will protect them with multitudes of their yakṣas. So too Sarasvatī, *Hārītī bhūtamātā*, and others will ensure their protection, day and night, with due indulgence. In the 14th chapter entitled Yakṣāśraya-parivarta, several yakṣas, Hārītī bhūtamātā (p.162.16) with her five hundred sons will protect the devotees of the Sutra, at all times, while they sleep, sit or stand.

The Sutra opens (p.1) with the Buddha sitting on the Gṛdhrakūṭa Hill accompanied by five great goddesses (*mahādevatā*) and other beings. Among them is Hārītī mahādevatā, who had an honoured position in the Buddhist sutras as a guardian of the faith. In the extant Sanskrit Buddhist texts she does not appear in the negative light of a Child-Devouring Ogress, which has become her predominant image through the work of Péri based on certain Chinese sources.

Hārītī is the first among yakṣiṇīs who are *maharddhikāḥ* 'of great supernatural power (*ṛddhi*), of great majesty', as stated in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (608.16: *yakṣiṇyaś ca samākhyātā hārītyādyā maharddhikāḥ*). She is called a *mahāyakṣiṇī* in the chapter on drawing a maṇḍala (44.1). She is invoked in the maṇḍala of Trailokyavaśaṁkara Lokeśvara of Oḍḍiyāna according to Sarahapāda in the Sādhana-mālā 36: *oṁ hrīḥ aḥ, hāṁ hārīti yakṣeśvari svāhā, hārītī-mantraḥ*. In the sādhana of Vādirāja Mañjuśrī (SM 48 p.103) too her mantra is recited: *oṁ hārītyai mahāyakṣiṇyai, hara-hara sarva-pāpāni me, kṣiṇi sarva-yakṣiṇi praveśani svāhā, hārītī-mantraḥ*. In this mantra she is a great yakṣiṇī who takes away all the sins, and she knows the way (*praveśanī*) to overcome them.

Six goddesses stand gracefully in flexion in the left pillared hall of Cave 7. They can be seen flanking the danseuse and musicians in the Chinese representation of Sukhāvatī. The explanation may also be found in the Chinese tradition.

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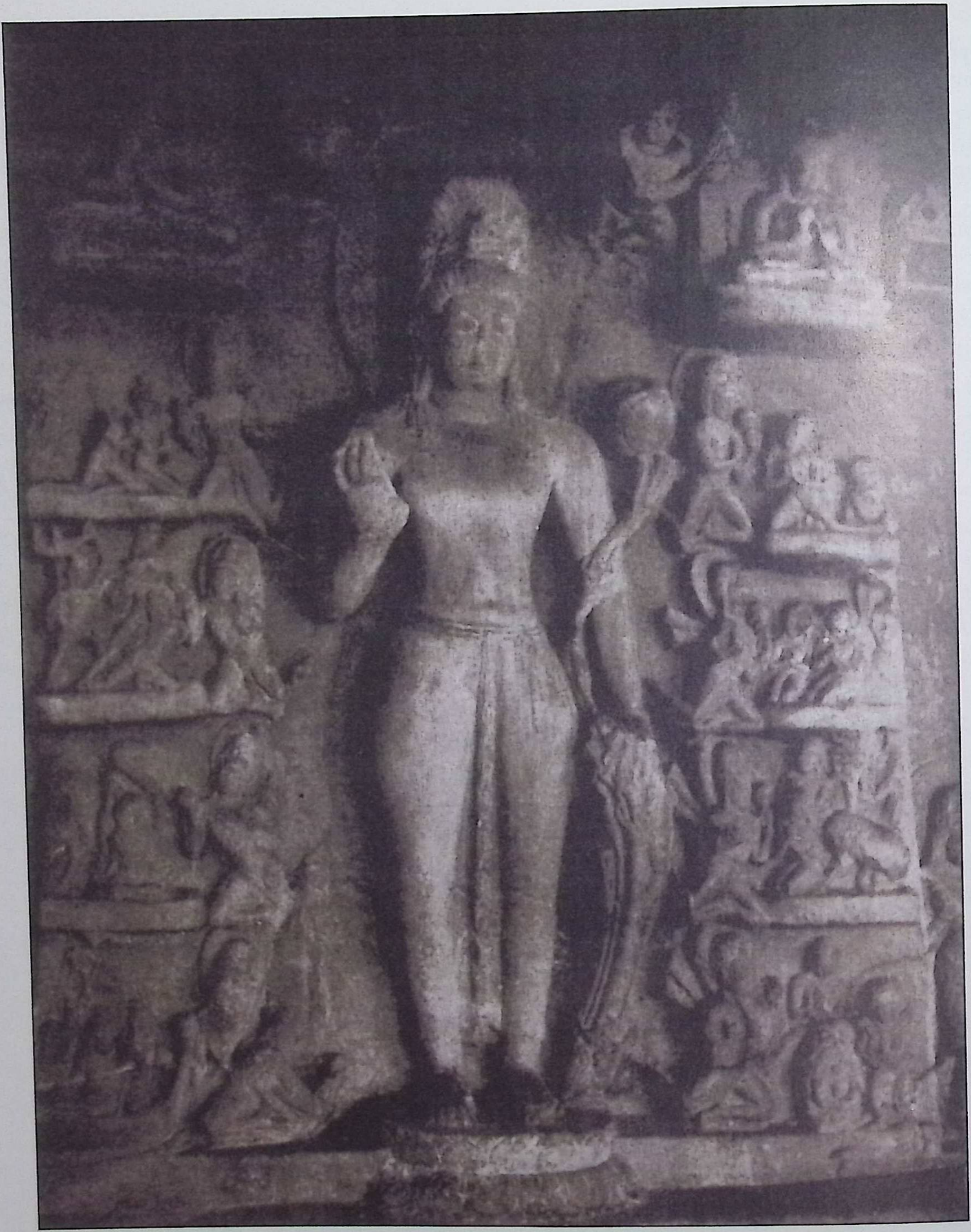
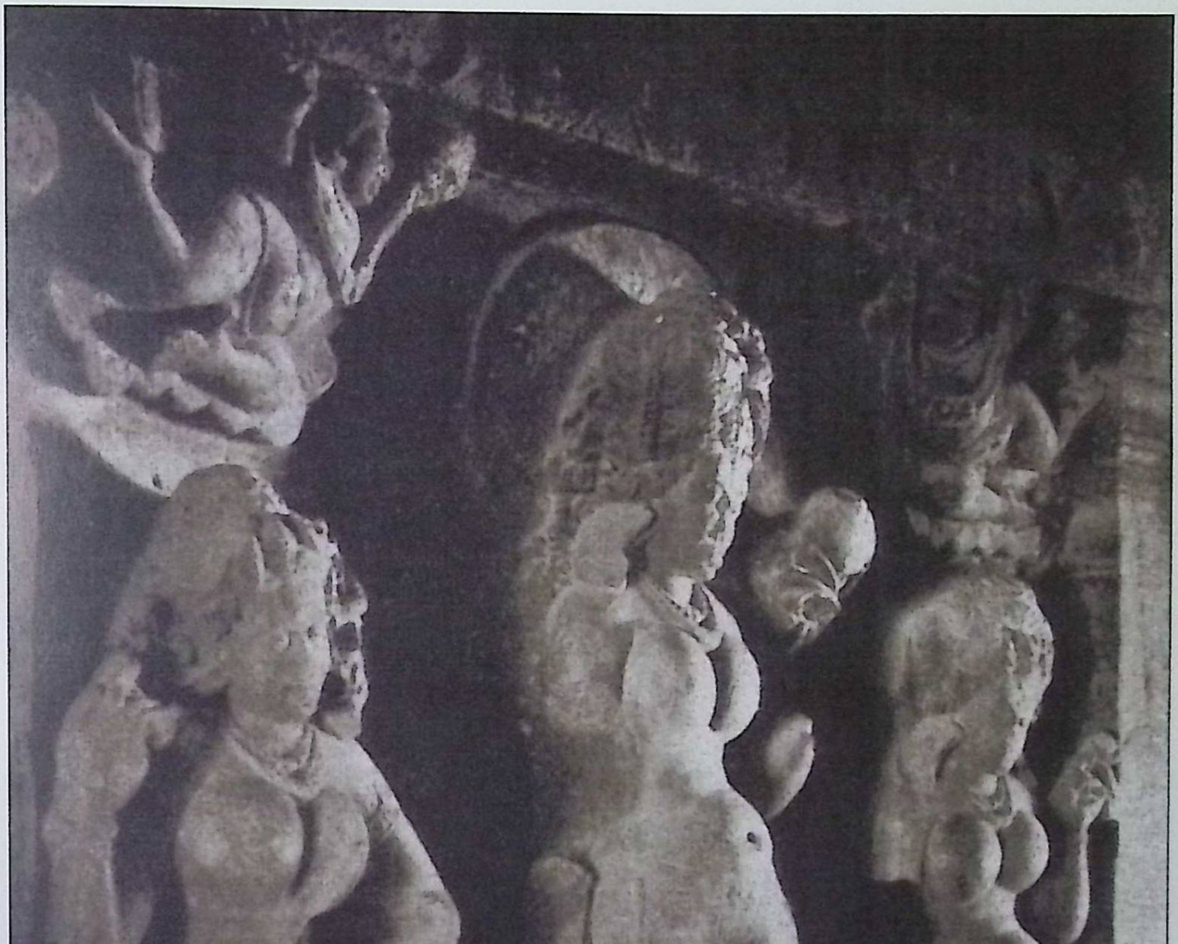
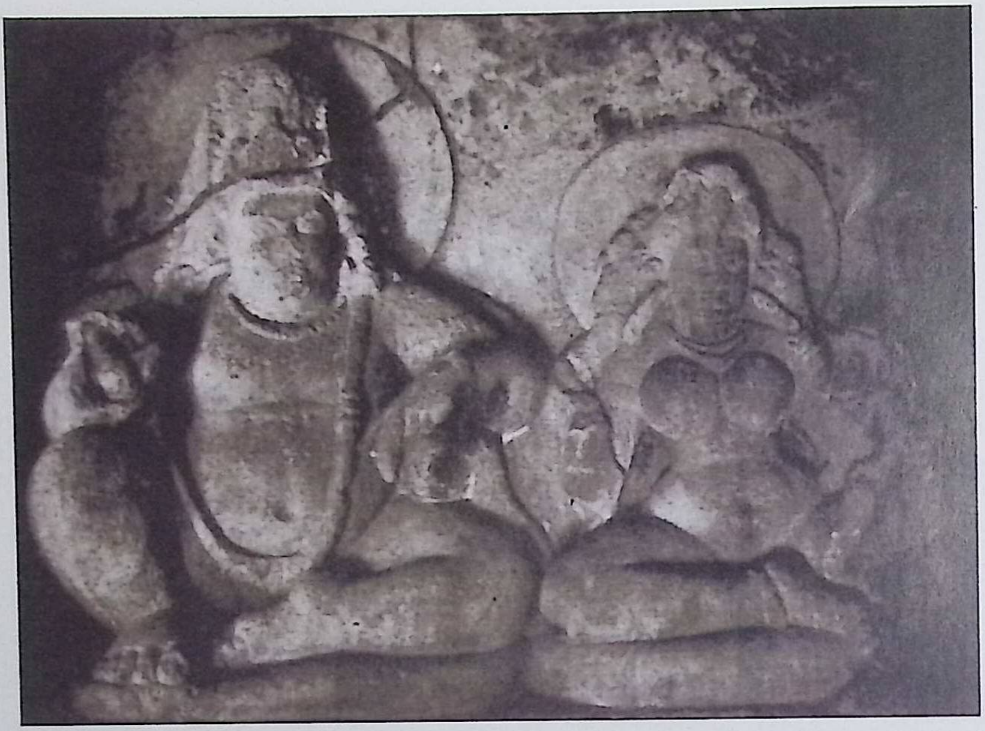


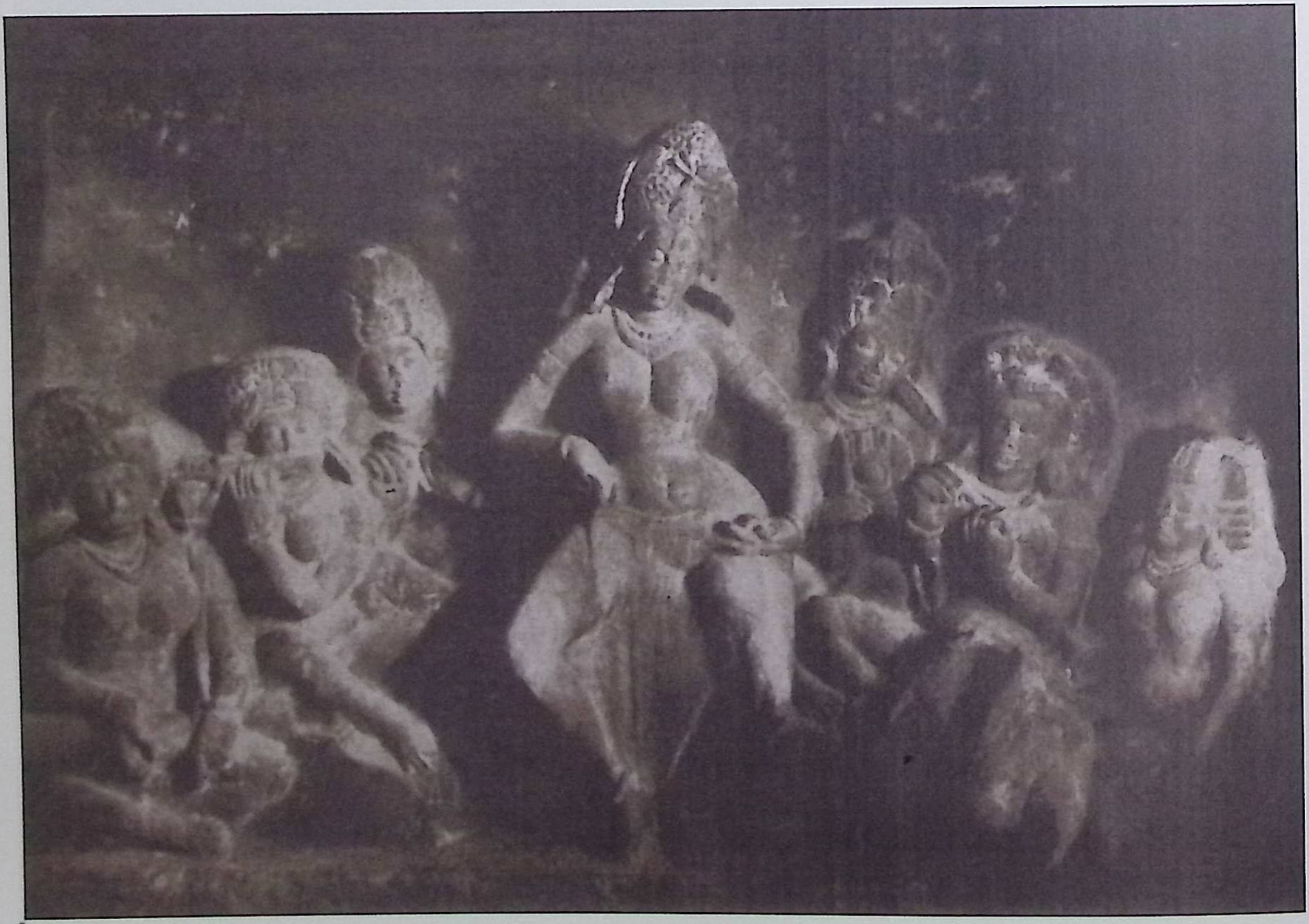
Avalokiteśvara on the back wall of the veranda.



Tārā in front of the shrine to the left of entrance.



Pañcika Hārītī



Danseuse with six musicians, on the left wall of the shrine.

3. APALĀLA NĀGARĀJA IS APOLLO

A head in the National Museum (Stucco Acc. no.49.20/26) dated to the 4th century has been identified as a Bodhisattva. It is clearly the head of Apollo, similar to the figure of Apollo in the temple of Zeus in the Olympus. The Cassel Provincial Museum in Germany has a head of the statue of Apollo, a Graeco-Roman work in the style of the 5th century BC (Phidias). It was purchased in Rome in 1776. Napoleon took it to the Louvre in Paris in 1807. Today it is back in Germany.

In the middle of the hill of Delphi stands the large Doric temple of Apollo dominating the entire scene. The ruins we see today are of the 4th century BC. The legend goes that Apollo spotted Delphi, fell in love with it and decided to have his temple there. He brought a new spirit that was to dominate the social and political life of the Greeks for centuries to come. The cult of Apollo was characterized by his peaceful and spiritual nature, and he brought a touch of compassion to the customs of the time. He came to be known as the god of purification who provided correct answers to problems through the oracle given by his Delphic sanctuary. It eliminated cruel practices such as revenge requiring a life for a life. He was also closely associated with the arts. He was the god of music and poetry. The Muses were his constant companions. At every victory or great achievement, the Greeks made *ex voto* gifts of an entire building, a treasury, or statues made of precious metals.

The cult of Apollo was widespread in Greek lands and it reached India along with them. Apollo was the guardian deity of the Swat River. The Indo-Greek kings must have appealed to Him as the giver of victory. Apollo must have been a challenge to Buddhism as can be seen from the legend of Apalāla-damana or suppression of Apalāla in Pali and Sanskrit Sutras: Samantapāsādikā, Mahāvaṁsa, Buddhavaṁsa, Bhaiṣajyavastu, Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, Samādhirāja. The name Apollo was Sanskritized as Apalāla.

Conversion of Nāgarāja Apalāla. *Apalāla-damana* or the suppression and conversion of Apalāla is not mentioned among the stories included in the Pali Canon. The Mahāvaṁsa 30.84 says that this episode was represented in the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa in SriLanka. Commentary on the Buddhavaṁsa 29 names Apalāla when the powers of the Buddha are discussed. Samantapāsādikā 4.742 recounts the story of *Apalāla-damana*.

In the Bhaiṣajyavastu (Dutt 3/1.2) of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda Vinaya, the Buddha proceeds from the city of Rohitaka (mod. Rohtak) to subjugate Apalāla. He leaves behind Ānanda and is accompanied by Vajrapāṇi (*gato 'ham ānanda vajrapāṇi-sahāya uttarāpatham*). Divyāvadāna 348.20 says that the Buddha returned to Mathurā after converting (*vinīya*) Apalāla. Further on (385.3) it says that before his parinirvāṇa, the Buddha converted (*damayitvā*) the nāga, reached

Mathurā and called Ānanda. The conversion is referred to in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa 18.12 and in the Āṭānāṭiya-sūtra (Hoernle, *Ms. Remains* 27.3). In Samādhirāja-sūtra p.42 Apalāla Nāgarāja stands in the sky with flowers and jewels in his hand to honor the Buddha. Mahāmāyūrī 221.24, 247.3 lists Apalāla in the names of nāgas.

Hsüan-tsang relates the story of the conversion of Apalāla in Udyāna. Buddha "descended spiritually" at the fountain of Apalāla, took the vajra from Vajrapāṇi, and bet against the mountain-side. Apalāla was terrified, came out, heard the preaching and was converted. Eitel (1888:14) says that Apalāla was the guardian deity of the source of the Śubhavastu (mod. Swat) River.

The name Apalāla[1] has been translated into Tibetan as *Sog.ma.med* 'without hay or straw' (Mahāvyutpatti 3273). The Chinese translations of the name are discussed by G. Tucci (*East and West* 1958:9.281, 326) who points out that translators could not guess the exact meaning of the name.

Apalāla is a Sanskritisation of the Greek god Apollo whose cult was widespread in the Hellenic lands, because he was foremost as an oracle and Delphi was his main sanctuary. Apollodotus was an Indo-Greek king who ruled in the second century BC and issued many coins. He is said to have murdered his father and drove his chariot through the blood of his father. This detestable parricle may have given rise to the form apa-lāla. The prefix *apa* expresses deterioration, inferiority, and *lāla* is the son of a maitreya and a brāhmaṇa woman (MW), in the derogative sense of hybrid offspring of heterogenous parents of a higher and a lower caste. Maitreya or maitreyaka is a mixed and degraded tribe, the offspring of a vaideha and an ayogavī whose business is to praise great men and announce the dawn up by ringing a bell (Manu-smṛti 10.33). Coins of Apollodotus I and II have been found in Taxila (John Marshall, *Taxila* 1951:30, 31, 766–67, 799, 802–03, 859) with Apollo standing or seated.

There could have been a sanctuary of Apollo on the source of the Swat River, which would have attracted a large number of devotees. The intervention of Apollo gave victory to the Lepiths when they were attacked. Apollo must have appealed to the Indo-Greek kings as the giver of victory and thus he came in the way of the expansion of Buddhism in Greater Gandhara. The parricide by Apollodotus could have occasioned the subjugation of Apollo in the legend of *Apalāla-damana* in Pali and Sanskrit texts. Zeus the father of Apollo became Vajrapāṇi to accompany the Buddha to convert Apalāla. The Greeks could circumvent Apollo, but from Zeus they asked "approval for those physical and moral qualities that together were designated by the word *arete*" (Pierre Devambez et al., *A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Civilisation*, London, 1967:321). The Buddhist tradition too celebrates the nobility of Vajrapāṇi in contradistinction to Apalāla.

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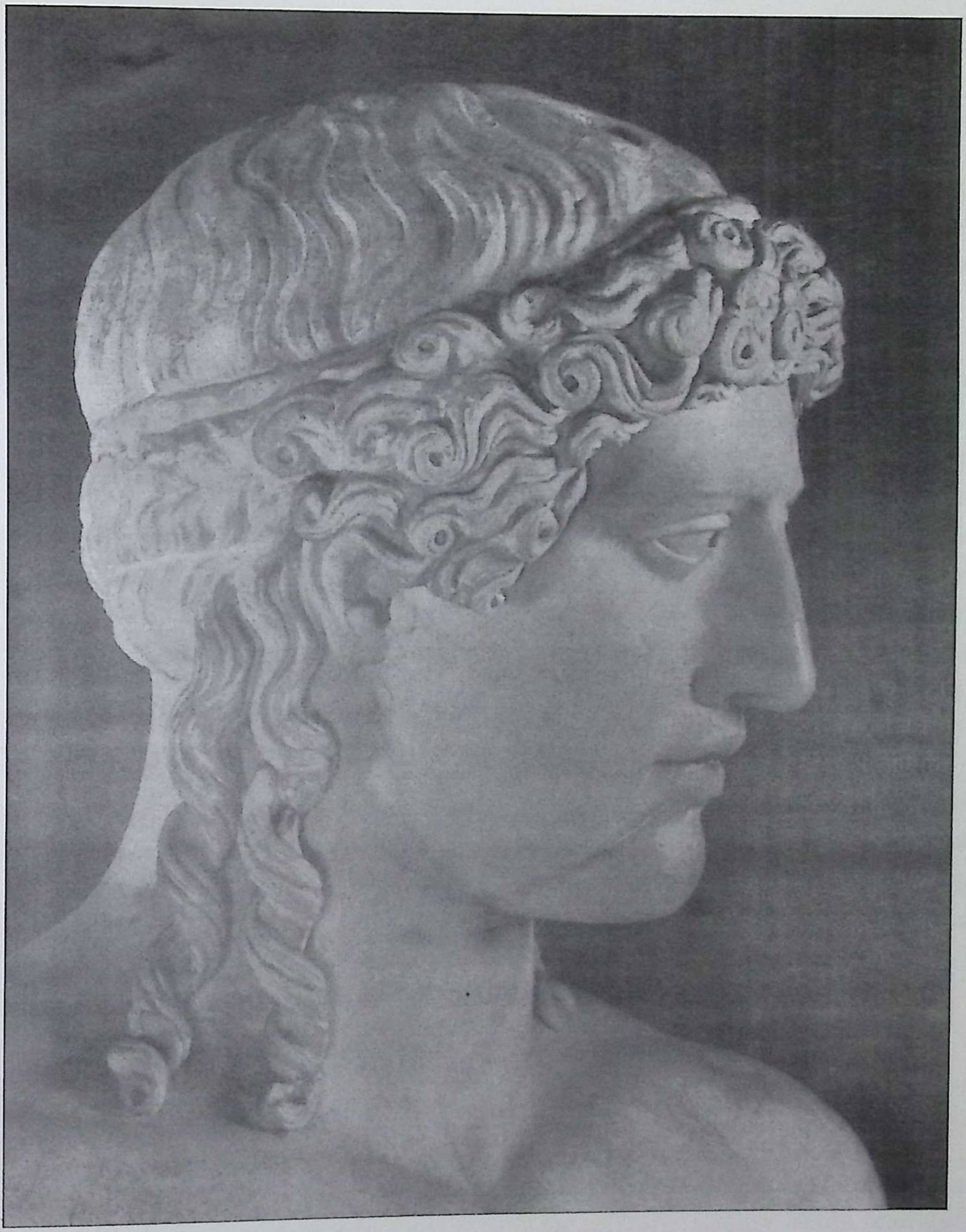
[1] In the Sanskritization Apalāla, the root *lal* means 'to caress, to fondle', but with the prefix *apa-* 'down' it denotes 'deterioration, inferiority' (MW). In the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, *lālaka* means 'a king's jester'.



Head of the statue of Apollo. Graeco-Roman work in the style of the 5th century BC (*Phidias*) in the Cassel Provincial Museum.

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National Museum, Acc. no.49.20/26.

4. PĀRAMITĀ'S TO CROSS THE WORLD OCEAN (भवसागर)

Buddhist terms have remained mysterious. Vajracchedikā was translated as "Diamond Cutter" by Max Müller in his *Buddhist Texts from Japan* (1884:13). *Chedikā* is parallel to Pali *vibhaṅga* in etymology and signifies 'analysis, classification'. Vajracchedikā means 'analysis or exposition of the absolute (vajra)'. The translation 'diamond cutter' is preposterous.

Pāramitā is not perfection. The word *pāramitā* has been translated as 'perfection' and related to the vṛddhi form of *parama* 'most distant, chief, highest point' (MW). MW cites *pārami*? 'extremity' from the Divyāvadāna. He translates *pāram-ita* 'gone to the opposite shore, traversed, transcendent (as spiritual knowledge) W'. He questions if *pāramitā* is for *°ta-tā*? He translates it as 'leading to the opposite shore, transcendental virtue'. The suffix *-tā* for forming absolute nouns is feminine but in Buddhism the feminine form itself served as the absolute noun; e.g. Pali *veramaṇī* (Skt. *vairamaṇī* in the *Bhikṣuṇī-karmavācanā*) is a noun as implied by its Sanskrit form *vairamaṇya* in the Lalitavistara.

Edgerton (1953:341) analyses *pārami* + *tā*, and derives *pārama* (*°mī*) from *parama*. According to him, the Tibetan rendering "*pha.rol.tu phyin.pa* 'going to the other shore' is a fantastic etymological rendering, as if from *pāraṁ* plus a form of root *i*".

The Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra (Müller 1984:3.50) ends with the mantra: "Therefore one ought to know the great verse of the great wisdom, the unsurpassed verse, the peerless verse, which appeases all pain—it is truth, because it is not false—the verse proclaimed in the Prajñāpāramitā: O wisdom, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svāhā!" (as translated by Max Müller):

तस्माज् ज्ञातव्यो प्रज्ञापारमिता-महामन्त्रो महाविद्यामन्त्रो
ऽनुत्तर-मन्त्रो ऽसमसम-मन्त्रः सर्व-दुःख-प्रशमनः
सत्यम् अमिथ्यत्वात् प्रज्ञापारमितायाम् उक्तो मन्त्रः।
तद्यथा
गते गते पार-गते पार-संगते बोधि स्वाहा।

This Sutra makes it clear that *pāram* is the first component of the word and *itā* is clearly indicated by *gate* and *saṅgate*. The four adjectives in the feminine vocative qualify Bodhi 'enlightenment', as Bodhi is a feminine noun. *Gate* occurs four times in the mantra, and *pāra* comes twice. The word *pāra* in *pāra-gate pāra-saṁgate* means 'the further bank or shore, ... the opposite side' in the Rigveda, *dūre pāre* 'at the farthest ends' RV (MW). In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, *pārakāma* is 'desirous of reaching the opposite bank'.

The idea of **crossing over the ocean of wordly existence**, known as *bhavajala*, *bhava-samudra*, *bhava-sāgara*, is to destroy the fetters of transmigration. The Bhagavad-Gītā terms Lord Kṛṣṇa as *bhava-mocana* 'one who releases from worldly existence'. The practice of six or ten pāramitās is to cross over the sufferings of worldly existence. Scholars so far have thought of 'perfection' as transcendence and derived *pāramitā* from *parama* 'supreme'. The concept of the world as an ocean did not occur to any one. Ocean in *bhava-sāgara* means immensity. This concept of the ocean was missed even in the fifth century when Buddhabhadra translated the Sea Sutra which should mean 'Sutra to cross over the [worldly] ocean by Buddhānusmṛti'. *Samādhi* (*san-mei*) was added in the Chinese title as a clarification.

The Sea Sutra has been designated as a *kuan sutra* by Soper (1959:184). They were the root texts of the meditative school, which became a "source of strength" for the representation of Śākyamuni in art. The title of the Sea Sutra is *Kuan-fo san-mei hai ching* 觀佛三昧海經 (Nj 430). Nanjio gives its literal Sanskrit rendering Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sutra. Soper translates it as "Sutra on the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy Attained by Visualizing the Buddha". The correct Sanskrit of Kuan-fo is Buddhānusmṛti, which is one of the six *anusmṛti*: *Buddhānu*°, *dharmānu*°, *saṅghānu*°, *śīlānu*°, *tyāgānu*°, and *devatānu*° (Lalitavistara 31.18–22, Mahāvyutpatti 1184–94, Dharmasaṅgraha 54). *Anusmṛti* has been translated as 'mindfulness' by Edgerton. Apart from the lists, only *buddhānusmṛti* is found elsewhere, in Divyāvadāna 352.21, Avadāna-śataka 1.82.3, Suvarṇa-bhāsottama-sūtra 7.3, Gaṇḍavyūha 61.7. Mahāvastu 1.163.11 quotes *buddhānusmṛti* as the name of a *dharmaparyāya* 'recollection of Buddha(s)'. Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā 1443.6f adds four more and lists ten. In Pali texts, the *anussati* occur in several texts, esp. Visuddhimagga 197–228 (see *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* 1.226).

The Sutra was translated into Chinese by Buddhabhadra who had lived in Chi-pin, that is precisely the modern region of Doshi. Chi-pin is no longer Kashmir but has been identified by Prof. Willemen as a translation of the Indian name. *Chi* means 'blanket' and goes back to Sanskrit *duṣya* the divine woollen fabric, which gave the name to the city of modern Doshi. The translation was done in 420–23 CE. Soper opines that the Sutra was composed in SE Afghanistan in an "area that once had been Greek" (p.185), possibly in Nagarahāra where the Buddha triumphed over the "evil Nāga king" in whose cavern he deposited his shadow. Evil Nāga King reminds of Apalāla Nāgarāja. Apalāla is the Sanskritization of Apollo, and means the bad (*apa*) boy (*lāla*) (see pp.35–38). The worship of Apollo could have been ascendant in Nagarahāra and was obstructive in the spread of Buddhism. The local population was predominantly Buddhist and the Kushans had replaced the Greeks. The Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka says that he replaced the Greek language by Āryabhāṣā i.e. his Iranian language termed Bactrian by Western scholars. The shadow cave represented the victory of the local Buddhists and became a main attraction of pilgrims. Soper (p.185) thinks that Buddha's victory over the Nāga king has "the flavour of a late Iranian struggle between good and evil". The struggle against Hellenism in the NW has not been taken into account. It is clear in the Rabatak inscription and in *Apalāla-damana*.

The Sea Sutra describes the visualization of Buddha's body and his radiance beginning from the crown of the head to the feet, or in reverse order from the toes of the image going up to the rays from the top of the head (p.190). Visual images of the phenomenal body of the Buddha were a *sine qua non* for *anusmṛti*.

Caves (*guhā*) Atharvaveda 11.5.10 says that the treasures of sacred lore are hidden in a cave. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 11.2.6.5 equates the cave with the heart. In the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad 3.20 the microcosmic and macrocosmic soul resides in the *guhā* (*aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān ātmā guhāyām*). Caves were the deep, dark and oneiric places of meditation in Buddhism and naturally the shadow cave played a central role. In Srilanka endowment of caves goes back to the, third century BC (Paranavitāna 1970:cxxii). For caves see my 'Ellora as śūnyatā and rūpam' (LC.1990:72–80).

World Ocean in the Avataṁsaka. Buddhabhadra's translation of the Avataṁsaka (420–21 CE) places Rocana Buddha in the centre of the Ten Quarters in the realm called 'Lotus Blossom Womb Adornment *World Ocean*'. Each of the Ten Quarters are a galaxy in itself. The Quarters are called "Ocean". Rocana Buddha (Jap. Roshana Daibutsu) inhabits the Lotus Blossom Dais Womb *World Ocean* (Soper 1959:196). During a visit to the Tōdaiji with the late Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto in 1970, he asked me as to why no ocean is represented. I had no answer then. The answer has emerged after half a century, and the Chinese World Ocean is a translation of *bhavasāgara* connoting the ocean-like staggering immensity of our world of existence which has to be transcended by pāramitās.

In 1206 Temujin was crowned 'Monarch of *All* Mongols' by Uigur bhikṣus who gave him the coronation name Činggis Khan. Pelliot sees Činggis as a palatalised form of the Turkish *tengiz* 'ocean' and translates Činggis Khan as 'Oceanic Khan' or Universal Ruler. Here Ocean means World as immense as the ocean. The Uigurs knew Sansrit and are the only people in Central Asia to have written inscriptions in Sanskrit. They found the Turkic equivalent of the term *bhavasāgara* as most appropriate to name the Emperor in keeping with the majestic expanse of his imperium.

Simple for the causative. Pāramitā means 'one who has crossed over', but here it is used as a noun in the sense of a causative: it is not just the crossing over, but the pāramitās make the devotees cross over to the yonder shore. Buddhist Sanskrit has what Indian tradition calls *ārṣa* usages, which can and do deviate from the precise grammatical forms.

Prof. Rinchen began his catalogue of the Mongolian Tanjur in 1963 and would frequently ask questions about the Sanskrit titles of the texts and he was keen to know the meaning of the hundred syllabled dhāraṇī that occurs at the end of every volume.

ॐ वजसत्त्व समयमनुपालय। वज्रसत्त्वत्वेन प्रतिष्ठो दृढो मे भव।
सुतोष्यो मे भव। सुपोष्यो मे भव। सर्वसिद्धिं मे प्रयच्छ।
सर्वकर्मसु च मे चित्ते श्रियः कुरु हूं हः हः हः।
हो भगवन् सर्वतथागतवज्र मा मे मुञ्च।
वज्रि भव महासमयसत्त्व आः॥

The very first sentence is an injunction to Vajrasattva to observe the vows (*samaya*). It is contrary to the following invocations where the devotee prays to Vajrasattva to endrow him with happiness and health, success in all his doings, to make him dedicated in all his works, not to leave him alone and to make him resolute like a vajra in all his vows. So the first sentence has to be interpreted as a causative construction: Vajrasattva, make *me* resolute in observing the vows. The grammatical simple imperative has to be interpreted as a semantic causative: it does not signify '*you* do it' but it means 'give *me* strength to do it'.

Sanskrit words are parts of great cultural patterns reflecting unique ways of looking at the world. They are ripples of the mind across centuries and vibes of meditation specific to Indic perceptions.

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5. RIGVEDIC *MAUNEYA* DESIGNATES BUDDHA'S WAY IN THE MAHĀVASTU

In the Mahāvastu 3.386f, Nālaka Kātyāyana requests Bhagavān to ordain him. The Tathāgata invites brāhmaṇa Kātyāyana: *ehi bhikṣu* and that is both his initiation (*pravrajyā*) and ordination (*upasampadā*). Kātyāyana asks Gautama who is accomplished in all dharmas: what is *mauneya dharma*, the highest destiny? Bhagavān says: you ask about *mauneya* which is strenuous striving and difficult to attain. Become steadfast and firm, and I will tell you. Bhagavān explains the main *mauneya* practices in 22 stanzas: (i) to maintain equanimity and keep ill-will away, (ii) to abstain from sexual indulgence, (iii) to kill no one, (iv) to abandon desire and greed, (v) to go for alms and rejoice in whatever is offered, (vi) after the alms-round, to sit at the foot of a tree and meditate, (vii) to find joy in repose and solitude, (viii) to train oneself in modesty and restraint, (ix) what is empty makes a noise, what is full is silent, so to be wise, be moderate and observe silence, (x) one who does not speak much merits the stage of a *muni* (*mauna*) and attains sagehood (*mauna*) (Senart 1897:3.386–89 Nālapraśna, Jones 1956:3.384–88).

The Tathāgata defines His way as *mauneya*, a word that occurs only once in Sanskrit literature, in the third mantra of the Rigvedic hymn 10.136.3. This hymn is dedicated to the Keśins who are Agni, Sūrya and Vāyu. *Keśin* means 'having fine or long hair' (Atharvaveda, Ṛgveda). In Gandhara icons Lord Buddha's long hair are rolled up in large extra-size uṣṇīṣa. This mantra was envisioned by sage Viprajūti with the patronymic Vātaraśana. The mantra reads:

unmaditā mauneyena vātām̐ ā tasthimā vayam/
śarīr-ed-asmākaṁ yūyaṁ martāso abhi paśyatha//

It has been translated by Griffith 1.582 as follows:

Transported with our munihood we have pressed on into the winds,
you therefore, mortal men, behold our natural bodies no more.

Griffith adds a note: "The hymn shows the conception that by a life of sanctity the Muni can attain to the fellowship of the deities of the air, the Vāyus, the Rudras, the Apsarasas, and the Gandharvas; and furnished like them with wonderful powers, can travel along with them on their course ... ... The beautiful haired, the long-haired, that is to say, the Muni, who during the time of his austerities does not shave his hair, upholds fire, moisture, heaven, and earth, and resembles the world of light, ideas which the later literature so largely contains'—Von Roth, quoted by Dr. Muir, *Old Sanskrit Texts* IV.319."

The Rigvedic Keśins of the *mauneya* way were reflected in the Gandhara icons, where the long hair of Lord Buddha are rolled up in large extra-size uṣṇīṣa.

The hair of the Buddha are not shaved as per monastic rules, but are rolled up on top of the head in an *uṣṇīṣa*, in all the depictions. Following the tradition of munis (*mauneya*), the Buddha tied up the hair in the distinctive *uṣṇīṣa* style. *Vedic Index* 1.186 says: "The hair was a matter of great care to the Vedic Indian and several hymns of the Atharvaveda are directed to securing its plentiful growth." Rudra and Pūṣan wear braids (*kaparda*) in the Ṛgveda and Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā. "The Vasiṣṭhas were distinguished by wearing their hair in a plait on the right (*dakṣiṇatas-kaparda*, ibid.1.135). The three Keśin deities of RV.1.164.44 are Agni/Fire, Sūrya/Sun and Vāyu/ Wind (*trayaḥ keśinaḥ ṛtuthā vi cakṣata*). As steeds of Agni, they are rays, beams or flames, the kindled fire of the first yajña (RV.2.24.7), the source of Light. In the Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad 6.30 Sun's rays extend to the Brahma-world (Coomaraswamy 1935:13). "The seers are not 'individuals' (but seven rays of Agni's Light, cf. RV.2.5.2 and 10.62.5, ibid. p.29 n.19). "The language of the verses of the Suttanipāta is strongly reminiscent of Vedic texts (ibid. p.33 n.31). The *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha symbolises Him as the Keśin in the etymological meaning of 'having hair' and in the metaphoric Ṛgvedic sense of "Light", that is around Agni ... ... even as being yonder Sun" (ibid. p.34 n.38). He belonged to the *Sūrya-vaṁśa* or Solar dynasty.

From a simple ascetic way, *mauneya* developed into philosophical perfection. In Pali texts *moneyya* is "muni-hood, good character, moral perfection" (PED p.542). Cullaniddesa 514a defines *moneyyā dhammā* 'properties of a perfect character'. The word *muni* occurs frequently in the oldest poetical anthologies.Abhidhamma literature has several schedules of *muni* qualities revealed in the threefold division of action, speech and thought (*kāya*°, *vacī*°, *mano*-), and they attain a deeper quality of saintship in *kāya-moneyya*, *vacī-moneyya* and *mano-moneyya*. Cullaniddesa 514a gives a long exegesis of *muni*.

The *mauneya* tradition is reflected in naming the historic Tathāgata as Śākyamuni or Sage of the Śākyas. The name Śākyamuni occurs frequently in Sanskrit Buddhist texts, besides two Śākyamunis of the past, and three of the future (Edgerton 1953:525). Strangely, among Pali texts Śākyamuni occurs only in the Buddhavaṁsa 26.9 and Milindapañha 115 (Malalasekera). The PTSD records no other occurrence of this name.

Mahāvastu is the earliest Sanskrit biography of the Buddha. It is a book of the Vinayapiṭaka according to Lokottaravāda affiliated to the Mahāsāṅghika. "Biographies of the Buddha began as introduction to the monastic code" (PDB 2014:512). Herein, the Tathāgata or Bhagavān explains his way as a simple mode of the practice of sages without any Buddhist technical term. There is no *duḥkha* or eightfold noble path to overcome it, no impermanence (*anityatā*) or nirvāṇa, no *daśaśīla* or *triśikṣā*. Instead, Bhagavān designates it with a Rigvedic term *mauneya*. The *mauneya* tradition is reflected in Gandhara sculptures where the Buddha is shown as a stage in Hellenic monastic robes the then prevalent praxis and as a *keśin* or hair tied up in a conspicuous *uṣṇīṣa* (Marshall 1960:47), the right shoulder covered up (which should be open in the Buddhist vinaya), and with moustaches as a former royal. He is shown standing, or walking past as a wandering mendicant. Buddhist attributes developed over time. Sitting posture and hands in mudrās were introduced.

His right hand is in the abhaya mudrā of blessing the brāhman sitting in his hut (Marshall fig.66). He is seated in dhyāna-mudrā during the visit of Indra (fig.118). His hands are in the dharmacakra-mudrā in the miracle of Śrāvastī, the right shoulder is bare, and he sits in vajrāsana in Indian style (figs.87, 88).

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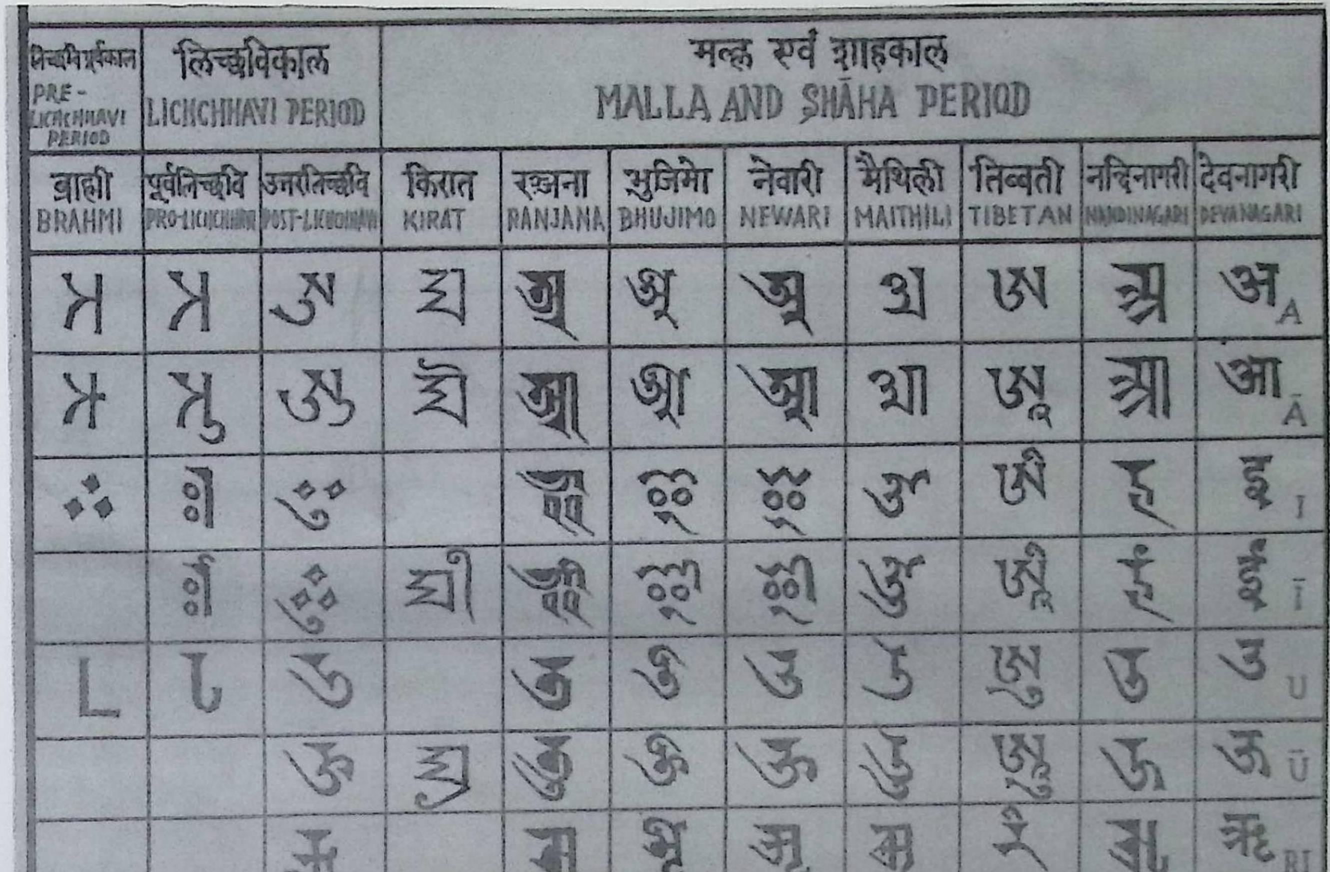
6. SCRIPTS OF NEPAL, INDIA, AND OVERSEAS

Shri Hemaraj Shakya, Epigraphist in the Department of Archaeology of Nepal, presented me a chart of the evolution of the scripts prevalent there from Aśokan Brāhmī to modern times. It is important for certain forms which are found in the Alikali script manuals in Tibet and Mongolia.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लिच्छविकाल LICHCHHAVI PERIOD
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ब्राह्मी BRAHMI
पूर्वलिच्छवि PRO-LICHCHHAVI
उत्तरलिच्छवि POST-LICHCHHAVI
किरात KIRAT
रञ्जना RANJANA
भुजिमो BHUJIMO
नेवारी NEWARI
मैथिली MAITHILI
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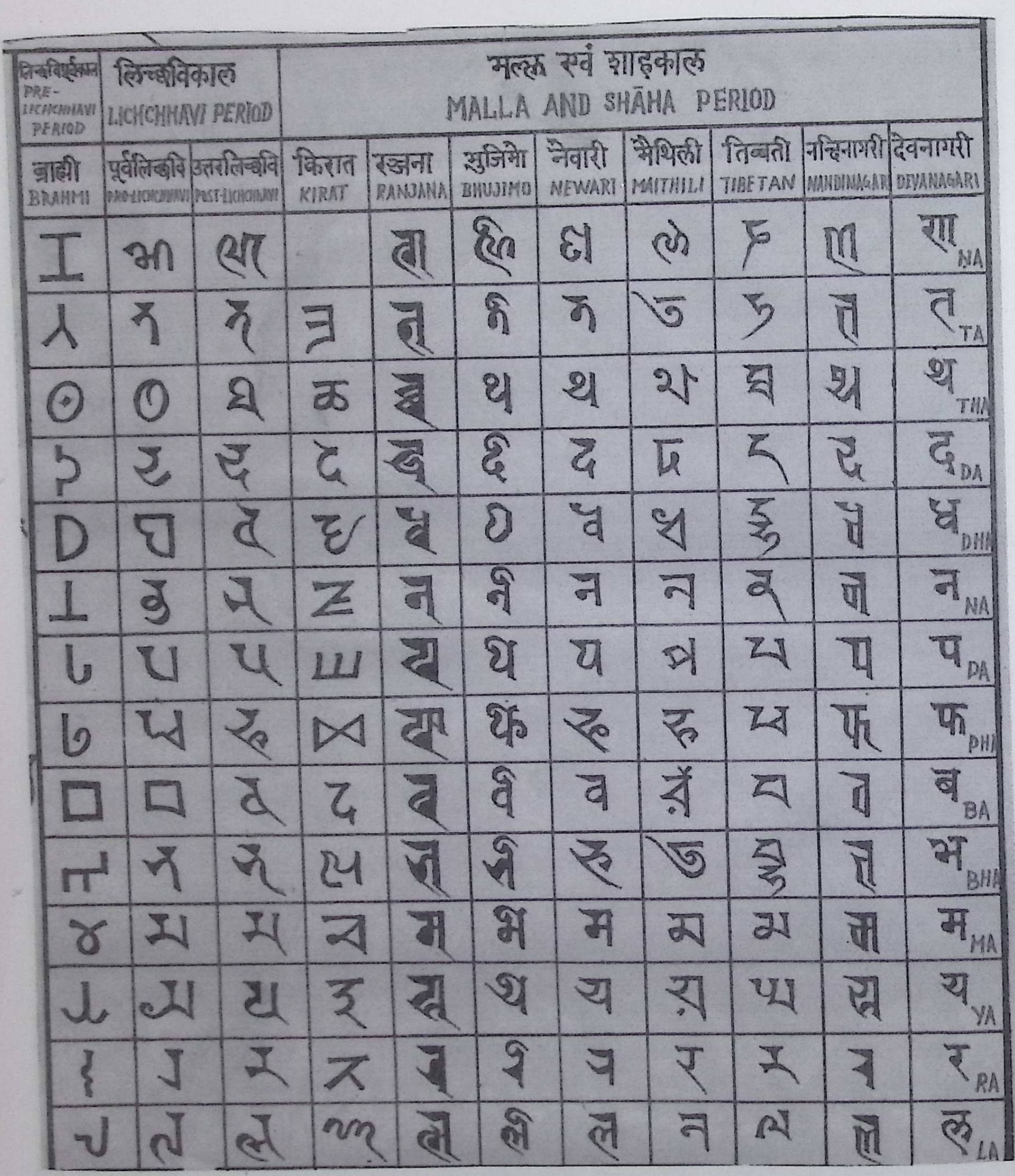
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मल्ल एवं शाहकाल
MALLA AND SHĀHA PERIOD
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पूर्वलिच्छवि
PRE-LICHCHHAVI
उत्तरलिच्छवि
POST-LICHCHHAVI
किरात
KIRAT
रञ्जना
RANJANA
भुजिमो
BHUJIMO
नेवारी
NEWARI
मैथिली
MAITHILI
तिब्बती
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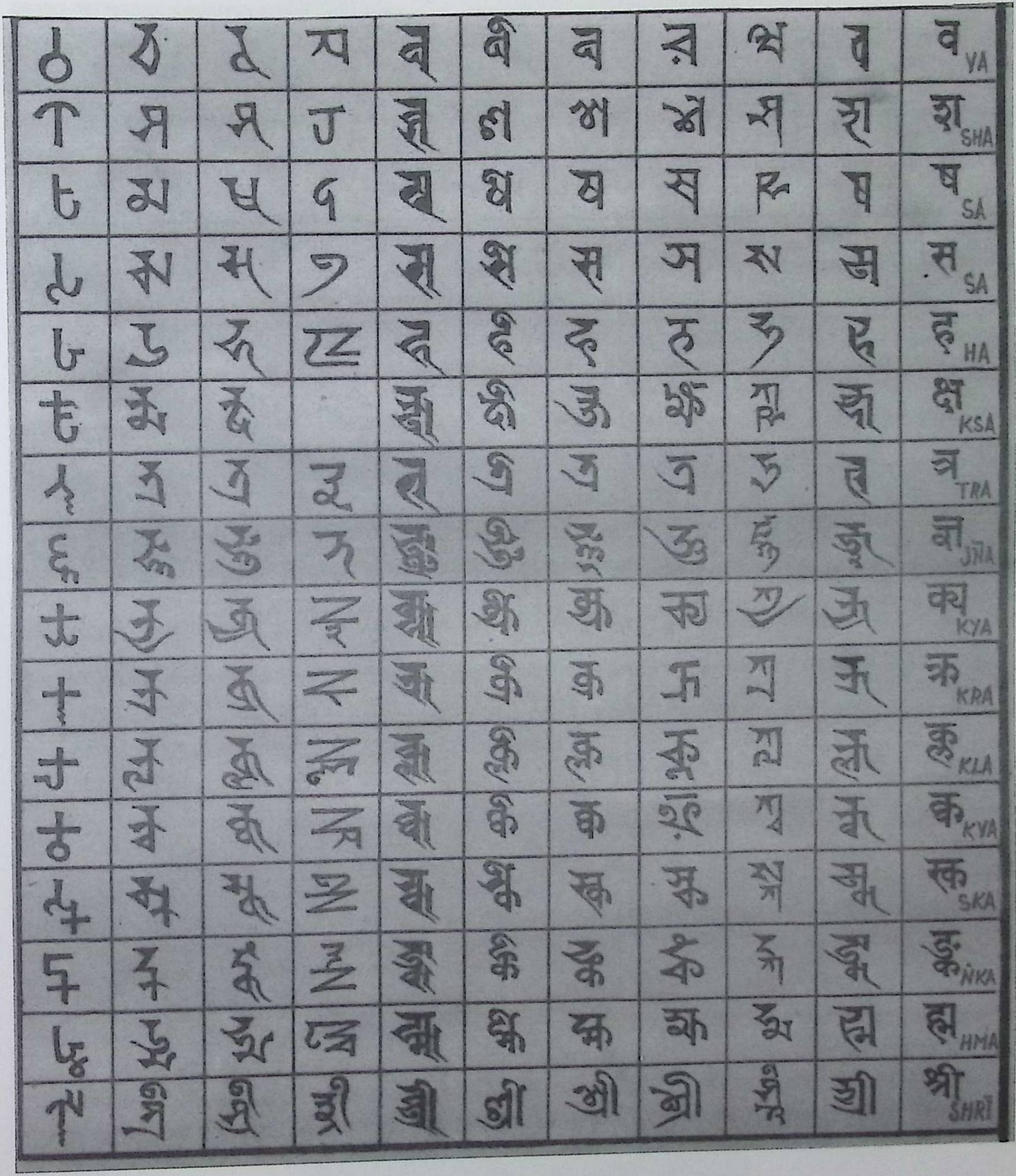
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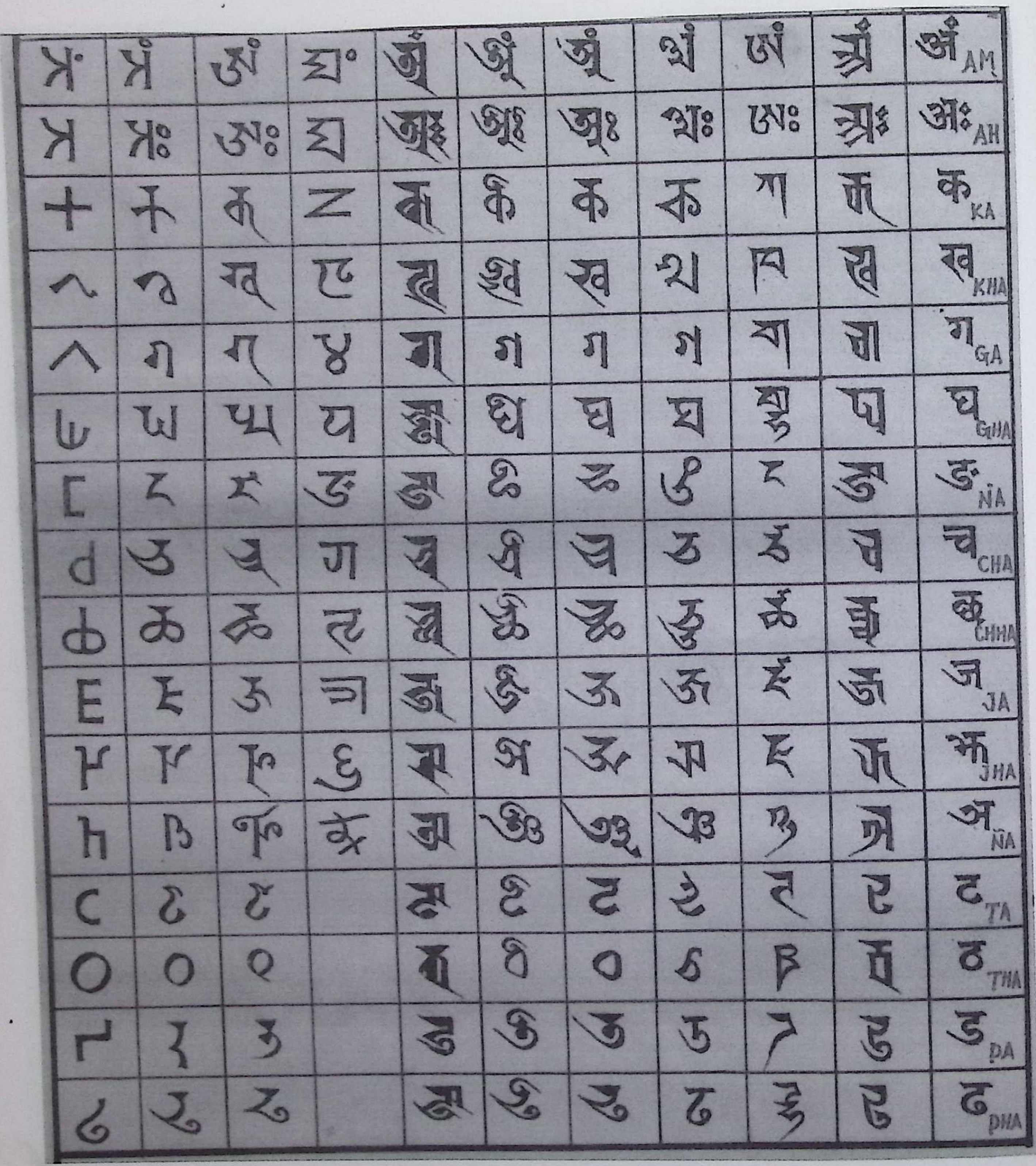
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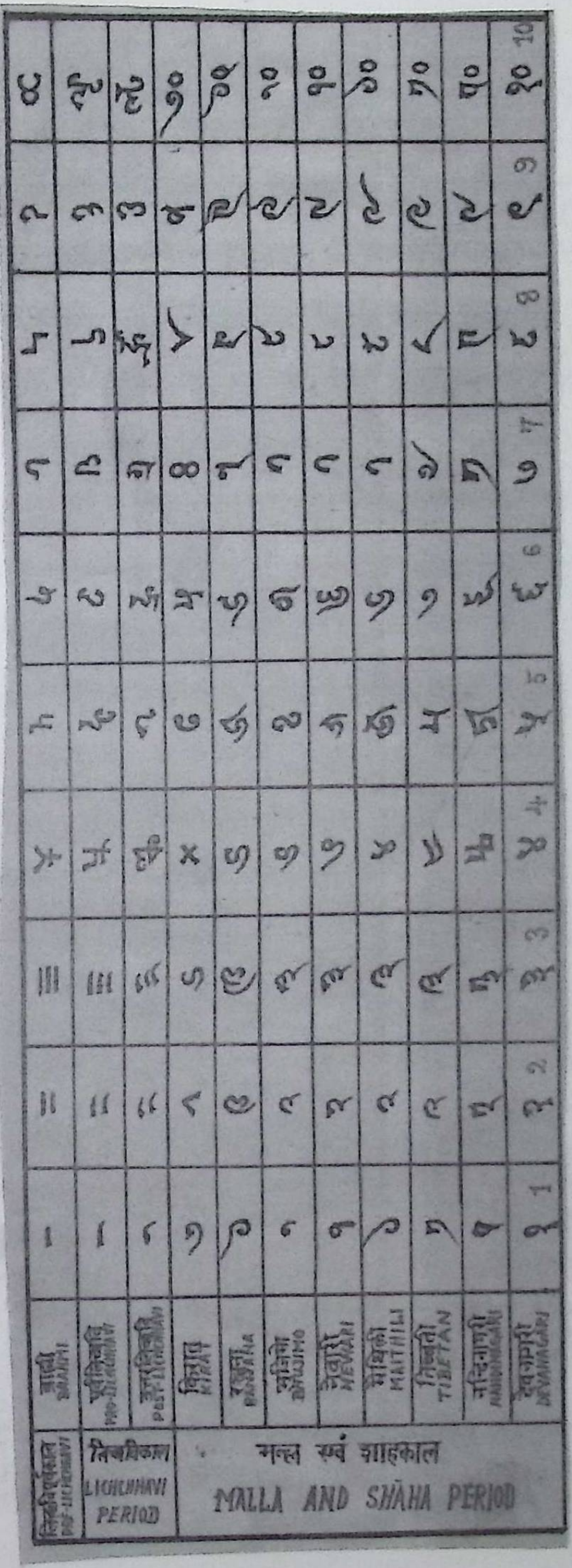
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ब्राह्मी BRAHMI
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उत्तरलिच्छवि POST-LICHCHHAVI
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रञ्जना RANJANA
भुजिमो BHUJIMO
नेवारी NEWARI
मैथिली MAITHILI
तिब्बती TIBETAN
नन्दिनागरी NANDINAGARI
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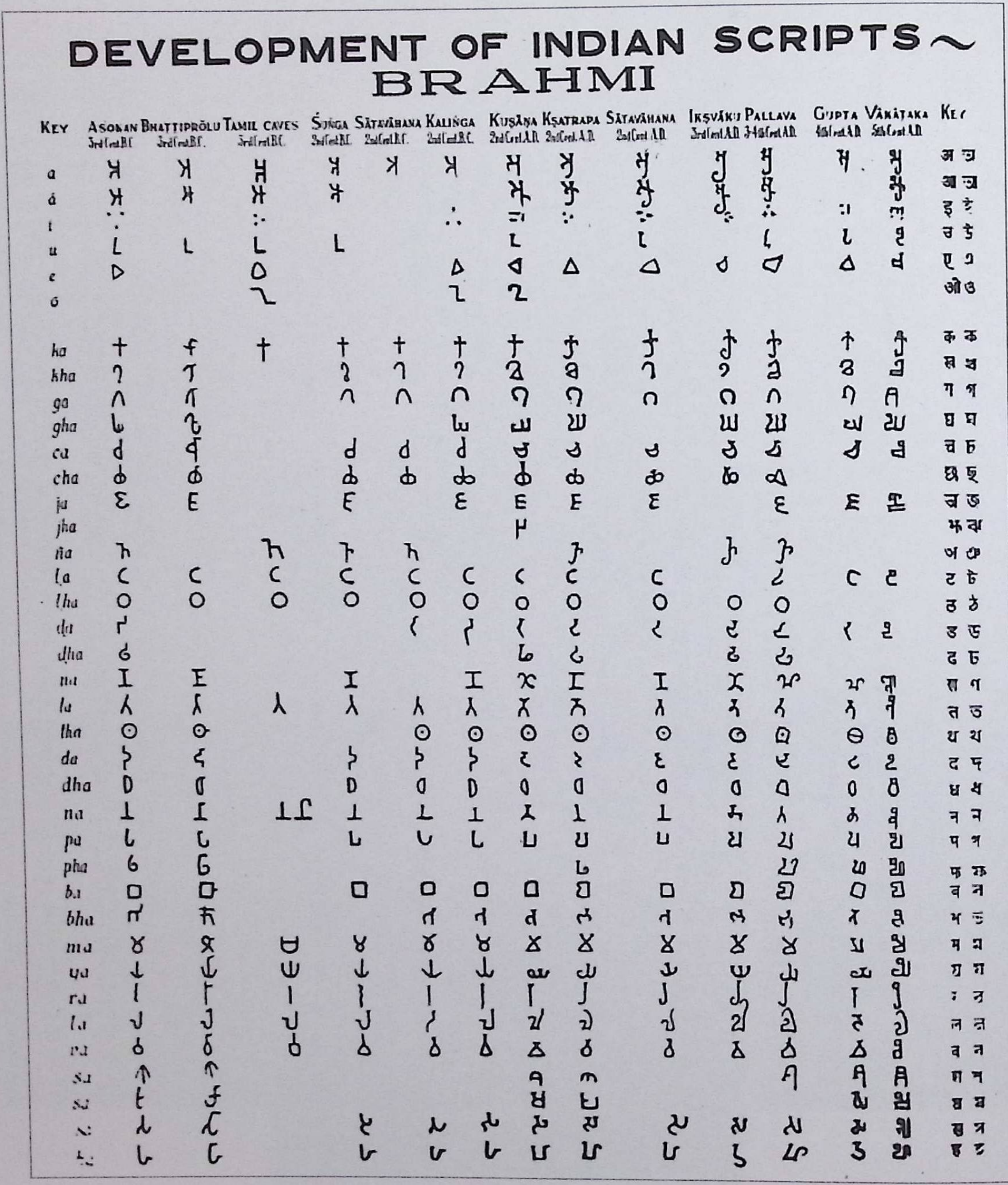
7. DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS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BHATTIPRŌLU 3rd Cent. B.C.
TAMIL CAVES 3rd Cent. B.C.
ŚUṄGA 2nd Cent. B.C.
SĀTAVĀHANA 2nd Cent. B.C.
KALIṄGA 2nd Cent. B.C.
KUṢĀṆA 2nd Cent. A.D.
KṢATRAPA 2nd Cent. A.D.
SĀTAVĀHANA 2nd Cent. A.D.
IKṢVĀKU 3rd Cent. A.D.
PALLAVA 3-4th Cent. A.D.
GUPTA 4th Cent. A.D.
VĀKĀṬAKA 5th Cent. A.D.
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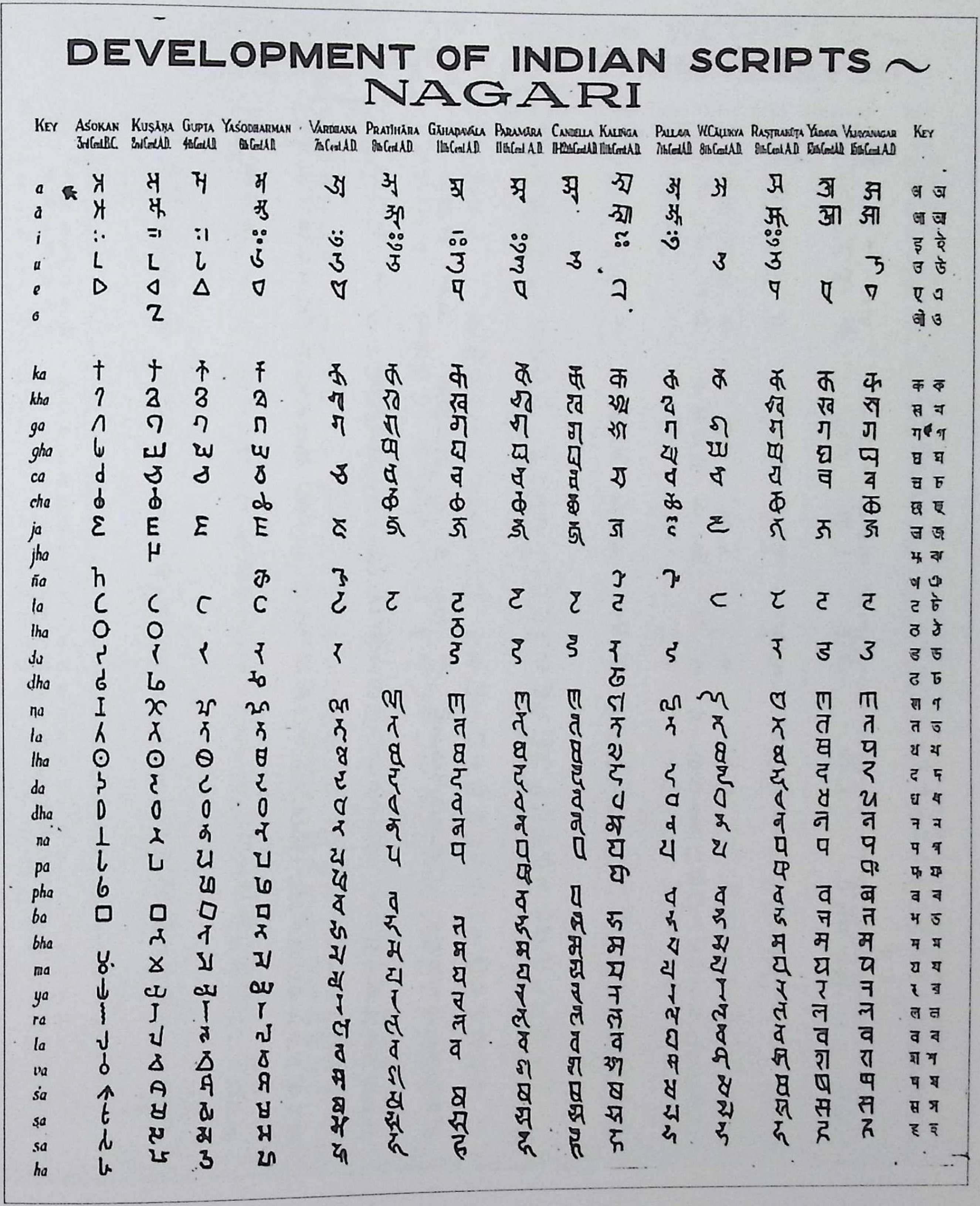
DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS ~ NAGARI
KEY
ASOKAN 3rd Cent. B.C.
KUṢĀṆA 2nd Cent. A.D.
GUPTA 4th Cent. A.D.
YAŚODHARMAN 6th Cent. A.D.
VARDHANA 7th Cent. A.D.
PRATIHĀRA 8th Cent. A.D.
GĀHAḌAVĀLA 11th Cent. A.D.
PARAMĀRA 11th Cent. A.D.
CANDELLA 11-12th Cent. A.D.
KALIṄGA 11th Cent. A.D.
PALLAVA 7th Cent. A.D.
W. CĀLUKYA 8th Cent. A.D.
RAṢṬRAKŪṬA 9th Cent. A.D.
YĀDAVA 13th Cent. A.D.
VIJAYANAGAR 15th Cent. A.D.
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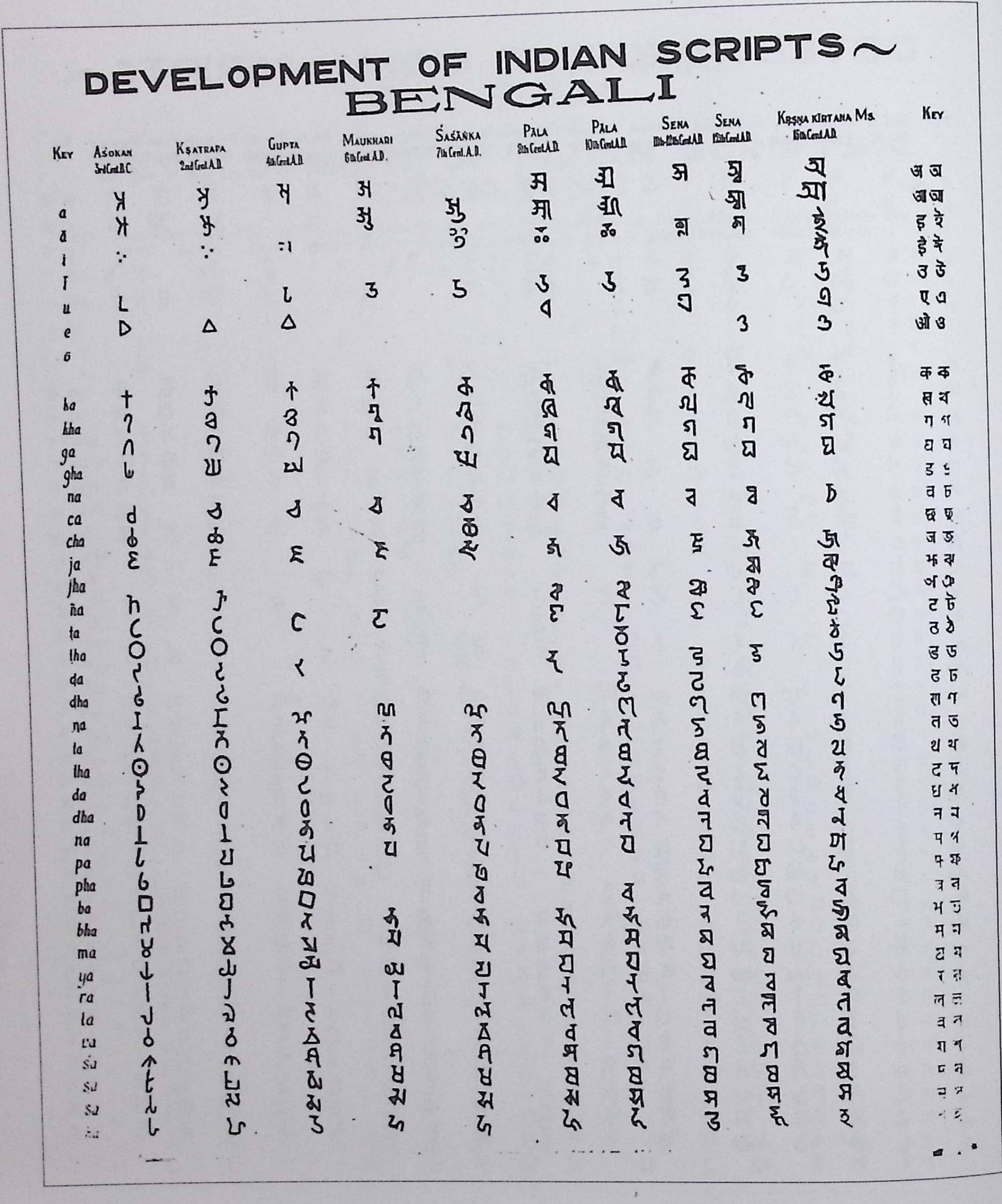
DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS ~ BENGALI
Key
Aśokan 3rd Cent. B.C.
Kṣatrapa 2nd Cent. A.D.
Gupta 4th Cent. A.D.
Maukhari 6th Cent. A.D.
Śaśāṅka 7th Cent. A.D.
Pāla 8th Cent. A.D.
Pāla 10th Cent. A.D.
Sena 11th-12th Cent. A.D.
Sena 12th Cent. A.D.
Kṛṣṇa Kīrtana Ms. 15th Cent. A.D.
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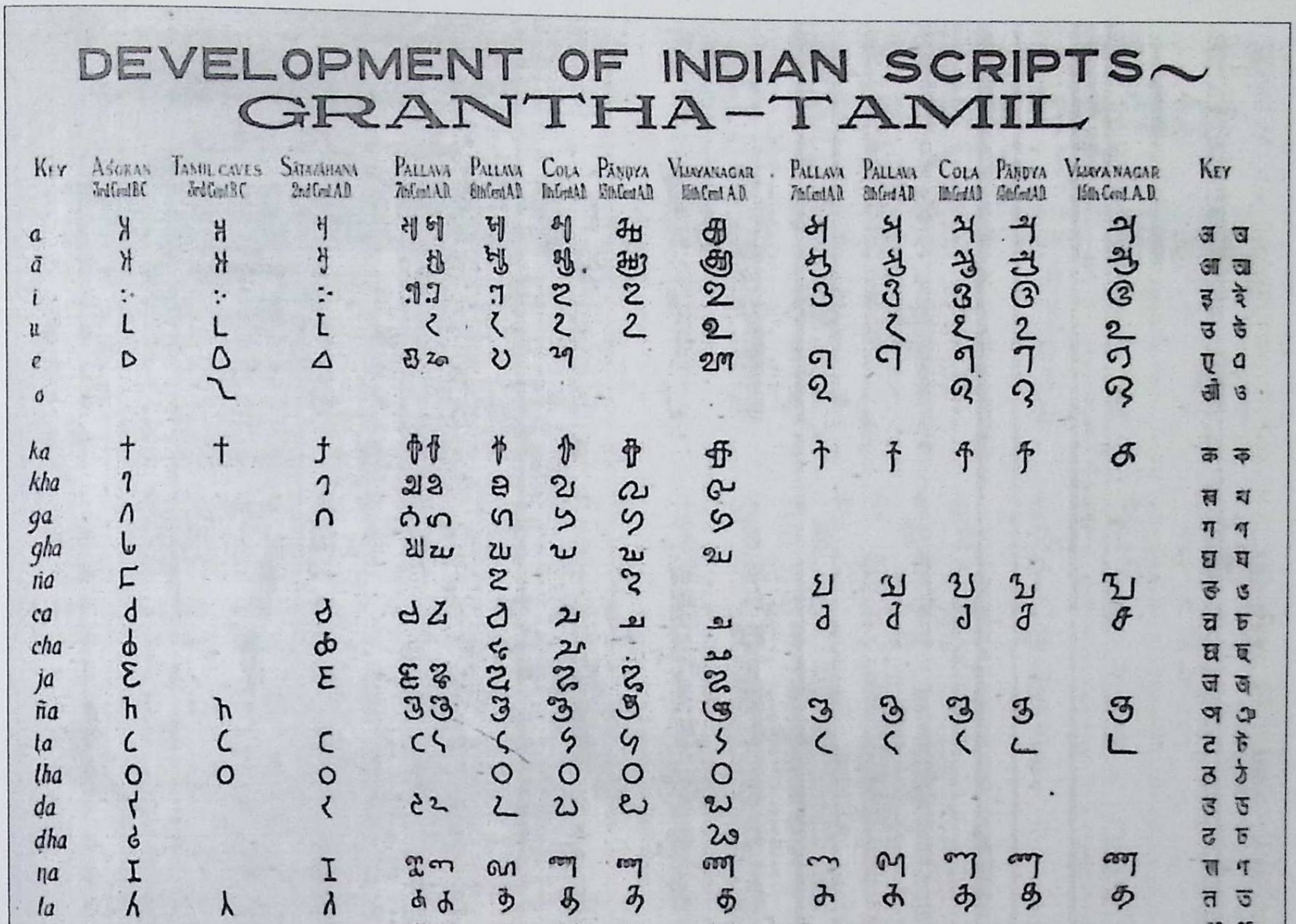
DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS~
GRANTHA-TAMIL
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TAMIL CAVES 3rd Cent. B.C.
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COLA 11th Cent. A.D.
PĀṆḌYA 13th Cent. A.D.
VIJAYANAGAR 16th Cent. A.D.
PALLAVA 7th Cent. A.D.
PALLAVA 8th Cent. A.D.
COLA 11th Cent. A.D.
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VIJAYANAGAR 16th Cent. A.D.
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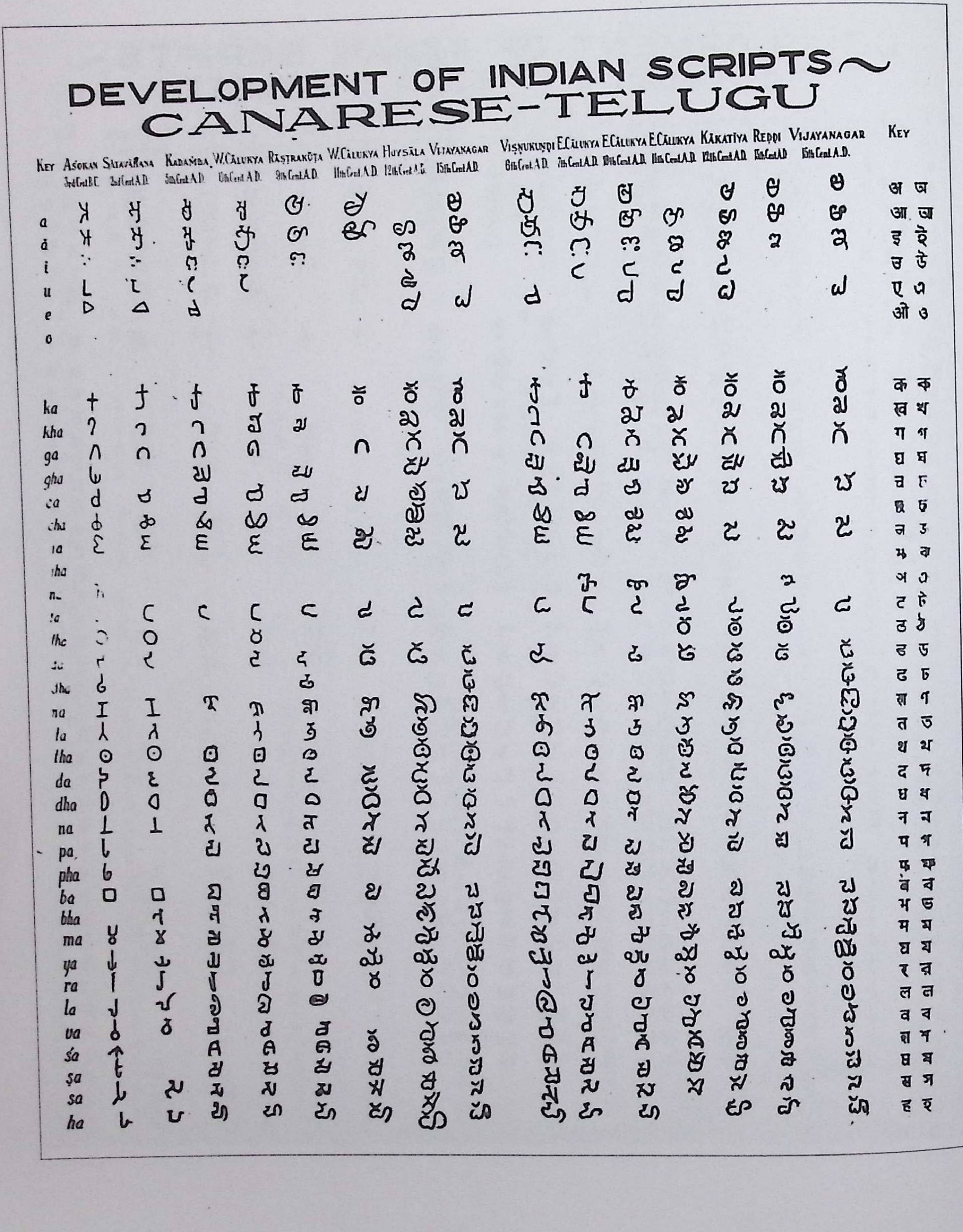
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CANARESE-TELUGU
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Sātavāhana 2nd Cent A.D.
Kadamba 5th Cent A.D.
W. Cālukya 6th Cent A.D.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa 9th Cent A.D.
W. Cālukya 11th Cent A.D.
Hoysāla 12th Cent A.D.
Vijayanagar 15th Cent A.D.
Viṣṇukuṇḍi 6th Cent A.D.
E. Cālukya 7th Cent A.D.
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Kākatīya 12th Cent A.D.
Reḍḍi 14th Cent A.D.
Vijayanagar 15th Cent A.D.
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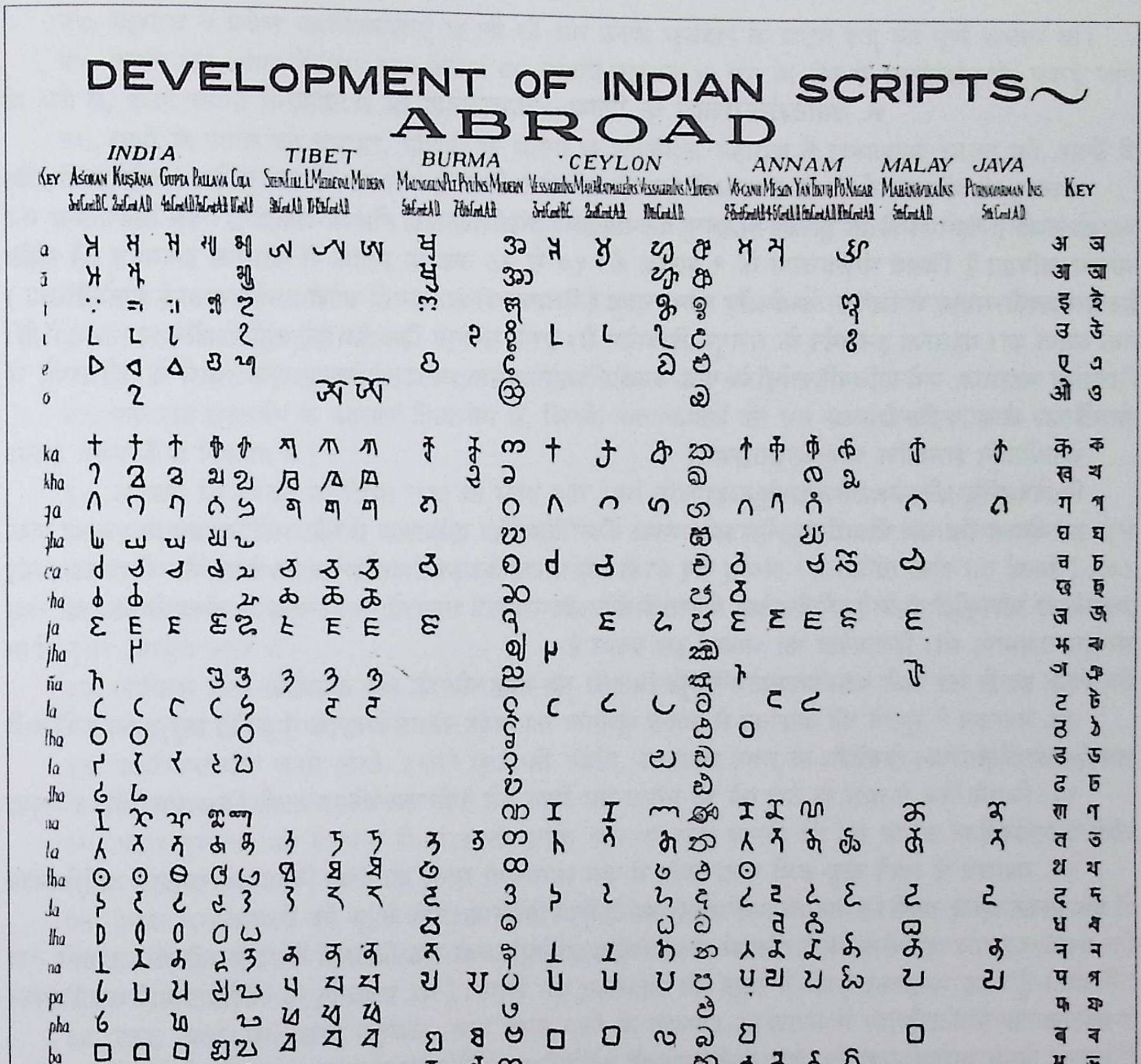

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN SCRIPTS~ ABROAD

INDIA
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CEYLON
ANNAM
MALAY
JAVA
KEY
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Kuṣāna
Gupta
Pallava
Cola
Modern
Maungun
Modern
Modern
Po Nagar
Mahānāvika Ins.
Pūrṇavarman Ins.
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8. आदिशंकराचार्य के शिष्य—कम्बुजदेश के शिवसोम

भगवान् श्री शंकराचार्य जी के सम्बन्ध में एक ही अभिलेख मिला है और वह भी कम्बुजदेश (कम्बोडिया) के 'कान्दोल थोम्' ग्राम में स्थित प्राचीन भद्रेश्वर के मंदिर में। इस शिलालेख में ४८ श्लोक हैं। इस शिलालेख का आरम्भ खण्डित है जिसमें मंगलाचरण के ९ श्लोक थे। १० से २८ तक के श्लोक में महाराजा इन्द्रवर्मन् की स्तुति है। ये यशस्वी सम्राट् थे जिनका प्रभावक्षेत्र चीन, चम्पा (वियतनाम का तटवर्ती प्रदेश) और जावा (इण्डोनीसिया) तक व्याप्त था। महाराजा इन्द्रवर्मन् के राजगुरु शिवसोम थे। इनके राजगुरु शिवसोम की स्तुति श्लोक २९-४२ में है। शिवसोम महाराजा जयेन्द्राधिपतिवर्मन् के पौत्र थे और उन्होंने भारत आकर भगवान् शंकराचार्य के श्रीचरणों में शास्त्रों का अध्ययन किया था।

येनाधीतानि शास्त्राणि भगवच्छङ्कराह्वयात्।
निःशेषसूरिमूर्धालिमालालीढांघ्रिपङ्कजात्॥

इस शिलालेख का भावार्थ स्थानीय खमेर भाषा में भी दिया है। खमेर अंश में मंदिर की स्थापना का काल शक ८०× (ईकाई का अंक खंडित है) अर्थात् सन् 878-887 बनता है। इससे आदिशंकराचार्य जी के जीवनकाल सन् 788-820 की पुष्टि होती है। शिलालेख पल्लव लिपि और संस्कृत भाषा में है। कम्बुज में चौदहवीं शताब्दी तक संस्कृत राजभाषा थी। शिलालेख का भावार्थ इस प्रकार है—

१३. हर से मारे जाने पर ... कामदेव विमूढ विलपते रहे—यह क्या है, वह क्या है?

१४. महाराज ने सूखने की आशंका से अपनी सुभगता का अमृत संसार के हृदय में अर्पित कर डाला, जो नारी नयन सतत अतृप्त पान करते हैं।

१५. जिसके तेज ने तारों के तेज को भी परास्त कर दिया उसे देख कालाग्नि रुद्र भी नित्य आशंकित हो मुख नीचे कर लेते हैं।

१६. महाराज ने अपने बाहु-रूपी मन्दर-पर्वत से जब भाग्यरूपी सागर का मंथन किया तब समुद्र ने कर के रूप में अपनी गहराई दे डाली। (महाराज को समुद्र-पार देशों के नरेश कर देते थे)।

१७. महाराज की सेनाओं के प्रयाण से अंधाधुंध उठी धूलि जो सब दिशाओं में फैल रही थी, उसको देश "मैं छोटी हूं" यह समझकर पृथ्वी ने समुद्र को आत्मसात् कर लिया। [यह इन्द्रवर्मन् के लोलेई ग्राम स्थित विशाल इन्द्रतटाक का संकेत है]

१८. महाराज ने शत्रुपक्ष के मदमत्त हस्ति-कुम्भों को जैसे भग्न किया उनसे प्राप्त मुक्तावलियां कर-स्वरूप प्राप्त हुईं। मानो शत्रुओं की लक्ष्मी-वेश्या महाराज के पीछे पीछे हो ली हो।

१९. अनुपम शक्ति से समस्त पृथ्वी के राजाओं को जीत कर, महाराज मेरुपर्वत के पास से निकलते हुए सूर्य का मानों उपहास कर रहे थे।

२०. चीन, चम्पा और जावा के राजाओं के उत्तुंग मस्तक पर महाराज की आशारूपिणी मालती पुष्पों की निर्मल माला विराजमान थी।

२१. इनके यज्ञाग्निहोत्र की धूमपंक्तियां, स्वर्ग-विजय की अग्रिम कीर्ति-ध्वजाओं के रूप में शोभायमान थीं।

२२. सुवर्णदान और संकल्पों की प्रचुर जल-धाराओं से आप्लावित पृथ्वी को कलियुग की अग्नि से दग्ध होने पर भी, वर्षाजलों का स्वागत करने की आवशयकता न होगी।

२३. महाराज की कीर्ति सतत संसार को आलोकित रखती है और मानों हंसती है कि सूर्य और चन्द्र तो बारी बारी से ही ज्योतित कर पाते हैं [किन्तु महाराज की कीर्ति संसार को सतत आलोकित रखती है]।

२४. महाराज ने यथेष्ट महत्त्वाकांक्षाएं पा ली थीं और उनके भुजबल के सदृश शत्रु का पूर्ण अभाव था।

२५. यद्यपि शत्रु जंगल में छिपा हुआ अज्ञात था, तथापि महाराज के यश के दीप से आलोकित हो, पकड़े जाने के भय से, उसने चरणों में शरण ले ली।

२६. गुणों के सागर को पारकर, पृथिवी के धारण से उल्लसित, महाराज ने राज्यलक्ष्मी धारण की, मानों वे दूसरे विष्णु हों।

२७. चारों ओर जगत् में गीयमान महाराज के गुणोत्कर्षों को सुनकर स्वयं भू भी अपनी सृष्टि-कुंशलता पर गर्वित हैं।

२८. दान के उपरान्त अवशिष्ट का सचाई से भोग करते हुए, समस्त पृथिवी की प्राप्ति के उदात्त रस का आनन्द लेते रहे और यह किसी प्रतिद्वन्द्वी को नहीं दिया।

[आचार्य शिवसोम, भगवान् आदिशंकराचार्य के शिष्य]

२९. महाराजा इन्द्रवर्मन् के आचार्य शिवसोम थे, जिनके चरणकमलों की सब आचार्य वन्दना करते थे और जो अनेक विद्याओं में निष्णात थे।

३०. आचार्य महेन्द्रपर्वत पर स्थित राजा के मामा और स्वयं नरेश श्री जयेन्द्राधिपतिवर्मन् के पौत्र थे।

३१. इनके चरणों पर अनेक वयोवृद्ध तपस्वियों की अरुण जटाएं झुकती थीं जिनकी अरुणिमा ऐसे शोभायमान थी मानों ध्यानाभ्यास की अग्निज्वालाएं प्रभासित हों।

३२. जिनने समस्त शास्त्र-सागर का पान किया, राग-रूपी पर्वत को स्तब्ध किया, सदा दक्षिणाचार में संलग्न, मानों दूसरे अगस्त्य ऋषि थे।

३३. लौकिक फल-प्राप्ति के प्रति उदासीन होते हुए भी, उनकी वृत्ति आध्यात्मिक फलों का संचय करने की थी। विद्या से सुपुष्ट होते हुए भी, तप से कृश थे।

३४. ऊर्ध्वगामी योग करते-करते, इनकी मूर्धा की ज्योति, अन्तस्तम तमस् के ध्वस्त हो जाने से विमल होकर, ज्ञानाग्नि की ज्वाला के समान आलोकित थी।

३५. परम पुण्यता की कामना से सरस्वती इनके मुख में सदा बसती थी जो पावन आचार्य-गणों का अभिव्यक्ति-द्वार था।

३६. इनके चरणकमलों की धूलि स्पर्श करके ही मनुष्य सब तीर्थों के अभिषेक की फल-प्राप्ति मानते थे।

३७. इस विषम संसार में लोकोपकारी आचार्य की शुद्ध मति, सब के प्रति सम थी, जो गगनारूढ चन्द्रमा की भांति सर्वत्र व्याप्त थी।

३८. दया, त्याग, धैर्य, क्षमा, शुचिता, सत्य आदि गुणों के एकमात्र आधार मानों विधाता ने ही बनाए हों।

३९. जिनके चरणकमल समस्त मनीषियों की मूर्धा-पंक्ति से समादृत थे, ऐसे भगवान् शंकराचार्य जी से इन्होंने शास्त्रों का अध्ययन किया था।

४०. इनके गुरु भगवान् रुद्र (शंकराचार्य जी) थे, जो समस्त विद्याओं का एकमात्र निधान थे, वेदों के ज्ञाता, ब्राह्मणकुल में उत्पन्न, मानों दूसरे रुद्र हों।

४१. विद्या-सम्पन्न और वयो-वृद्ध अन्य मनीषियों की भी सेवा कर, इन्होंने (आचार्य शिवसोम ने) तर्क, काव्य, आदि से विकसित, प्रखर बुद्धि प्राप्त की।

४२. पुराण, महाभारत, शैव शास्त्र, व्याकरण, आदि समस्त शास्त्रों में इतने कुशल थे मानों स्वयं इनके रचयिता हों।

४३. राजा श्रीइन्द्रवर्मन् ने ... छत्र-प्रदान आदि से इनके अनेक सम्मान किए।

THE PRASAT KANDOL DOM INSCRIPTION from Cambodia dated AD 878–887 mentions Śaṅkarācārya in stanzas 39, 40 as contemporary

13. Kāma slain by Hara ... became incoherent in bewilderment: 'what is this?' 'what is that'.

14. Apprehensive of its drying up, he (the King) placed in the hearts of creatures the ambrosia of his charm, drunk insatiably by the eyes of ladies.

15. Having considered his (king's) refulgence, which surpasses the refulgence of the refulgent stars, Rudra of the destructive fires, takes fright, and lowers his head even now.

16. In awe of submitting to his arms—as the Mandara—so that they do not churn it again to extract its essence of fortune, the ocean gave him its depths in the guise of tribute.

17. "The dusts raised by his armies in march spread in all directions diminish me": with this in mind the earth accepted the ocean as one of its members (i.e. the vast reservoir at Lolei was constructed).

18. Fearful of having to pay tribute, the Fortune of enemies, like a courtesan, followed this (King) whose hands played with pearls detached from the frontal protuberances of elephants in combat.

19. King of the entire earth, which he had conquered by his unparallelled prowess, upto the flanks of Mount Meru, mocked as it were the sun in its diurnal course.

20. On the lordly heads of the rulers of China, Champa and Java, his commands appear as crowns, spotless like garlands of jasmine.

21. The tiers of fumes emanating from his oblations to Agni during yajñas, shone in the sky, like standards heralding his renown in anticipation of his conquering march towards the heavens.

22. Inundated by the abundant flow of water from [saṅkalpa rites] for his donations of gold and other riches, the earth, even when consumed by cataclysmic fires, is not concerned, I think, about flows from the heavens (i.e. rains).

23. His renown spreads its splendour constantly over the world, and mocks as it were the sun and the moon who illumine but by turns.

24. The King who had realised his wishes to satiety, was now at pains to find an adversary who could measure up to the baton of his arms.

25. The enemy, though he had hid in the obscurity of the forest, illumined by the lamp of his glory, came (to seek refuge) at his feet, afraid of being captured anew.

26. Having traversed the ocean of virtues, joyed at governing the earth, he continually sustained Lakṣmī as if he were another four-armed Viṣṇu.

27. Hearing the eminence of his virtues being sung all over the world, Svayambhu himself now has a high opinion of the excellence of his creation.

28. True to his vow to enjoy what remains after charities, he relished the delectable which is the conquest of the entire earth and did not squander it away.

29. He had an ācārya, named Śivasoma, whose lotus-feet merited the veneration of all ācāryas, and who was versed in all disciplines.

30. He (Śivasoma) was the grandson of king Śrī Jayendrādhipativarman, the maternal uncle of the king who had established himself on Mount Mahendra (i.e. Jayavarman II).

31. His feet shone like the aurora by the chignons of several ageing ascetics, as if licked by flames issuing from the fire of meditation practised by them.

32. Drinking up the entire ocean of śāstras, restraining the mountain of passions, always of right conduct, he was like another Agastya.

33. Though his mind was devoid of the desire of (material) profits, he was engaged in a profession full of (spiritual) benefits. Though full-fledged in learning, he was emaciated by asceticism.

34. The rays that emanated from his head as he practised yoga glittered like the flames of the fire of knowledge, that burnt up and cleared internal obscurities.

35. His mouth was a gate for the exit of a multitude of saintly wisdoms, wherein Sarasvatī (Eloquence) resided in permanence, with the desire to acquire greater sanctity.

36. Just by touching the dust (pollen) of his lotus-feet, people felt to have reaped the merits of bathing in all the sacred places of pilgrimage.

37. In this inconstant world, the pure spirit of this (sage), which had only public good in view, was constant like the light of the moon arisen in the sky.

38. He was created by the Creator to serve as a unique receptacle of virtues of compassion, liberality, constance, patience, purity, truth and so on.

39. He studied the śāstras from Bhagavān **Śaṅkarācārya** himself, whose lotus-feet were resorted to by rows of all prominent scholars.

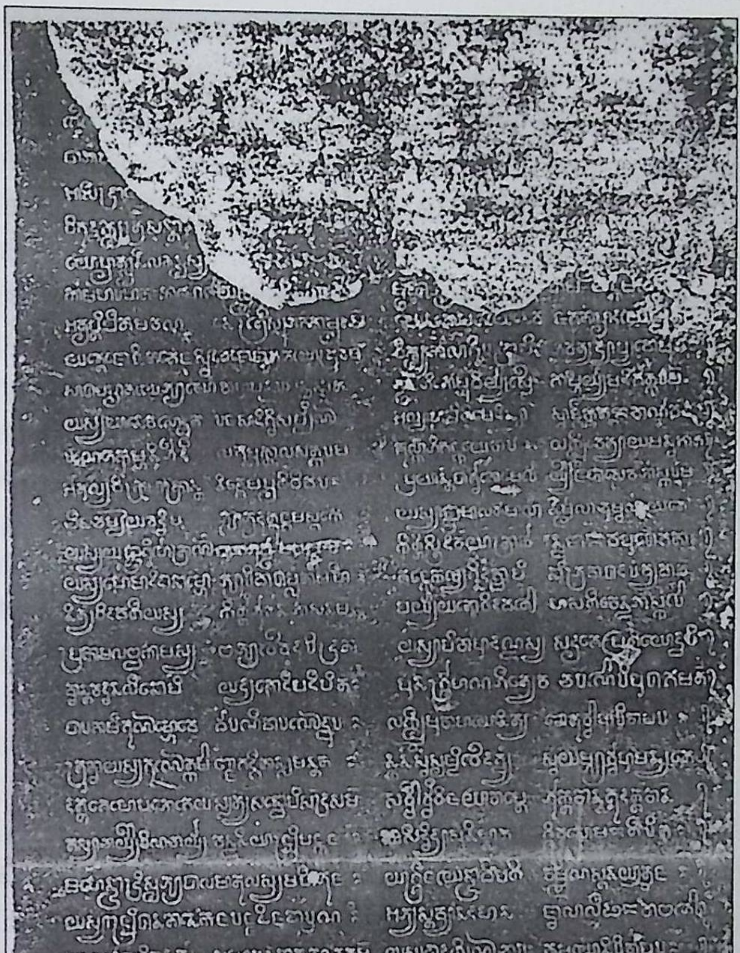
40. His teacher was Bhagavān Rudra (= Śaṅkarācārya), unique receptacle of all disciplines, learned in the Vedas, born in a Brahmin family, and verily another Rudra.

41. Having served other savants too, versed in learning and matured in years, he (Śivasoma) acquired a clear intelligence, founded on logic, rhetoric and other sciences.

42. He was an expert in Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, all Śaiva texts, grammar and other śāstras, as if he himself was their author.

43. ... from King Śrī Indravarman --- he received the donation of a parasol and other protocols of distinction.

कामं हरहतः कामो यस्मि ◡ ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡। मूढाभू ◡ ◡ – – ◡ किमयङ्किमसाविति॥ १३॥
अतृप्तिपीतमवलानेत्रैस् सुभगतामृतम्। येन शोषभयेनेव जगतां हृदयेर्प्पितम्॥ १४॥
यत्तेजो जिततेस्वितेजोजातभयो ध्रुवम्। वीक्ष्य कालाग्निरुद्रोपि भवत्यद्याप्यधोमुखः॥ १५॥
सारापहृतये भूयो बाहुमन्दरमन्थनात्। नूनं भीतोम्बुधिर्य्यस्मै गाम्भीर्य्यमदिशत् करम्॥ १६॥
यस्य याने बलोद्धूतरजसा दिग्विसर्प्पिणा। अल्पाहमिति मेदिन्या स्वाङ्गीकृत इवार्ण्णवः॥ १७॥
रणेभकुम्भनिर्भेदलग्नमुक्तालसत्करम्। शुल्काभिशङ्क्येवारिलक्ष्मीवेश्या समन्वगात्॥ १८॥
अतुल्यविक्रमाक्रान्तनिश्शेषपृथिवीधरः। प्रयान्तं पार्श्वतो मेरोर्य्यो जहासेव भास्करम्॥ १९॥
चीनचम्पायवद्वीपभूभृदुत्तुङ्गमस्तके। यस्याज्ञा मालतीमालानिर्म्मला चुम्बलायते॥ २०॥
यस्य यज्ञाग्निहोत्राणां खे बभुर्धूमपंक्तयः। कीर्त्तेस्त्रिदिवयात्रार्थन् ध्वजा इव पुरोगताः॥ २१॥
यस्य हेमादिदानाम्भोभूरिधाराप्लुता मही। शङ्के कल्पाग्निदग्धापि नाभ्रधारादरं व्यधात्॥ २२॥
नित्यं विदधती यस्य कीर्त्तिर्भुवनभासनम्। पर्य्यायतो विदधतौ हसतीवेन्दुभास्करौ॥ २३॥
प्रकामलब्धकामस्य बभूवैव दरिद्रता। यस्यापि बाहुदण्डस्य सदृशे प्रतियोद्धरि॥ २४॥
ध्वान्तवद्वनलीनोपि यद्यशोदीपदीपितः। पुनर्ग्रहणभीत्येव चरणौ रिपुरागमत्॥ २५॥
पारगामी गुणाम्भोधेर्धरणीधारणोद्धुरः। लक्ष्मीमुवाह यो नित्यञ्चतुर्ब्बाहुरिवापरः॥ २६॥
श्रुत्वा यस्य गुणोत्कर्षाञ्जगद्गीतान् समन्ततः। नूनं स्वं सृष्टिवैदग्ध्यं स्वयम्भूर्ब्बहुमन्यते॥ २७॥
दत्तशेषोपभोगे यस् सत्यसन्धोपि सद्रसम्। सर्वोर्व्वीविजयावाप्तेर्भुक्तवान् न तु दत्तवान्॥ २८॥
तस्याचार्य्योखिलाचार्य्यवन्दनीयाङ्घ्रिपङ्कजः। आसीद्विद्यासु निष्णातश् शिवसोम इतीरितः॥ २९॥
महेन्द्राद्रिस्थभूपालमातुलस्य महीभुजः। यश् श्रीजयेन्द्राधिपतिवर्म्मणस्तनयात्मजः॥ ३०॥
यस्याङ्घ्रिरानतानेकजरज्जटिजटारुणः। अभ्यस्तध्यानदहनज्वालालीढ इवाबभौ॥ ३१॥
शास्त्रार्ण्णवं पिबन् कृत्स्नं स्तम्भयन् रागभूभृतम्। यस् सदा दक्षिणाचारः कुम्भयोनिरिवापरः॥ ३२॥
फलनिस्स्पृहचित्तोपि फलसञ्चितवृत्तिमान्। विद्यया यस् सुपीनोपि तपसा कृशतङ्गतः॥ ३३॥
योगं विदधतो यस्य मूर्द्धतो ज्योतिरूर्ध्वगम्। दग्धान्तर्ध्वान्तनिर्धौत ज्ञानाग्न्यर्च्चिरिवाबभौ॥ ३४॥
पवित्रतीर्थसन्दोहनिर्ग्गमद्वारि यन्मुखे। सरस्वती सदोवास वाञ्छन्तीवातिपुण्यताम्॥ ३५॥
यस्याङ्घ्रियुगलाम्भोजरजस्स्पृष्ट्वैव मानुषाः। सर्व्वतीर्थाभिषेकाणामवाप्तं मेनिरे फलम्॥ ३६॥
विषमेपि समा यस्य लोके लोकोपकारिणः। शुद्धधीगगणारूढा रुचिश् शुभ्ररुचेरिव॥ ३७॥
दयात्यागधृतिक्षान्तिशौचसत्यादयो गुणाः। यस्तेषामेक आधारा विधात्रेव विनिर्म्मितः॥ ३८॥
येनाधीतानि शास्त्राणि भगवच्छङ्कराह्वयात्। निश्शेषसूरिमूर्द्धालिमालालीढाङ्घ्रिपङ्कजात्॥ ३९॥
सर्व्वविद्यैकनिलयो वेदविद्विप्रसम्भवः। शासको यस्य भगवान् रुद्रो रुद्र इवापरः॥ ४०॥
विद्यया वयसा वृद्धानुपास्यान्यान् विपश्चितः। तर्क्ककाव्यादिसंभूतामिद्धबुद्धिमवाप यः॥ ४१॥
पुराणभारताशेषशैवव्याकरणादिषु। शास्त्रेषु कुशलो योभूत् तत्कारक इव स्वयम्॥ ४२॥
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ – यस्य राजेन श्रीन्द्रवर्म्मणा। ◡ ◡ छत्रप्रदानादिसन्माननमकारयत्॥ ४३॥



K809. Pràsàt Kandol Dòm (North), southern pillar.

9. FOUNDERS OF INDOLOGY IN THE NETHERLANDS

PROF. JOHAN HENDRIK CASPAR KERN (6.4.1833 to 4.7.1917)

This account of his life given by Prof. C.C. Uhlenbeck at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam, 1917, and published in Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1917:16ff was written for me in English by a disciple of Prof. Jan Gonda.

J.H.C. Kern was born in Purworedjo on the sixth of April 1833 from parents, who both belonged to families in which not the scientific but the military tradition was held up. Though his character was in accordance with that of his ancestors, there was nowhere an indication of the outstanding genius of the greatest philologist of the Netherlands.

Nearly seven years old Kern came with his parents to the Netherlands and who will tell what impressions and remembrances from the country and the language of his early youth he took with him? He did not know Dutch until he learnt it on board the steamer!

At the school in Doesburg, in the realm of the Saxon dialect, he was soon noticed for his knowledge, zeal and obedience. The schoolmaster gave him private hours and tought him Italian and English. In 1850 he went to the University, first of Utrecht and in 1851 of Leiden, where the Hebraist Rutgers initiated him in the principles of Indian philology and Matthias de Vries in the science of Indo-European languages. It seems that de Vries understood from the beginning of what importance the young quiet and modest Kern would become. Although Kern chose, in view of his Indian studies, Rutgers as his promotor, it was de Vries who became his friend for life.

The title of his learned thesis, with which he took his degree on the 12th of Oct 1855: "Specimen historicum exhibens scriptores graecos de rebus persicis Achaemenidarum monumentis collatos" indicated that a new period of philological studies had begun with Kern. In this first work what was handed down by the Greeks about Persia was tested with the testimony of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, a work that has not lost its value until now.

In the year that Kern studied in Berlin, he attended the lectures of Haupt in Walther von der Vogelweide, of Weber on the Veda, the Malavikāgnimitra, the Avestan grammar and the Vendidād, of Gosche on Goethe, but he applied himself mainly to Sanskrit. Urged by Weber he dedicated himself to the unedited astrological manuscripts of Varāhamihira, copying them in the library, hoping to collate them later on in London and Oxford as the commentary was very corrupt. From that time dates his faithful coöperation in the dictionary of Roth and Böhtlingk. In the meantime he was studying Old Slavonic, getting so far that he could read the Old ecclesiastical Slavonic and Old Bohemian works easily. Of the German dialects he was greatly interested in the AngloSaxon which he thought as important for the study of Dutch. But he did not carry out his plan to write an AngloSaxon grammar.

At New Year 1857 Kern was back in the Netherlands and tried in vain to find a place in a University. In the meanwhile he studied Old Norwegian, until he was appointed in summer 1858 to the professorship for Greek at the Royal Athenaeum in Maastricht which, although not his dearest wish, gave him the necessary social independence. A year later he married, but lost his wife and daughter exactly a year after marriage.

Kern passed his summer holidays of 1861 in London collating Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṁhitā and copying partly the splendid commentary on this work by Bhaṭṭotpala. During this sojourn in England influential persons suggested to Kern that he should accept a place for comparative philology in India: as soon as there would be a vacancy, he would be considered. At the end of the year 1862, Kern's translation of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā was published, provided with a good instructive preface. This work appeared at the right moment: at the University of Leiden the conviction of the importance of the study of Sanskrit and comparative philology had become stronger and stronger and de Vries and Rutgers did their utmost to have such a chair established and Kern to be appointed to it.

In December Monier-Williams proposed to Kern, that the latter would help him with his dictionary in Oxford, which proposal Kern accepted. We are not informed of the circumstances that prevented this coöperation.

In the beginning of 1862 the Trustees of the University of Leiden offered Kern the chair for Sanskrit, but as the Government did not decide, Kern went in the summer to London, where he stayed until April 1863, working at the India Office, where he came on friendly terms with Max Müller, Bühler and Goldstücker. In the early spring of 1863 he was appointed Anglo-Sanskrit Professor at the Brahmana College and Queen's College in Benares.

Kern's first impression of the Hindus were not propitious. In the first months he only saw the surface and he could not penetrate into the depths of the soul of this alien nation. The traditional but uncritical erudition of the Brahmans aroused his contempt, but gradually he learned to recognise in the modern Indian the same nation, that so long already had become dear to him by the study of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mṛcchakaṭika and the Śakuntalā. But just the same he remained too much a child of onesided European rationalism, so that he could not fully place himself in the concentrated piety of the Oriental mind, or even answer to the mystical-real background of its religious affections by a corresponding emotion.

His spare time was divided between correcting sheets of the edition of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā which was appearing in the Bibliotheca Indica, and the study of the most different languages: Hebrew and Arabic, where he was fascinated by the concurrences that he discovered between these and the Indo-European languages. He dedicated himself still more to the Dravidian, that seemed to him akin to the Ural-Altaic languages. With the Chinese he soon got bored, as out of the written characters no living sounds would come to him. More than with Basque, for which he had no sufficient aids, Kern got on with Hungarian, that he could read easily later on.

In October 1865 Kern delivered his inaugural lecture in Leiden on "India's share in the history of civilisation and the influence of the study of Sanskrit on philology", an address that still inspires after so many years, although it is surpassed in broader vision by his address as lord-rector in February 1880.

In May 1866 he married Annette Marie Thérèse Moise de Chateleux, who with faithful care and understanding sympathy accompanied him during half a century. He was impatient by nature, but had acquired in the school of the old Indians an almost perfect selfcontrol and patience. This and his sense of duty which characterised him in all circumstances of life, his immense erudition made him respected by all. The best proof is that as a teacher also he was a great man, are the splendid younger scholars—both Indian philologists as in the field of Indo-European and Indonesian languages—who were guided and inspired by him. Everyone who showed zeal and talent was encouraged by him, even when he chose an object of study that did not belong to the vast domain of Kern himself. If it can ever be said of a scholar that he founded a school, it can be said of Kern.

A few years after his appointment he gave the translation of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā in the *JRAS*, while the Yogayātrā was edited with a German translation in Weber's *Indische Studien*. Another astronomic work of Āryabhaṭa was edited by Kern. This Leiden edition of 1874 was of much value, because the manuscripts had been considered as lost. For the Netherlands it had a special value, as it was the first Indian book that was printed there in Devanāgarī.

From 1882 till 1884 appeared his *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie* (The history of Buddhism in India), which showed the same clarity which characterised Kern always, and by the enormous quantity of reliable and excellently arranged facts it is no wonder that it was translated at once into French and German. Kern considered the Buddha not as an historical person, but as a mythical representation of the sun and his life as a symbolic account of the sun's course. It is again a proof of Kern's selfcontrol, that twelve years later in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Phil.* he did not set forth his theory of asteric symbolism, but only made the remark, "that the life of the Buddha is so marvellous, that some of the unbelievers have gone even so far as to see in this history the remoulding of an ancient myth, while others think it possible to find the historical nucleus by freeing it of the miraculous and mythical elements". Nobody can conclude from these reporting words, that he himself belonged to these "some". A Japanese translation of this prominent manual appeared in 1913.

Kern did more for Buddhism: in 1884 he gave a translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* in the SBE and in 1912 he edited this work together with Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio in the Bibliotheca Buddhica. In 1891 appeared his edition of the *Jātakamālā*.

Among the many fields that Kern held as a master, Old-German occupies an important place. His book *Die Glossen in der Lex Salica und die Sprache der salischen Franken* (The glosses in the LS and the language of the Salic Franks) published in 1869 still has value for scholars of old German dialects and old German law, but he also published in mostly Dutch periodicals grammatical and etymological essays of which not a few may count as a pattern of strict method. His linguistic clairvoyance made him see unknown perspectives and his common together with his good spirits he might have inherited from his Mother, prevented him from making too bold guesses. It was also his common sense that made him abhor from the onesided and lifeless theory of the Neogrammatici. He knew too well "how numberless the factors are, that influence the development of the language, than that we could dissolve the whole life of a language into sound laws amd analogy". Kern had learnt too much from the languages of the world through his own study, than that he would not have pierced the futility of a theory that was founded on one stem of languages only. Rather than ponder over methodological subtleties, he preferred to learn now and again still another difficult language, e.g. when about 60 years old he worked himself philologically in a few months into Old-Gaelic.

A tip given by van der Tuuk at his departure from Holland in 1868, that it was desirable that a Sanskrit scholar would occupy himself with Old-Javanese, made Kern learn the modern language and the next year already he published his *Bijdrage ter verklaring van eenige uitdrukkingen in de Wayang verhalen Palasara en Paṇḍu* (Contribution to the explanation of some expressions in the Wayang tales P. and P.) and his eminent study *Java en het Goudeiland volgens de oudste berichten* (Java and the GoldIsland according to the oldest tidings). It was followed in 1871 by an article *De naamsoorsprong van Java* (The origin of the name of J.). These three articles were published in the periodical *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*. From that time onwards, not at least after his superannuation, Kern remained a faithful coöperator at this periodical. From the publication of his *Kawi-studiën*, text and translation with notes of two chapters of the ArjunaWiwāha, dates the scientific study of the so-called Kawi now called Old-Javanese, that really proved to be an older form of Javanese. It was followed by his most important work in this field: the edition of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa in 1900.

Being at work in 'Kawi', Kern extended his studies to a general exploration of the Malay-Polynesian, now called Austronesian, and in 1886 he published in the Proceedings of the Royal Academy in Amsterdam a work of comparative study of languages: *De Fiji-taal vergeleken met hare verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië* (The F. language compared with its relations in I. and P.) through which work all that had been written on Austronesian languages until then was put into the shade. In this work he proved that Fiji and Polynesian "are shoots from one stem, that led an independant life during a long time after its detachment from the motherstem somewhere in the Indian Archipelago". From the point of view of general methodology, this work is a striking proof of how far one can come with an extensive knowledge and an inborn ingeniousness, even if one does not bind oneself by deductive principles on the relation between the physical and the psychical, the organic and the analogical happening in the development of the spoken word. Kern never doubted that in its deepest nature everything in language is psychical.

In his address to the Academy on the 17th of June 1889 on: "Taalkundige gegevens ter bepaling van het stamland de Maleis-Polynesische volken" (Philological data for the determination of the mother country of the Malay-Polynesian tribes) Kern tried to make clear by the help of the names of the most ordinary plants and animals and the words for "iron" and "ship", which the Austronesian languages have in common, from what country the ancestors of those who spoke these languages, have spread over the oceans from Madagascar till Hawaii, and came to the conclusion, "that the old settlements of the race which spread later over such a vast area of islands, probably were situated in Champa, Cochin-China, Cambodia and neighbouring countries along the sea."

When Kern had to retreat in 1903 he was as healthy and his mind was still as alert as ever before, and in spite of an accident that made him more or less disabled, he continued his studies with unbroken energy: in 1906 he published in the Proceedings of the Academy a "Taalvergelijkende verhandeling over het Aneityumsch" (A comparative treatise on the Aneityum) with a "Aanhangsel over het klankstelsel van het Eromanga" (Appendix on the sound system of the Eromanga). This study on two Austronesian languages that differed strongly from the original type, by its firmness of method and the extent of the material used, is a worthy counterpart of his "Fidji-taal".

At the instigation of Rouffaer, Kern occupied himself with the preparation of the text and the interpretation of the Old-Javanese poem Nāgarakrĕtāgama, from which he had already translated some selected parts in 1905. It was completed in 1914.

Probably the most important of what he worked on in our field after his superannuation were his "Toevoegselen op 't woordenboek van Childers" (Additions to the dictionary of Childers) which appeared in the Proceedings of the Academy in 1916 as a crowning work of his study of the Pali texts during many years. On the 24th of November 1916 died his faithful wife, without whom no future could be imagined for Kern, since he was quiet and absent-minded. An illness of old-age, from which he had suffered before at intervals, undermined his strength and he died after much suffering on 4 July 1917 in Utrecht.

A list of Kern's writings until 1903 is to be found in *Album-Kern* pp.409–20 arranged by L.D. Petit. A list of his writings after 1903 was arranged by his eldest son Prof. Kern in Groningen. His works are collected in H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, 1913ff.

PROF. WILLEM CALAND (27.8.1859 to 23.3.1932)

Summary of the obituaries by
Prof. J. PH. VOGEL, Jaarb.Kon.Akad.v.W.A'dam 1932/33
Prof. J. RAHDER, Hand.en Levens b.Mij.der Ned. Letterk, Leiden 1932/33.

Willem Caland was born in Den Briel on 27 Aug 1859 as son of Pieter Caland and the Honourable Miss Helena de Jonge. Father was a civil engineer, planned the New Waterway from Rotterdam to the sea. Other Calands were also engineers. Interest for antiquity, collected coins.

Spent an year at HBS (secondary school without Latin and Greek) in The Hague. Articular rheumatism from which heart disease. Even time for study had to be restricted. Gymnasium (with Latin and Greek, less mathematics etc.). C. played violin, continued study of Roman numismatics under Meyer, the director of Coins and Medals Room. Final examination one year early, successful, but he remained at gymnasium for another year.

Entered University of Leiden in Sep 1877. Studied under Cobet (famous Latinist) and Kern, later under Cornelissen and Kern. Caland calls teaching methods of Kern "peculiar": at times it seemed that he considered his auditors his equals, then again as if they were totally ignorant". Kern was very kind to pupils, gave lectures even for very few students, e.g. Avestic, Indian antiquities (inscriptions of Aśoka), and for Caland alone a complete course of comparative study of Indo-European languages "completely original and contained remarkable reflections, in which Kern was ahead of his time".

Delicate health prevented C. from taking part in student life, but he liked contact with friends e.g. Albert Kluyver, later professor in Groningen; Robert Fruyn, later Master of the Rolls; Maurits Houck; I.A. Nederburgh, later Prof. in Utrecht: and J. Berlage. C. was "a silent, retiring person, who interested himself very little in things beyond his own sphere, did not take part in sports and amusements, perhaps because he had learnt to be intent on preservation of life". However in intimate company he showed excellent qualities of intelligence and character. Good member of the society "Litteris Sacrum". Best friend Titus van Hettinga Tromp (died early) whose family lived in Leiden. Engagement with his sister Jenny Elisabeth van Hettinga Troump after "candidaats" in Classics (Sep 1880).

"Doctoraal" 1882. Teacher of Latin and Greek in Maastricht. Temporary appointment. Municipality asked doctor's degree for permanent appointment, and father asked permanent appointment for marriage. Promotion on June 13, 1883 De nummis M. Antonii III viri vitam et res gestas illurantibus commentatio. Wrote thesis in five months, got help from Dr. J.P.S, Dr. van Oppen, Prof. Cornelissen. Last promotion under Cobet. Married 1883, only child (daughter) was born in 1885.

C. loved teacher's work. especially in Greek. Continued numismatic studies (two articles in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 1884). Was offered post of Director Royal Coins and Medals Room, but declined. Did not consider himself a real numismatist. Though a good teacher he always longed for the end of his day's task, to begin own studies. From study of Avesta (especially Farvardīn yašt) C. got the idea to collect data concerning cult of pitaras from Old Indian and Old Iranian sources. Got help from Kern. Über Totenverehrung bei einigen der Indogermanischen Völker. Published by Royal Academy in 1888 on recommendation of Kern and Tiele. C. was very glad about this, considered this book his "second thesis".

1887. Appointment as co-rector of gymnasium in Breda. Taught Greek. Played second violin in orchestra. Published Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Avesta in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für Vergl. Sprachenkunde*, between 1888 and 1893. Tried to prove that instrumental can serve as nominative in Gāthās. Hypothesis accepted by Geldner and Bartholomae, afterwards abandoned.

1893. Altindischer Ahnencult. Richard Pischel said about this book: "C. erweist sich als ein gründlicher Kenner des Rituals und meist wird man ihm unbedingt beistimmen können...... Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, dass in den verdienstlichen Abschnitte IV Zur Geschichte des Śrāddha und VI Zur Erklärung des Ritus manches unsicher bleibt. An Vorarbeiten fehlt es hier ganz und die Schwierigkeiten sind auszerordentlich gross".

C. regretted that the Kauśika-sūtra, ed. Bloomfield, was not utilized by ethnologists as Tylor, Lubbock and Andrew Lang: "Es scheint fast als beständen the Sacred Books of the East für sie nicht". Therefore he wrote Altindischer Zauberritual, Probe einer Übersetzung der wichtigsten Theile des Kauśika-sūtra.

1906. Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche. Dr. Eugen Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist in Southern India (afterwards Prof. in Halle) procured pitṛmedha sūtra of Baudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeśin, Āpastamba and Gautama.

Because of heart disease C. had to go regularly to the baths of Nauheim near Franfort a/M. During summer holidays he copied many manuscripts.

1897: Member of Royal Academy, which election he appreciated very much. April 1898: First speech on an Indo-European practice of lustration. In his study on and translation of Vaitānasūtra C. corrected theories of Richard Garbe concerning this text. When on summer holidays in Hummeloo in 1902, he got a letter from Prof. Gallée (Utrecht) that the Utr. Litt. Faculty would recommend him for the professorship in Skt. Skt was taught in Utr. by Gallée, afterwards by Dr. J. van der Vliet, professor of Latin, Prof. v.d. Vliet was succeeded by Dr. P.H. Damsté in 1902, but only for Latin. Still being co-rector in Breda he began his lectures in Nov 1902. Appointment as lector on 15 Feb 1903. Settled in Utr. Sep 1903. As one of C.'s pupils Miss Dieuke Gaastra wanted to write her thesis on a Skt subject. C. was appointed extraordinary Prof. on 24 June 1906. 22 Oct 1906: inaugural speech on the study of Skt in connection with ethnology and classical philology.

Besides Skt, C. was also Prof. of the comparative study of Indo-European languages. Therefore he studied Lithuanian. 1913 Speech on language and customs of the Lithuanians for the directorate of the Provincial Utrecht Society. In this society C. was a much appreciated member as a Sanskritist, numismatist and musician.

Oct 1913. After death of Speyer C. appointed as Prof. in Leiden, but declined for personal reasons.

25 May 1917. Ordinary Prof. in Skt, comparative study of Indo-European languages and Old Persian. Afterwards C. took over general linguistics from Dr. Joseph Schrijnen.

15 Sep 1929. 70 years old C. had to retire. But as his successor Dr. J. Rahder was in Japan. C. continued teaching Sanskrit until 31 Jan 1930. C. gave much help to his students. A remarkable number of theses were written under him. In summer 1929 his pupils and ex-pupils wanted to honour him publicly, but C. did not allow them to do so, and they had to express their feelings of respect and attachment only in intimate circle. C. felt happy that he never had to be Rector Magnificus of the university. Caland used to give his students a thorough introduction to Skt grammar. But when Stenzler's Elementarbuch was finished, he passed on to Böhtlingk's Chrestomathie and paid special attention to questions of mythology and history of religion. Sometimes he also read Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita.

C. never visited India. "Extremely welcome to him must have been the personal contact with a young Hindu scholar (Prof. RaghuVira) in the last year of his professorate.......The cooperation with this intelligent, young man, who was thoroughly versed in Skt literature, was a cause of great joy to C."

C. for a long time had the plan to edit the texts of the school of Baudhāyana. Alfred Hillebrandt left to C. the editing of the Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra. It was published in the Bibliotheca Indica. C. had great difficulties owing to the lack of good mss. But Dr. F.W. Thomas, then librarian of the India Office, afterwards Prof. in Oxford, helped him by sending a good ms from the Mackenzie collection. According to C. some chapters in the last part of the second volume still can be improved. C. also collected important mss. of the Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra. Meanwhile this text was edited in India twice, but in an uncritical way, so that a better edition was desirable. C. in a way discovered the Jaiminīya-śākhā (communication in the meeting of the Academy on 5 June 1905, Versl. & Meded. Kon. Ak. 4e reeks, dl.VII 1906, pp.300 sqq). He edited the saṃhitā and the gṛhyasūtra. The gāna's are still to be edited. C. left a copy, collated from two mss., but more material is needed.

About 1904 C. came into contact with Victor Henry. Together they wrote L'Agniṣṭoma, description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte Védique' (2 vols. 1906–07).

Julius Eggeling left to C. his excerpts of the Kāṇvīya Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. C. prepared the edition but had difficulties to get it printed. It was about to be published in the Anecdota Oxoniensia as the war began. The publisher Banarsi Das in Lahore offered to publish the text. The first volume (1926) had a lot of misprints. Further publishing did not progress.

After the death of Speyer, Caland took over the re-editing of "De open deure tot het verborgen Heydendom", originally printed at Leiden in 1651. This is a book of a Dutch clergyman who was on the coast of Coromandel and gives a lot of information about Hinduism there. C. edited afterwards "Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme", "Twee oude Fransche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme", Ziegenbalg "Malabarisches Heidentum", and "Remonstrantie van W. Geleynssen de Jongh." He also gave a speech on the history of the discovery of the Veda. Once C. edited a drama: Gopālakelicandrikā with a detailed introduction. From a report about acquisition of mss. C. heard about the Vādhūlakalpavyākhyā. He got a copy of the mss., and afterwards through the intermediary of paṇḍits in Madras he got a great part of the Vādhūlasūtra. He gave communications about this text and many fragments in *Acta Orientalia*, vols.II, IV and VI.

Europe had only one text of the Vaikhānasīyas in ms., namely a ms. of the Śrautasūtra brought to Europe by Martin Haug, now in the library of the University in München. In South India appeared mss. of the gṛhya- and smārtasūtra and better mss. of the śrautasūtra. From this material C. published the gṛhya- and the smārtasūtra in the Bibl. Ind. A Telugu paṇḍit from Madras asked Mr. Johan van Maanen, general secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, why the Society did not publish a text of his schhol, the Vaikhānasas. Mr. v. Maanen could answer that the smārtasūta of this school was edited by C. The paṇḍit then gave very much help to C., so that the śrautasūtra could be edited. C. edited the Kāṭhakagṛhayasūtra, Lahore 1925. It is said that a ms. of this text is in the library of the British Museum.

C. was appointed president of the section "India" in the 18th International Congress of Orientalists in Leiden (Sep 1931). But owing to his delicate health he could not fulfill the task, nor attend the Congress.

In the summer of 1931 he was nursed in the Emma-clinic (Utrecht), but could return home and worked till the end. He asked Prof. Vogel to send him some of the mss. purchased by Mr. van Maanen in South India for Leiden and began to read them. He died Wednesday 23 March 1932.

When C. published the Ārṣeyakalpa in 1908, characterized by himself as "a dry enumeration of sāmans", Speyer wrote to him: "I admire your parārthacaryā, which should be called worthy of a Bodhisattva". Nevertheless these texts had a charm for C. About the agniṣṭoma he says: "The mise-en-seène of this rite......resembles a string quartette, of which each of the parts in itself is interesting indeed, but which can only be understood, when one hears the four together. Here too all fits together".

C. was Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion, honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, corresponding member of the Preussische Akademie von Wissenschaften, honorary member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Promotions under C.

1906. Miss Dieuke Gaastra, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Vedische ritueel: Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra". Afterwards edited Gopatha-brāhmaṇa (1919).

1908. H.F. Eelsingh (died early), “Ṣaḍviṃśabrāhmaṇaṃ vijñāpanabhāṣyasahitam”.
1911. Miss C.H. Raaabe, “Baudhāyanapitṛmedhasūtra”.
1913. Miss Henriëtte Salomons, “Het Hindoesche huisritueel volgens de school van Bhāradvāja” (Hindu domestic ritual according to the school of Bhāradvāja). Afterwards translated Indian tales into Dutch.
1917. Alb. Joh. de Jong, “Afgoderije der Oost-indische heydenen door Philippus Baldaeus” (Idolatry of the East Indian pagans by Ph. Baldaeus, new edition.)
1920. Miss M.A. Muusses, “Koecultus bij de Hindoes” (Hindu cow cult). Afterwards secretary of the Batavia Society of Arts, now prof. of Dutch, Stockholm.
1921. Miss J.M. van Gelder, “Mānavaśrautasūtracayana”. Afterwards librarian of the Royal Academy.
1922. P.N.U. Harting, “Selections from the Baudhāyanagṛhyapariśiṣṭasūtra”. Afterwards Prof. of English in Groningen.
1926. Johannes Rahder. “Daśabhūmikasūtra”.
20 Dec 1929. RaghuVira. “Vārāhagṛhyasūtra”.
14 Feb 1930. A.A. Bake, “Bijdrage tot de kennis der Voor Indische muziek”. (Contribution to the knowledge of Indian music.) Before his promotion Mr. Bake worked in Santiniketan, afterwards he recorded Bengali songs on gramophone discs, filmed Indian ceremonies, dances, processions and Nepalese mudrās.

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A bibliography of the late Professor Willem Caland with special reference to Vedic studies, by Prof. N. Fukushima, Tokyo

Important abbreviations:

AKM.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
AO.	Acta Orientalia.
BI.	Bibliotheca Indica.
BV.	L. Renou: Bibliographie védique. Paris 1931.
IF. (Anz.)	Indogermanische Forschungen (Anzeiger).
IJb.	Indogermanisches Jahrbuch.
JAOS.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS.	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
KZ.	Kuhns Zeitschrift: Z. für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
OB.	Orientalische Bibliographie.
VM.	Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde.
Med.	Mededeelingen etc.

Verh.	Verhandelingen etc.	NR.: Nieuwe Reeks.
WZKM.	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.	
ZDMG.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.	

1. De studie van het Sanskrit in verband met ethnologie en klassieke philologie (The study of Sanskrit in connection with ethnology and classical philology). Rede uitgesproken op 22 Oct 1906 als buitengewoon hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht.
2. Indische Religion (1904–1906) Archiv für Religionswissenschaft Bd.XI.1908, 127–41; Vedische Religion (1907–1910).ib.Bd.XIV.1911, 497–516: Vedische Religion (1910–1914), ib.Bd.XVIII, 1915, 480–90). Vedische Religion (1915–1927). ib.Bd.XXV.1927, 283–94. (BV.par.2.12:p.2.)

3a. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de Atharvaveda-litteratuur, VM.Reeks IV.Deel VII.1904.1–17. (BV.par.49.5:p.62). (contribution to the knowledge of the Atharvaveda litterature).

3b. Zur Atharvavedalitteratur.WZKM.XVIII.1904.185–207. (BV.par.49.6:p.62).

4. Altindisches Zauberritual. Probe einer übersetzung der wichtigsten Theile Kauśika Sūtra. (Khaṇḍikā 7–52). Verh.NR. Deel III.No.2.1900. (BV.par.80.3:p.85.cf.below No.22b).

5a. Über das Vaitānasūtra und die Stellung des Brahman im vedischen Opfer. WZKM: XIV.1900.115–125. (BV par 81.5:p.85).

5b. Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda übersetzt. Verh. NR. Deel XI.No.2. (BV.par.81.3: p.85).

6a. De wording van den Sāmaveda (Genesis of the Sāmaveda.)VM.Reeks IV.Deel IX.1907, 1–15. (BV.par.33.4:p.49).

6b. Zur Frage über die Entstehung des Sāmaveda.WZKM.XXII.1908, 436–38. (BV.par.33.3: p.49).

7a. Eene onbekende recensie van den Sāmaveda (An unknown recension of the Sāmaveda i.e. Jaiminīya).VM.Reeks IV.Deel VII.1905, 300–04. (BV.par.33.5:p.49).

7b. Die Jaiminīya-Saṃhitā mit einer Einleitung über die Sāmavedalitteratur. Ind.Forschungen 2. Heft.Breslau 1907. (BV.par.30.28:p.48).

8a. Over en uit het Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa. (On and from the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa). VM. Reeks V. Deel I.1914, 1–106. (BV.par.55.45:p.69).

8b. Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl.Text, Ubersetzung, Indices.Verh.NR.Deel XIX.No.4.1919. (BV.par.55.35:p.68).

9a. De literatuur van den Sāmaveda en het Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtra (The literature of the Sāmaveda and the Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtra). Verh.NR.Deel VI.No.2.1905. (BV.par.64.4:p.75).

9b. The Jaiminīyagṛhyasūtra belonging to the Sāmaveda with extracts from the commentary edited with an introduction and translated for the first time in English. Punjab Skt.Ser.No.2. Lahore 1922. (BV.par.64.2:p.75).

10. Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa of TwentyFive Chapters translated. BI.No.255. Calcutta 1931. Rev. by A.B. Keith JRAS.1932, 697–700; Bull.School Oriental Stud.1932, vol.VI.p.1048; P.E. Dumont.JAOB.1932, 387–90.
11a. Der Ārṣeyakalpa des Sāmaveda herausgegeben und bearbeitet.AKM.Bd.XII.No.3. Leipzig 1908. (BV.par.68.1:pp.76–77).
11b. Zum Ārṣeyakalpa und Puṣpasūtra. ZDMG.LXIV.1910, 347–48. (BV.par.90.17:p.95).
12. Der Gautamaśrāddhakalpa. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Literatur der Sāmavdaschulen. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, Volgreeks VI.Deel I.1894, 97–112. (BV.par.68.2:p.77). Cf.below No.19.
13a. Over de Kāṇva-recensie van het Brāhmaṇa der honderd paden (On the Kāṇva recension of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa). VM.Reeks IV. Deel XI.1912.141ff. (BV.par.57.7:p.70).
13b. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇvīya recension edited for the first time.Vol.I (containing full introduction and part of the text.) Punjab Skt. Ser.No.10. Lahore 1926. (BV.par.57.7:p.70).
13c. A note on the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa.AO.X.1931, 126–34. (discovery of a double treatment of the Aśvamedha in the ŚB).
14a. Brāhmaṇa en Sūtra-aanwinsten.VM.Reeks V.Deel IV.1920.467ff. (known to me through Caland Baudh.-Śrautas.ed.vol.III.Bibl.app.p.121f; BV.par.52.13:p.65).
14b. The Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra with extracts from three commentaries, an appendix and indexes edited for the firsṭ time. Dayānanda Mahāvidyālaya Saṃskṛta Granthamālā IX. Lahore 1925.(BV.par.70.1:p.78). "Museum" 34 No.8 (Dumont).
14c. A Vaidic wedding song.AO VII.1929.305–11.(the Sarasvaty-anuvāka of Kāṭh.-gṛhyas.XXV.23. (see App.IV of Caland's edition) translated with remarks; (BV.par.70.5: p.78).
15a. Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana.AKM.Bd.XII.No.1. Leipzig 1903. (BV.par.74.5: p.81).
15b. The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra belonging to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, edited in 3 vols. BI.No.163. Calcutta 1904–1923. (BV.par.74.1:p.81).
16. Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt.1.–7.Buch.Quellen der Religionsgeschichte Bd.8.Göttingen—Leipzig 1921; 8.–15.Buch.Verh.N.R. Deel XXIV. No.2.1924; 16.–24. und 31.Buch ib. Deel XXVI.No.4.1928. (BV.par.72.3–5:p.78; see also H.Oertel Zeitschr. für Indologie u.Iranistik VIII.1931.281–299).
17a. Über das Vādhūlasūtra.AO.I.1922, 3–11.
17b. Eine zweite Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra.AO.II.1924, 142–167.
17c. Eine dritte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra.AO.IV.1926, 1–41, 161–213.
17d. Eine vierte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra.AO.VI.1928, 97–241. (BV.par.77.1–4:p.83; for Nos.17a&b cf. also IJb.X:V 126:p.106–07.).

18a. Over het Vaikhānasasūtra. Med. Deel 61. Serie A.no.8.1926. (BV.par.76.8:p.82–83).

18b. On the sacred books of the Vaikhānasas. Med.Deel 65. Serie A.No.7.1928. (BV.par.76.9: p.83).

18c. Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram, the domestic rules of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda critically edited.BI.No.242.Calcutta 1927. (BV.par.76.1:p.82).

18d. Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram, the domestic rules and sacred laws of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda translated.BI.No.251.Calcutta 1929. (BV.par.76.6:p.82, IJb.XVI:V.119:p.124). "Museum" 38.No.1 (Faddegon).

19. The Pitṛmedhasūtras of Baudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeśin, Gautama edited with critical notes and index of words.AKM.Bd.X.No.3.Leipzig 1896. (BV.par.60.15:p.73). cf.No.12 above and No.21d. below.

20. On the relative chronology of some ritualistic sūtras.AO.IX.1931, 69–76. (Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin later than the Vārāhasūtra and the Mānavaśrautasūtra; BV.par.59.1:p.72).

21a. Über Todtenverehrung bei einigen der Indo-germanischen Völker, Verh.DeelXVII.1888. (BV.par.154.26:p.185, cf.esp.Winternitz WZKM.IV.1890, 199–212).

21b. Altindischer Ahnencult.Das Çrāddha nach den verschiedenen Schulen mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen dargestellt. Leiden.1893. (BV.par.154.22:p.184.cf.esp.Pischel. Gött.Gel.Anz.Dez.1894, S.1001–6).

21c. Zu den Kāṭhaka– und Mānavagṛhyasūtra,WZKM.VIII.1894, 288–89. (eine Berichtigungen und Nachträge zu meiner Behandlung des Çrāddha nach den Kaṭhas (Altindischer Ahnencult, S.65, 224). (BV.par.59.2:p.72).

21d. Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen dargestellt.Verh.NR.Deel I.No.6.1896.(BV.par.154.23:pp.184–85).

21e. Paralellen zu den altindischen Bestattungsgebräuchen.Museum (Leyden) X.1904.33–39. (BV.par.154.29:p.185).

22a. Over de "Wenschoffers", Bijdrage tot de kennis van den Veda (On the kāmyā iṣṭi.Contribution to the knowledge of the Veda). V.M.Reeks IV.Deel V.1902, 4–36 (to be regarded as a general introduction to the following. (BV.par.155.8:p.188).

22b. Altindische Zauberei, Darstellung der altindischen "Wunschopfer", Verh.NR.D1.X. No.1.1908.(BV.par.155.1:p.188).

23. L'Agniṣṭoma, description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte védique. (in collaboration with Victor Henry) 2 vols. Paris 1906, 1907. (BV.par.153.19: p.182).

24. Een Indogermaansch Lustratie-Gebruik (A Indo-European practice of lustration). VM. Reeks IV.Deel II.1898.275–325. (BV.par.154.38:p.185, for the content see Hardy IF (Anz.) XI.73–74).

25. Von der Wiedergeburt Totgesagter. Urquel n.F.II.1898.193ff. (Known to me through OB.XII.No.4069:p.217 and BV.par.154.37:p.185: "Parallèle gree à l'usage ind. de soumettre une personne crue morte à une renaissance symbolique").

25a. Over taal en zeden der Litauers (On the language and customs of the Lithuanians) Prov. Utrechtsch Genootschap van K. en W.1913. (Later, gedeeltelijk bewerkt, in het "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft" verschenen).

26. Zum Kauśikasūtra. WZKM.VIII.1894, 367–70. (ad Bloomfield's edition, esp. chap.80–86 treating the funeral rite:BV.par.80.4:p.85th). Cf.also No.31c, d.f.
27. Zur Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā.WZKM.XVI.1902, 97–100. (ad von Schroeder's edition; BV.par.39.6:p.52). Cf. also Nos.32, 34, 35, 41.
28. Emendationen zum Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa. WZKM.XXVIII.1914.61–77. (ad Oertel's publications; BV.par.55.48:p.59).
29. Zur Übersetzung der Taittirīyasaṁhitā.AO.II.1924, 22–31. (ad Keith's translation BV.par.40.37:p.54).
30. Notes on the Kausītabrāhmaṇa. AO.X.1932, 305–25. (ed. Keith's translation).
31. Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras.

    a. ZDMG.LI.1897, 128–37: **I**. Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyas.I.12, 14–16; 13,16. **II**. Die Vorbedingungen für eine Heirat. **III**. Zum ārṣa vivāha. **IV**. Das Betreten des Hauses durch die Jungvermählten. **V**. Die rituelle Kraft des Beatmens. **VI**. Ein Augurium. **VII**. Die Gottheiten der Früh- und Abendspenden. **VIII**. Śāṅkh.gṛhs.II.3.2 sqq. **IX**. Zu Hir.gṛhs.I.26.13, 14.

    b. ZDMG.LII.1898, 425–35: **X**. Zum Upanayana. **XI**. Zu Pāraskara gṛhs.III.7, 1. **XII**. Zu Pāraskara III, 15, 22. **XIII**. Zu Lāṭyāyana śrs.III.10, 16; V.6, 7. **XIV**. Zum Āpastambīyaśrautasūtra. **XV**. Zum Baudhāyanapitṛmedhasūtra. **XVI**. Zum Āpastambapitṛmedhasūtra. **XVII**. Zum Hiraṇyakeśipitṛmedhasūtra.

    c. ZDMG.LIII.1899, 205–30, 696–702: **XVIII**. Zum Kauśikasūtra. **XIX**. Das Palāśablatt im Ritual. **XX**. Zu Hiraṇyakeśins Gṛhyasūtra. **XXI**. anvrābdhe, anvārabdhāyām. **XXII**. Zum Kauśikasūtra. **XXIII**. Pratīhāraṃ im Kauśikasūtra. **XXIV**. Jambhagṛhīta im Kauśikasūtra. **XXV**. Zum Vaitānasūtra. **XXVI**. Zu Āśv.gṛhs.IV, 6.5. **XXVII**. Das verkürzte Agnihotra. **XXVIII**. Zum Kauśikasūtra. **XXIX**. Zum Baudhāyanapitṛmedhasūtra. **XXX**. Zum Āpastambīyakalpasūtra. **XXXI**. Das Rad im Ritual. **XXXII**. Zur Deutung eines Tryambaka-spruches.

    d. ZDMG.LIV.1900, 97–99: **XXXIII**. Zum Kauśikasūtra.

    e. ZDMG.LV.1901, 261–66: **XXXIV**. Über prāṇa und apāna. **XXXV**. Zu Vaitānasūtra 12, 14. **XXXVI**. Zum Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra. **XXXVII**. Zum Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra.

    f. ZDMG.LVI.1902, 551–58. **XXXVIII**. Zum Āpastamba śrautasūtra. **XXXIX**. Zum Kauśika-Sūtra. **XL**. Essen im Traume. **XLI**. Noch einmal prāṇa und apāna.

    g. ZDMG.LVII.1903, 740–44. **XLII**. Zum Vaitānasūtra. **XLIII**. Zum Āpastamba śrautasūtra. **XLIV**. Zu Śāṅkhāyana śrautasūtra XIV, 73, 2.

    h. ZDMG.LVIII.1904, 505–17.**XLV**.Zu ukthaṃvāc des P.W. **XLVI**.Zum Mānavaśrautasūtra. **XLVII**. Zum Vaitānasūtra. **XLVIII**. Die Zitate aus und die Verweisungen nach der Vājasaneyin-Literatur im Āpastambakalpasūtra.

i. ZDMG.LXII.1908, 123–31: **XLIX**. Zum altindischen Würfelspiel. **L.** Zum enklitischen Personalpronomen. (BV.passim).

32. Kritische Bemerkungen zu vedischen Ritualtexteb.WZKM.XXIII.1909, 52–73: Zur Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā; Zum Kāṭhaka, vol.I.(ad von Schroeder's edition); Zum Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa; Zum Aitareyabrāhmaṇa; Zum Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (ad Eggeling's translation); Zum Baudhāyanaśrauta. (BV.par.15.12:p.19).
33. Kritisch-exegetische Bemerkungen zu den Brāhmaṇas.WZKM.XXVI.1912, 107–26: 1. Zum Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (cf.No.32.); 2. Zum Kāṭhaka (cf.No.32.) (BV.par.52.10: p.65).
34. Zu den Br̄ahmaṇas.Festschrift Ernst Kuhn, 1916, 69–73. (ad Kāṭhaka.Mait.saṃh., Taitt.–br. (BV.par.52.11:p.65).
35. Erklärende und kritische Bemerkungen zu den Brāhmaṇas und Sūtras.ZDMG.LXXII 1918.1–31. a. Zur Bedeutungslehre.Die Verbalwurzel pā; Zur Bedeutung von ūna, nyūna; Zur Bedeutung von Vi-śās; Zur Bedeutung von prativeśa; Zur Bedeutung von adhīlodhakarṇā u.dgl.; Zur Bedeutung von yāvaccharkaram.

    b. Volkstümliches in den Brāhmaṇas und Sūtras. c. Kritisch–erklärende Bemerkungen. 1. Eine Bemerkung morphologischer Art, 2. Zur Maitrāyaṇi–saṃhitā, 3. Zum Kāṭhaka, 4. Zum Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa, 5. Zum Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, 6. Zum Kauśītaki-brāhmaṇa, 7. Zum Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, 8. Zum Āpastamba-śrautasūtra. (BV. passim).
36. Synataktisch-exegetische Miszellen.IF.XXXI.1892, 105–07; I.Zum Gebrauch des Ablativs; 2. Zu Vendidād I.3. (IJb.I:V.2 and 43:p.55, 68; BV.par.186.58:p.270).
37. Eine übereinstimmung zwischen Vedischem und Avestischem Sprach gebrauch. KZ.XXXIV.1897.456–57. (BV.par.186.108:p.272).
38. Zu mulier quae mulier (Band XLV.373). KZ.XLVI.1914,280. (ad Ait.br.VII.13.10 against W. Haver).
39. Das sonderbare Absolutivs samplomnāya. (in Mān.-śr., Āp.-śr., Hir.-śr.)AO.I.1923 318–319. (IJB.X:V.167:p.114; BV.par.185.20:p.266).
40. Vedica.AO.V.1927,252–54:1. On the mysterious absolutive pártvā. (in Taitt.saṃh.VII.5.1.2, Jaim.–br.II.374.). 2. A corruption in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. (ad Ait.-br.I.16.3 and 29.5). (BV.par.53.15.p.66, par.185.19:p.266.).
41. Vedica.AO.IX.1931, 77. (Ad Mait.-saṃh.IV.1.1:p.2.6, BV.par.39.9:p.53).
42. On a paragraph of Vaidic syntax.AO.V.1927.49–51. (concl.: the substitution of the ending –ai to ās in Brāhmaṇa texts can not be regarded as an unmistakable criterion of age; IJB.XII:V.43:p.80, BV.par.186.28:p.268.).
43. Rhythmic law in language.AO.IX.1931, 59–68. (Examples of Pān.II.2.34 from the Vedic prose and parallels from other Indo-Eur. and non-Indo-Eur. languages), IJb.XVI:V.51: p.119, BV.par.181.7:p.245.).

44. "Grands pères" and "petits pères". AO.V.1927, 52. (:"father's elder brothers" and father's younger brothers", a statement of a Jesuit missionary in the middle of the 17th cent. in below No.53.p.64. confirmed by referring to the Tamil language).

45. Ausläufer von altind. ṣṇ. (Zu IF.48, 226). IF.IL.1931, 132. (ṣṇ:stn (ṣṭṇ) in the 17th and 18th cent. in Southern India, cf.V.Pisani l.c.).

46. Eene nieuwe versie van de Urvaçī-mythe.Album-Kern, 1903, 57–60 (a version of the Urvaśī-myth contained in Baudh.-śrautas. ed. Caland XVIII.44–45 as introduction to two ekāha's: śada and aupaśada cf. Pañcav.-br.XIX.3, etc.; BV.par.162.4:p.208).

47. Das Baudhāyana als Quelle des Mahābhārata.WZKM.XVII.1903, 351–55 (Baudh.-śrautas.XVIII.13, cf. above No.15a.p.21. as source of Mbh.XIII.12: hostility of Indra and Bhaṅgāśvana, see also Winternitz WZKM.XVII.292f; BV.par.198.1:p.306).

48. Rāhu im Veda. Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, 1927, 240–41. (Rāhu:Vṛtra through comparison of Mbh.I.19.2–9 with Taitt.-saṃh.II.5.2, cf. Mait.saṃh.II.4.3; BV.par.162.9:p.208).

49. Over het bijgeloof der haarwervels op het paard (On the superstition about coils in the hair of horses).VM.Reeks IV.DeelX.1911, 177–85. (Known to me through OB.XXV. No.4372: p.226:Zur Geschichte der ind.Hippologie, BV.par.170.43:p.221).

50. De archaeologische vondsten in de heuvels van Lauriya (The archaeological discoveries in the hills of Lauriya).VM.Reeks IV. Deel XI.1912, 378ff (BV.par.126.5:p.140).

51. The sacrificial stakes of Īśāpur. AO.III.1924.92–93. (a supplementary note on Vogel: The sacrificial posts of Īśāpur, Arch. Survey Annual Report 1910–1911, in the light of ritual texts:Baudh.-śrautas.VII.9 etc. (BV. par.74.7:p.81).

52. Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme (in collaboration with A.A. Fokker) (Three old Portuguese dissertations on Hinduism). Verh. NR. Deel XVI. No.2.1915. (BV.par.200.13:p.310, see also Windisch Geschichte p.3f.p.198).

53. Twee oude Fransche verhandelingen over het Hindoeïsme (Two old French dissertations on Hinduism). Verh. NR. Deel XXIII.No.3.1923. (BV.par.200.14:p.310–11, see also Barnett JRAS.1924, 489–90).

53a. B. Ziegenbalg's Kleinere Schriften.Kon.Ak.Verh.1930 (eenige Tamilteksten met Duitsche vertaling of bewerking).

54. De ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda (The history of the discovery of the Veda). VM.Reeks V.Deel III.1918, 261–334. (English translation in the Journal of Indian History, May 1923; BV.par.200.2:p.310, cf.esp. Zachariae Gött.Gel.Anz.1922, 148–65).

55. R. de Nobili and the Sanskrit language and literature. AO.III.1924, 38–51. (cf. Bijlage p.328ff of the preceeding; BV.par.200.11:p.310).

56. Sāvitrī en Nala. Twee episoden uit het Mahābhārata. Tekst met korte verklarende noten en woordenlijst. (Sāvitrī and Nala. Two episodes from the Mahābhātara. Text with notes and glossary.) Utrecht 1916.

57. Een onbekend indisch toneelstuk.(Gopālakelicandrikā.) Tekst met inleiding. (An unknown Indian drama. Text and introduction). Verh. NR. Deel XVII.No.3.1917. (For the reviews see Winternitz Geschichte III.p.245.n.2.p.646. Sten Konow Das ind. Drama p.101.n.8, IJb.VI:V.50:p.63).
58. De schepping volgens Genesis en de Eraansche Overlevering. (The creation according to Genesis and the Iranian tradition). Theolog. Tijdschrift 1889, 179–85. (Known to me through OB.III. No.857:p.40).
59. Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Avesta 1–6. KZ.XXX.1890, 534–47; 7–22, ib.XXXI.1892, 256–73; 23–27, ib.XXXII.1893, 589–95; 28–40. ib.XXXIII.1895, 300–04, 459–66.

60a. haoma yô gava. KZ.XXX.1890, 459–60. (Read:haomayô go^{o}).

60b. Noch einmal haoma yô gava. KZ.XXXI.1892, 273–74. (again C. de Harlez Bezz. Beitr.XV.317–18).

61. Zur Syntax der Pronomina im Avesta.Verh.Deel XX.1891.
62. Altiranisches.KZ.XLII.1909, 171–73. (cf. J.A. Frantzen ib.p.331, Caland KZ.XLIII, 1910, 192).
63. Het stichtingsverhaal van Thebe en Karthago. (The story of the foundation of Thebe and Carthago). Serbum Nabericum, Leyden 1908, 71–75. (known to me through OB.XXII. N.5003:p.244).
64. Verhalen van een vampier, uit het Sanskrit vertaald. (Tales of a vampire, translated from Sanskrit. (Vetālapañvaviṃśatika). (Elsevier's algemeende bibliotheek No.22). Amsterdam 1923.
65. Boeddhistische verhalen, uit het Pāli vertaald. (Buddhist tales, translated from Pāli). Utrecht 1923.
66. Drie Oud-Indische Episoden (vertaling uit het Sanskrit; Zutphen 1925). (Three Old-Indian episodes translated from Skt).
67. Levensbericht van Prof. Speyer (overleden in Oct 1913.) (Obituary of Prof. Speyer who died Oct 1913). Kon. Ak. v. Wetenschappen.
68. De nummis M.Antonii III viri vitam et res gestas illustrantibus commentatio. (Diss., Leiden 1883).
69. Two articles on numismatics in 'Zeitschrift für Numismatik', 1884.
70. Het Parsisme. Baarn 1913.
71. Nog een woord over de taalwetenschappelijke opleiding van onze classici. (Another word on the linguistic education of our classicists). (Brochure; Utrecht, Oosthoek, 1917).
72. Levensbericht van H. Kern (Obituary of H. Kern) in Levensberichten van de Mij. voor Ned. Letterkunde 1918.

10. VEDIC TEXTS IN THE CALAND COLLECTION

I listed the handwritten texts and manuscripts of Prof. W. Caland in the library of the Utrecht University in 1950. In some of the texts he has noted down the variant readings. The texts of Jaiminīya-grāma-geya and araṇya-geya are almost ready for publication.

1. Śaunaka-karikā. Roman transcript of Bühler, Skt. manuscript no.51, made by Prof. J. von Negelein in 1912 on 9 long sheets. It contains: (i) ābhyudayika-śrāddha. Ends: iti śau° abhyudayaśrāddhavidhiḥ. (ii) kāmya-śrāddha. (iii) piṇḍapitṛyajña. Ends: iti śau° piṇḍa pitṛyajñavidhiḥ. (iv) pārvaṇa-śrāddha. Ends: iti śau° āhitāgneḥ pārvaṇa-śrāddha-viddhiḥ. (v) saptamī-śrāddha-vidhiḥ. (vi) aṣṭamī-śrāddha-vidhiḥ. (vii) anvaṣṭakya-śrāddha-viddhiḥ. (viii) nākṣatra-homa. Ends: iti śau° nākṣatra-homa-śāntiḥ. (ix) nārāyaṇa-bali. The colophon to the complete Śaunaka-kārikā reads: iti śaunakakārikā samāptā || śrīr astu || śubhaṃ [bha]vatu || śake 1711 caitra-śukla 7 samāptam idaṁ pustakaṃ grantha-saṁkhyā 3600.
2. Excerpts from Varadarāja's comm. on the Maśaka-kalpasūtra, written out in Roman by Prof. Caland. It consists of 1–75 pages. It is followed by one quire, numbered IV, containing the Maśaka-kalpasūtra pp.1–19.
3. Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra, Roman transcript of Ms. B leaves 2^a–150^b. The sheaf of sheets is numbered a I–a DXX1 (i.e. 1–521).
4. Notebook with extracts from sūtras and brāhmaṇas regarding pitṛmedha and antyeṣṭi, etc.
5. Vārāha-śrautasūtra, text and notes by Prof. Caland, pp.1–250 (notebook). On p.247 are given noteworthy words, expressions, constructions; on p.249 "passages which may throw light on the relation between Mnśrṣ., Āp. and Hir." Notes are important.
6. Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa. Copied by Prof. Ċaland from Grantha manuscript Burnell 421, collated with 422 and other mss in the spring of 1913. At the end are lists of sāmans and of proper names. Includes several enclosures.
7. Jaiminīya-gāna (i) grāmageya-gāna pp.3–147 and (ii) āraṇyaka-gāna (pp.148–?). Copied in Sep 1906 by Prof. Caland from Burnell manuscript B497 and collated with Burnell 61 and 62. Important.
8. Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtra, copied in 1908 by Prof. Caland from the manuscrpit Haug at München, notebook of pp.1–166.
9. Kāṭhaka-gṛhyasūtra, manuscripts A, C, D. Loose sheets in portfolio numbered D1–D537 with letters of foreign scholars and two Devanagari transcripts of unspecified texts prepared at Lahore.
10. Kāṇvīya-Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Two big volumes containing the Devanāgarī transcript of a South Indian manuscript.

11. Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtra. Copy of manuscript no.1605 (A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts 1913–14 and 1915–16, Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Vol.II part I Sanskrit). The Telugu copy has an interlinear Roman transcription by Prof. Caland.
12. Kāṇvīya Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, Devanagari text in Prof. Caland's hand, pp.1–124.
19. Vādhūla-śrautasūtra. Roman transliteration by Prof. Caland, pp.1–106.
20. Kāṭhaka-gṛhyasūtra. Portfolio containing the introduction, text, and rough notes.
21. Gautama-dharmaśāstra or Gautamasmṛti. Copied in Roman script by Prof. Caland from manuscript Burnell 180 (India Office) and collated with the edition in Telugu characters (Madras 1890).
22. Kāṇvīya Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Devanagari transcript of manuscript no.195 (A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, vol.I Vedic Literature part 2). Bound in two volumes.
26. Jaiminīya-gṛhyasūtra-vyākhyā Subodhinī pp.1–121 foolscap size. Devanagari transcript of the Telugu manuscript no.65 (Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts 1893–94 no.2 by Seshagiri Sastri).
27. Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra, pp.1–164 of foolscap size. Devanāgarī copy of manuscript no.66 (Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts 1893–94 no.2. Original in Grantha, 54 folios).
28. Śāṭyāyana-sūtra, complete in 4 foolscap pages. Copy of manuscript no. 1178 (Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, vol.II p.868).
29. Loṣṭaciti, 15 foolscap pages in Telugu script. Colophon: *samāpto loṣṭa-citiḥ* || *iti śrīgārgya-gopāla-yajvanā viracite Āpastamba-pitṛmedha-nibandhane pañcamaḥ paṭalaḥ* || *nibandhanas samāptaḥ*||
30. This portfolio contains:
    (a) Kauśika-sūtra pp.1–72 of pothi style. Prof. Caland's pencil annotation on the flycover: "ms. Haug Banaras?"
    (b) Baudhāyana-Kāṭhaka-sūtra pp.1–7 of pothi style. Copy of Banaras sūcipatra p.72 no.10. Colophon reads: *iti śrībaudhāyanīye sāvitrādicayana kāṭhakasūtra samāptaṃ.*
    (c) Atirātra-sūtra, pp.1–3 of pothi style. Copy of Banaras sūcipatra p.72 no.12.
    (d) Upāna-vākya-sūtra, pp.1–14 of pothi style. Copy of a Banaras manuscript. It is the Aupāna-vākya-praśna from the Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.
    (e) Dvaidha-sūtra, first praśna and a fragment of the second, pp.1–19 of pothi style. Copy of a Banaras manuscript. On the flyleaf the scribe gives the name of the work as Baudhāyanīyaṃ Dvaidha-sūtram.
    (f) Baudhāyana-karmāntasūtra, complete text, pp.1–45 of pothi style. Copy of a manuscript in the Government Sanskrit College, Banaras.

31. Bhāṣya on Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtra I-X. Copy in Telugu script of manuscript 1606 (A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts 1913–14 to 1915–16, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras vol.II part 1 Sanskrit p.2263). It consists of 440 pages with an interlinear Roman transcription upto p.231.
32. Baudhāyana-smārtasūtra. Pothi consisting of 88 folios in Devanāgarī script.
33. Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra, pp.1–34 foolscap size. Transcript of manuscript no.1229 (Alph. Index of Manuscripts purchased up to 1891 vol.XV Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts prepared by Haraprasad Śāstri p.77).
34. Vājapeyādi. Photographic copy of manuscript Mill 117 of the Bodlean Library, Oxford.
35. Hiraṇyakeśi-kalpasūtra, pp.1–228 (notebook). Roman transcript of Haug manuscript 38 by Prof. Caland. Page 229 contains the beginning (?) of Bhāradvāja-pariśeṣa-sūtra.
36. Maśaka-kalpasūtra, pp.1–79 (pothi style). Copy of a manuscript in the Government College Library, Banaras described in the Sūcipatra.
37. This portfolio contains:
    (i) Chardi-brāhmaṇa pp.1–14. Devanāgarī copy of manuscript no.198 (Descr. Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, vol.I, pt.2 p.232).
    (ii) Mahāpravara-sūtraṃ śiṣṭivyākhyāna-sahitam, 74 pages. Devanāgarī copy of manuscript no.303 (Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore 1900, p.21).
    (iii) Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa pp.1–16. Roman transcript by Prof. Caland. Cf. Burnell, Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts, part I p.57; and also see Winternitz, A Catalogue of South Indian Manuscripts p.119.
    (iv) Drāhyāyaṇa-gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa pp.1–66 folio size. Devanāgarī copy of manuscript no.1173 in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.
    (v) Śāṭyāyana-sūtra pp.1–16. Telugu transcript of manuscript no.1178 (Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras vol.II, 1905). It contains a complete interlinear Roman transliteration by Prof. Caland.
    (vi) Kāṇvaśākhīyā Somotpattiḥ, 22 pages. Devanāgarī copy of manuscript no.1388 (Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore 1900, p.11).
38. (i) Arcanākhaṇḍa of Kāśyapa ṛṣi pp.1–7 folio. Text in Roman characters by Prof. Caland.
    (ii) Arcanākhaṇḍa pp.1–12 folio. Telugu transcript of R.no.1606(b) with an interlinear Roman transliteration of 3 pages by Prof. Caland.
    (iii) Arcanākhaṇḍa-vyākhyā pp.1–52 folio. Telugu transcript of R.no.1608(a) with an interlinear Roman transliteration by Prof. Caland upto p.7.
    (iv) Arcanā-navanīta pp.1–67 folio. Telugu transcript of R.no.1607.

39. Upagrantha, leaves 1–29 in pothi style. Devanāgarī copy of a Banaras manuscript.
40. Kṣudra-sūtra, leaves 1–24 in pothi style. Devanāgarī copy of a Banaras manuscript.
41. Brahmamedha-sahita Pitṛmedha || Prayoga || Leaves 1–10 i.e. 20 pages. Copy of Tanjore manuscript no.3897. Prof. Caland gives its name as: Brahmamedha-prayoga and describes it as a ritual of the Bhāradvāja-Hiraṇyakeśin.
42. Literature of the Jaiminīyas, an article by Veda Vyasa. Also contains the text and variants of Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I.1–7.
43. Manuscript in 64 folio pages, copied at Akulamannāḍu in 1929 in cursive Telugu script.
44. (i) Hārīta-dharmasūtra pp.1–23. Excerpts made by Prof. Caland from Jolly's copy of a manuscript originating from Nasik.
    (ii) Pūrvāṅgirasa-smṛti. Excerpts made by Prof. Caland from Burnell 180.
    (iii) 6th paṭala of Āpastamba-smṛti (copied from Burnell 180 by Prof. Caland).
    (iv) Miscellaneous papers.
45. Kalpānupada[sūtra], leaves 1–12. Photographic reproduction of an Oxford (?) manuscript.
46. Vārāha-gṛhyasūtra (thesis of Prof. RaghuVira), typewritten introduction, printed text, and Prof. Caland's speech on the promotion day.
47. Kapiṣṭhala-saṁhitā, pp.1–501 in pothi style. Devanāgarī copy of a Banaras manuscript. Contains the first 8 adhyāyas.
48. Kāṇvīya. Photographic reproduction of an Oxford manuscript.
49. Bhāradvāja-gṛhyasūtra pp.1–36. Text in Roman characters by Prof. Caland, collated with ms.I.325 Grantha, III.316 Devanāgarī, both from Vienna University Library, and with no.48 of the Burnell Collection in the India Office.
50. Gautama-pitṛmedha-sūtra-vivaraṇa by Anantayajvan. Copied in Roman characters by Prof. Caland from Burnell's Grantha manuscript no.56 (Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1870) and compared with India Office 1270a Aurdhvadehika-prayoga, according to the Sāmaveda ritual, by Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita, son of Yajñeśvara. It consists of 62 pages. It also contains the Gautama-pitṛmedha-sūtra.
51. Kauśītaka-gṛhya-sūtra pp.1–20 (fragments) from manuscript Whish 78 (Royal Asiatic Society, London). Text in Roman characters by Prof. Caland.
52. Anupada-sūtra, Roman transcript by Prof. Caland from manuscripts 611 and 612 (Descriptive Catalogue Calcutta Sanskrit College 1.372).
53. Mānava-gṛhyasūtra pp.1–43. Roman transcript of manuscript Haug no.55 collated with Haug 56 by Prof. Caland.
54. Fragment of Veṅkaṭeśvara's bhāṣya on the Baudhāyana-karmānta-sūtra pp.1–20. Roman transcript of India Office Library 776a (= Tanjore 3748, Burnell, Classified Index I. p.19) by Prof. Caland.
55. Écriture Grantha, employée par les Brahmanes Tamouls pour écrire le Sanscrit et la Prācrit. A small handwritten booklet of 12 pages.

56. Extraits du Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra par Aug. Barth.
57. Baudhāyana-gṛhya-prayoga pp.1–58, copy of Burnell manuscript no.CVII (Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1870, p.31), compared with the kārikā by Kanakasabhāpati (Burnell ib.CIX, no.110), etc.
58. Kāṭhaka-gṛhyasūtra pp.1–27 and a note of two pages in the beginning. Text in Roman characters by Prof. Caland. It also contains an article by Jolly: Das Dharmasūtra der Vishṇu und das Kāṭhaka-gṛhyasūtra (Sitzung d. philos-philol. Classe vom 7 Juni 1879).
59. Jaiminīya-gṛhyasūtra pp.1–73, text with the Subodhinī commentary of Śrīnivāsa. Roman transcript of India Office manuscript B464 by Prof. Caland.
60. Ānandasaṁhitā. Roman text with notes by Prof. Caland. This notebook also contains a note “On the Sacred Books of the Vaikhānasīyas” by Prof. Caland.
61. Tevijjasutta (Dīghanikāya XIII) pp.1–15. Roman text by Prof. Caland.
62. (i) Zur Syntax des Avesta, by Prof. Caland.
    (ii) Extracts about śrāddha-kalpa and piṇḍapitṛ-yajña from various Sanskrit texts.

11. AVATAṀSAKA AND BAMIYAN

The *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* states that the Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra is "the Sanskrit reconstruction of the title of the Chinese translation ... Even the title is not known from Sanskrit sources". The Chinese translated *avataṁsaka* as 'flower garland' (*huayen*) on the basis of its popular meaning. In the Rāmāyaṇa *avataṁsa* means 'a garland, ring-shaped ornament, ear-ornament, crest'. In the Kādambarī of Bāṇa *avataṁsīkṛ* is 'to employ as a garland'. In the Vāmanapurāṇa and Kāvyaprakāśa *karṇāvataṁsa* is an 'ornament for the ear'. In Buddhist works, it has a different connotation. In Divyāvadāna 162.26, 401.14 and Avadānaśataka 1.87.9 it means 'a large number, collection' (Edg.) Section 246 of the Mahāvyutpatti cites words of counting money in the Avataṁsaka. It is titled *ārya-mahāvaipulya-buddha-avataṁsaka-sūtrānta-vitta-gaṇanā-nāmāni* (in Tibetan: *ḥphags.pa.saṅs.rgyas.phal.po.cheḥi naṅ.nas graṅs-kyi leḥu.las byuṅ.baḥi graṅs.kyi miṅ.la*). So the Sanskrit title of the work was known to its redactors, they had the original Sanskrit text from which they cited 124 Sanskrit words. The Mvy was composed by Bactrian and Tibetan preceptors at the court of Emperor Khri.lde.sroṅ.btsan (d.815). The Emperor ordered them to provide Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit terms resulting in the Mahāvyutpatti in 814 CE. Thus the Sanskrit text of the Avataṁsaka was extant in the early ninth century. Mvy.1329 cites *Buddhāvataṁsakam*, Tib. *Saṅs.rgyas.phal.po.che* and no.1341 is *Gaṇḍavyūhaḥ*, Tib. *Sdoṅ.po bskod, Sdoṅ.po bkod.pa* as texts. On the side indicators of the folios of the Kanjur Avataṁsaka is *Phal.chen*. In Udrāyaṇa-avadāna 19.4 *phal.po.che* is *mahā* in Sanskrit in the phrase *skye.bo phal.po.cheḥi.tshogs = mahājanakāya*. In the Blue Annals (Roerich's translation 2.654) the title of the work is *Phal.po.che spoṅ.brgyad.ma* 'Eight Assemblies of the Avataṁsaka'. Buddhabhadra's Chinese translation of the corpus done in 421 CE speaks of eight assemblies held at different locations, three in the human realm and five in the heavens. The Tibetan word *spoṅ* occurs in *Spoṅ.byed* for Vaiśālī where Buddha preached a number of sūtras and established several rules of discipline (*vinaya*). The Tibetan terms *phal.po.che*, *phal.chen* are a translation of *avataṁsaka* as 'a large number, collection' in Divyāvadāna and Avadāna-śataka (Edg.)

Going back to the Chinese translation 'flower ornament', we have to remember that Buddhist terms were rendered into Chinese as explained by Indian or Central Asian masters. They took the popular meaning of the word which led to howlers. The Chinese equivalent of Śuddhodana the father of Śākyamuni is "Pure Rice 浄飯王" (*Śuddha-odana*). The correct analysis of the sandhi is *Śuddha* + *udana* 'irrigation'. *Udanyati* 'to irrigate' occurs in the Rigveda 10.99.8, and *udanyu* 'irrigating' in Rigveda 5.54.2, 9.86.27. The Indian royal ethos enjoined two main duties of a king: *iṣṭa* 'observation of the religious rites' and *pūrta* 'execution of works of public utility'. As an agricultural society, good irrigation was the prime function of the royalty. Hence the name Śuddhodana means 'one who provides excellent water (for irrigation)'.

Avataṁsaka is the prefix *ava-* and the root *taṁs* 'to decorate' in Dhātupāṭha 17.31. It shares its semantics with *bhāma* 'brightness, splendour' or *bhāmin* 'shining, radiant, splendid', both from the Ṛgveda. Avataṁsaka denotes the region of Bamiyan which is the Iranian adjective *bāmā* 'resplendent' + y̱ (glide) + the suffix *ān* for forming place-names. The Sanskrit name of the place was *Bhāma*, where Konākamana Buddha was born as stated in the Mahāvastu. He was the immediate predecessor of Śākyamuni in the mauneya tradition of Four Tathāgatas (detailed in LC.2019:41–45).

The climax of the Avataṁsaka corpus is Gaṇḍavyūha, which means 'Excellent Array' or 'Outstanding Cosmos'. Gaṇḍaº at the beginning of a compound means 'best, excellent' (MW). Its partial translation is entitled Ramyaka-sūtra translated into Chinese by Āryasthira (388–407 CE, K102, Cleary 1983:205). Rammavatī was the birthplace of Dīpaṅkara the Buddha of the Past. Ramyaka became Lamg͟han.Ḥudūd al-'ālam of 982 CE speaks of the River of Lamkān. Bābar extols the beauty of its forested hillsides in the Bābar-nāmā (16th century). The Ramyaka-sūtra localises Avataṁsaka in Bamiyan. The 32nd sutra of the Avataṁsaka in Śikṣānanda's translation enumerates Afghanistan as a dwelling place where Bodhisattvas have appeared since ancient times (Cleary 1986:2.219). One of the twelve subcastes of kṣatriyas in Panjab is Kakkar. They hail from Kakrak in Afghanistan and their gotra is *avatāsh* or Avataṁsaka.

Lam**g͟h**ān was a flourishing town as late as the 10th century, a residence of merchants and an emporium for the products of India. Ḥudūd al-'alam of 982 CE mentions 'idol temples' here. Raja Jayapal was defeated here by Sebüktigin whose dominions were constantly raided by Hindu Pashais and Northern Kafirs. The district of Lamghān is an important food-producing area even today.

The suggestion (PDB p.84) that "the correct Sanskrit title might actually be Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra"...is confirmed by a Sanskrit manuscript found in the Potala, which bears the title *Buddhāvataṁsaka Vaipulyapiṭaka* (V. Tseng, *A Unique Collection of Twenty Sutras in a Sanskrit Manuscript from the Potala*, Vienna, 2010, BEB 2015:128). Vaipulya-piṭaka invited reconsideration of *ta fang-kuang* in the Chinese title (T278). *Ta* does not stand for *mahā*, but for piṭaka as a corpus of texts. It is clear in 大寶積經 (T310) where *ta* stands for corpus and the whole means 'corpus of Ratnakūṭa Sūtras' which are 49 in number. The restoration mahāratnakūṭa has to be given up. Nanjio (p.9) had pointed out long ago that it is a collection of 49 sūtras, arranged by Bodhiruci in 713 CE, who had himself translated 25 of them.

The Tibetan Tanjur has a *maṅgala-gāthā* to Bhagavān by Devendra Santuṣita, which has been correlated to the introduction of Bhagavaddharma's Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka (T278, K79) by the Tohoku Catalogue (1934 no.4404). The auspicious hymn to the Buddha is by Devendra Santuṣita, who is a Prince (*devaputra*) of a Tocharian (*tuṣita*) king. Hsüan-tsang (Beal 1884:50) points out that "the literature, customary rules, and money used in commerce [in Bamiyan] are the same as those of the Tukhāra country". *Tuṣita-kāya* means the kingdom (*kāya*) of the *Tuṣita* devas. Likewise, *Tuṣita-bhavana-kāyika*, *tuṣita-vara-bhavana* are the dominions of the Tuṣitas. Santuṣita is the chief of the Tuṣita gods in the Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and Bodhisattvabhūmi. The auspicious hymn at the beginning of the Avataṁsaka itself correlates it to the Tocharians of Bamiyan which was the founding monastery of the Avataṁsaka with its two colossi.

The idea of a colossal Buddha as an epiphany of the Sun reflects the colossal figures of Greek deities like Apollo, Zeus or Athena Parthenos. The most famous colossus was the 100 feet high bronze statue of Helios (Sun) in Rhodes, to symbolize the might of the divine. The Tokharians spoke a European language and should have been associated with the Greeks, whence their admiration for the colossal Sun. Like the Helios colossus at Rhodes, Rocana/Vairocana was represented as a colossal Sun. The Chinese verily translated Vairocana as 'The Great Sun'.

The Buddha of the Avataṁsaka is termed *abhyuccadeva* 'colossus' in the Gaṇḍavyūha, and he was enshrined as such in Bamiyan. So *avataṁsaka* as a large number in Sanskrit, or as *phal.chen* in Tibetan, refer to the **grandeur** of the colossal Rocana or Vairocana Buddha. *Avataṁsa* as the shining (*taṁs*) ornament was the irradiant sheen of the gigantic images that evoked the wonder and admiration of Persian poets as late as the eleventh century. Gurgānī in his romance *Vīs and Rāmīn* speaks of the "royal jewels and gems, filigree jewels and gold-threaded brocades" of the Bamiyan Buddha (Melikian-Chirvani 1984:274).

Buddhāvataṁsaka seems to be a Tocharian genitive tatpuruṣa compound and would mean 'Buddha of the Avataṁsaka', who is Rocana in Buddhabhadra's translation and Vairocana in Śikṣānanda's version. As the prime sutra of Amitābha was named Sukhāvatī-vyūha after his Sukhāvatī paradise, likewise the corpus of Rocana/Vairocana was named after his paradise Avataṁsaka.

The Avataṁsaka corpus is a collection of different sutras which were independent works. The Sūtrasamuccaya, Ratnagotra-vibhāga, Śikṣāsamuccaya and others cite some them as such (Imre Hamer, BEB 1.122). With the rise of the cult of the colossal Buddha Rocana, 'dharma' dimension was fulfilled by collecting various sutras as a Buddhāvataṁsaka Vaipulya-piṭaka (Tseng 2010:585 n.2). Every denomination had to have the trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The Avataṁsaka denomination affirmed its dharma dimension by putting together its vaipulyapiṭaka.

The Avataṁsaka is a corpus of sutras, and they should not be termed chapters. The journey of young Sudhana is to 54 kalyāṇa-mitras, that is half of the sacred number 108. He begins his journey with a visit to Mañjuśrī (no.1), and finally returns to Mañjuśrī (no.53) who guides him to Samantabhadra (no.54). The word *kalyāṇamitra* has been translated as 'spiritual friend'. Here *mitra* is used in the Iranian sense of *mehrbān* 'kind, benevolent, compassionate, merciful': *Mitra>Miθra>mihir>mēhr*. Thus *kalyāṇamitra* means 'spiritual guide' who blesses the sādhaka into spiritual visualization. To clarify the meaning of the suffix °*mitra* we may cite the name Agni-mitra which cannot be rendered 'friend of fire', but signifies 'Blessed (*mitra*) by the God of Fire (*Agni*)'.

The names of geographical places in the Gaṇḍavyūha begin with South India: Rāmāvatāra 2 which may be Rameshvaram, coastal towns (Sāgaramukha 3, Sāgaratīra 4 on the way to Laṅkā 4), Dramiḍapattana 5, Nālayur 9, and Samudrapratiṣṭhāna 14. Sudhana visits Buddhist places of Magadha 31, 33, Kapilavastu 32, 41, 42, 44, Lumbinī 40, and Bharukaccha 47, 48. All are located in India. They ensure that Gaṇḍavyūha is of Indian origin. There is no evidence of the Avataṁsaka being of Central Asian provenance.

The Avataṁsaka corpus was redacted in Bamiyan and was transmitted to Khotan which was an important repository of Sanskrit texts. They were copied by calligraphers as a profession, to meet the consistent demand. Copying of manuscripts was a flourishing vocation in Nepal and Bali from where my father Prof. RaghuVira used to get them copied on palmleaf or on paper. The copying could be done either in the original ancient script or its transcription in its modern form. The Sanskrit Khotanese conversation scroll Pelliot 5538 records a Khotanese monk going to Wu-tai-shan for pilgrimage. He carries sutras, abhidharma, vinaya and vajrayāna texts to meet his expenses. The first translation of the Lotus Sutra was completed by the Yueh-chih Dharmarakṣa on 15 Sep 286 to put the Western Chin dynasty on firm foundations. The Sanskrit manuscript came from Khotan (see details in my Journey of the Lotus Sutra: Khotan to Tun-huang, in the *Journal of Oriental Studies*, IOP, Tokyo, 2020:Vol.30:23–35). The Chinese got the original Sanskrit Avataṁsaka, both in the 5th and in the 7th century, from Khotan as a matter of course.

The Avataṁsaka denomination developed in the NW region (*udīcya*) of Classical India, where Vedic words and traditions continued to flourish till the genocide of Kafiristan. The Supreme Buddha (Ādibuddha) of the Avataṁsaka is Rocana. This name survives as Roshana in the Sino-Japanese pronunciation. He is the colossus (Daibutsu) of the Todaiji monastery.

The divine light of the heavens was worshipped as *rocana* in the Vedic period without personification: e.g. *divo viśvāni rocanā* (RV.8.5.8) 'all the lights that are in heaven'. Agni is the great light that roams as the messenger between gods and men (*dūto devānām asi martyānāṁ antar mahāṁś carasi rocanena*, RV.10.4.2). The universe shines with light (*viśvam ā bhāti rocanaṁ*, RV.3.44.4). The Sun is the divine light (*asau vā āditya divyaṁ rocanaṁ*, ŚBr.6.2.1.26). The light of the heavens became the second sphere (*rocanā divaḥ*) of the three luminous spheres: (i) *rajas* (divided into lower [*upparaṁ* or *pārthivaṁ rajas*] and upper [*uttamaṁ, paramaṁ or divyaṁ rajas*], (ii) *rocanā divaḥ*, and (iii) *div* or *svar.* The Atharvaveda 6.75.3 speaks of the three *rocanā* (*tisro'ti rocanāḥ*). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa Rocana is one of the Viśve Devāḥ (MW). The three steps of transition can be stated thus: Rocana is one of the Viśve Devāḥ (MW). The three steps of transition can be stated thus: Rocana is originally the divine light, then becomes the luminous sphere and in the Purāṇas one of the gods. Finally, the Avataṁsaka personified Rocana as its Supreme Buddha, represented as a colossus (*abhyuccadeva*) according to the Gaṇḍavyūha.

The NW region of India was saturated with Vedic traditions, and the Rigvedic *Dhiṣaṇā* 'name of the deity presiding over wealth and gain' lived on till recent times in Kafiristan. Sir George Scott Robertson, British Agent at Gilgit, visited Kafiristan in 1888. He has described this journey in

The Kâfirs of the Hindu-Kush (London 1896). He writes: “Dizane is a popular goddess, and is worshipped wherever I have been in Kafiristan”. The new year festival is in her honour. If a son is born, they offer a goat to Dizane on the new year festival. She is propitiated to increase the produce of wheat-fields. An irrigation channel is attributed to her. When men of the tribe go on a raid, she is propitiated day and night by women with the hymn “send my man home safe and unwounded”. Gish, the War God of the Kafirs, is the Rigvedic *gaviṣṭi* ‘ardour of battle, battle’. Robertson (p.114) illustrates a shrine to Gish to whom the Kafirs were sacrificing incessantly and “the sacrificial fires arose almost daily”. The Greek word *theós* ‘god’ stands for **dhes-os* or Sanskrit *dhiṣṇyaḥ* ‘pious, devoted’ (Klein).

Dyaus means sky in the Rigveda and is from the root *div* ‘to shine’ Dyāvāpṛthvī ‘sky and earth’ are praised in six hymns of the Rigveda to protect the rites and to grant wealth. They are the parents of the gods (RV.1.159.1–3). They are invoked to give protection (*dyāvā rakṣatām no pṛthvī abhavāt*, RV.1.185.2–8). *Dyaus* became Zeus the supreme national deity of Greece, and *Dyauṣ pitar* or Jupiter the chief God of the Romans.

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12. THE FIVE TATHĀGATAS

There are several series of Buddhas or Tathāgatas:

(i) Pre-incarnations of Śākyamuni: Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni. They were arbitrarily termed Mānuṣi-Buddhas by Hodgson. This term is not found in any Buddhist text in any language. It should be abandoned.

(ii) The historic Buddha: Śākyamuni.

(iii) Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni and Maitreya: respectively of the past, present and future times.

(iv) The Transcendental Tathāgathas (Pañca-Tathāgata, Pañca-Jina, Pañca-Sugata) are found in a number of series some of which are shown in the conspectus at the end. The misleading term Dhyāni-Buddhas was applied to the Vajradhātu series by Hodgson. Though the number of Five Tathāgatas remained constant, their names, distinguishing features and placement has varied in different textual traditions.

At the beginning of the fifth century, the four Buddhas Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus and Dundubhisvara surround a central Buddha in Dharmakṣema's translation (AD 397–439) of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra (T16.335, 345) and in Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Buddhānusmṛti-samādhi-sāgara-sūtras done in 420–23 (K401, T643, Nj.430).

By the end of the seventh century, Śākyamuni is the central Tathāgata, Lokanātha replaces Dundubhisvara in the north and Ratnasambhava takes the place of Ratnaketu in the south, in the 9th chapter of Bodhiruci's (T20.270) translation of the Amoghapāśa-kalparāja (T1092, K287, Nj.317) done in 707 CE. In the 22nd chapter (T20.346b) of this sūtra another set of Five Tathāgatas is: "Vairocana (centre), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Lokeśvararāja (west) and Amoghasiddhi (north)".

In 709 CE Bodhiruci translated the *Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra (T951, K425, Nj.532) which describes Five Tathāgatas: Śākyamuni (centre), Ratnaketu (east), Saṁkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), and Akṣobhya (north) (T19.247ab).

In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala the Five Tathāgatas are: Mahāvairocana (centre), Ratnaketu (east), Saṁkusumitarāja (south), Amitābha (west), Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa (north). This maṇḍala is based on the Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-sūtra which was translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṁha in 724 CE.

The Five Tathāgatas in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala are: Mahāvairocana (centre), Akṣobhya (east), Ratnasambhava (south), Lokeśvararāja *alias* Amitāyus (west), and Amoghasiddhi (north). This maṇḍala follows the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha whose first section was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in 753 CE (K1274).

A conspectus of the Five Tathāgatas in the texts cited above shows that they were not immutable but subject to change, which later on came to be systematised in different traditions of various denominations. The Five Tathāgatas recounted by Hodgson in the very infancy of Buddhist studies, are not the only system, but *a* system among many, in a multiplicity of contexts, The term Dhyānibuddha was concocted by his Pandit Amritananda, without any textual basis, and should be given up.

To avoid confusion, we must specify the iconic series in which a particular Tathāgata occurs. To speak in broad terms of the iconographic peculiarities of Buddha images leads to blind alleys. Buddhism is a complex phenomenon and loss of context leads to inaccuracy.

	centre	east	south	west	north
Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi sāgara-sūtra	Tathāgata	Akṣobhya	Ratnaketu	Amitāyus	Dundubhisvara
Amoghapāśa-sūtra 9th chapter 22nd chapter	Śākyamuni Vairocana	Akṣobhya Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava Ratnasambhava	Amitāyus Lokeśvararāja	Lokanātha Amoghasiddhi
*Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra	Śākyamuni	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Akṣobhya
Garbhadhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa
Vajradhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava	Lokeśvararāja or Amitāyus	Amoghasiddhi

13. BUDDHISM AND DEFENCE OF THE STATE

Jacques May

(translated from his French in the Hōbōgirin)

Chingokokka 鎮護國家, Protection of the State. In the Buddhism of East Asia, it is a generic name for practices meant for securing the security of the State, the sovereign and the people against troubles, wars, natural calamities, and epidemics. It consists mainly in the construction of monasteries, the reading of certain texts, and the performance of certain rites.

Terminology. The term *chingokokka*, as well as what is designated by it, seems to be exclusively Sino-Japanese. The primary meaning of *chin* is "to weigh upon". We find it, for example, in the modern Jap. *bunchin* 文鎮 "paper weight". In the figurative sense, this character signifies "to repress" (troubles or a revolt), and when toned down "to stabilise, to appease, to pacify". But, in the Chinese binomical *chingo*, the semantic accent is on *go*, which signifies "to protect". The Sanskrit equivalents of *go*, of which there is ample evidence, are the root *rakṣ*, the substantive *pāla* which we find mainly at the end of compounds, and its denominative *pālayati*; secondarily, the root *trā*, which the Indian grammarians traditionally present in the form *trai*. Kokka designates the State, since the time of the Chinese classics. The first character of the binomial *koku*, serves to express the Skt. *rāstra* "kingdom", or "State" in general, since classical India knew no other form of State and traditional Indian sociology has always considered a kingdom as the ideal form of the State. Thus the person known as Rāṣṭrapāla in Skt. is called Gokoku 護國 in Sino-Japanese.

Overview. We know the close relations that Buddhism has maintained with State and power. The "solidarity between the Buddha's law and the Law of the sovereigns" (Mbdj.3629c24) is embodied, as it were, by the very person of the Buddha, of royal race, founder of a religion, and in his legend, which tells us that he was destined to become either a Universal Sovereign, or an Enlightened One. It was under the benevolent eye of the kings Bimbisāra and Prasenajit that the new religion grew. Even then, the Buddha ended a public calamity, an epidemic of plague, in the city of Vaiśālī (I.Cl.§2199). All along the course of their activities, in all the countries where it bore them, Buddhist missionaries have always sought to gain, as soon as possible, the favour of the power and to make their religion the or one of the official religions. One of the principal arguments of their propaganda, and one which is heard most often, in Asia at least, is that Buddhism was useful for the maintenance and proper working of the State, that it held a magic force which could keep away scourges or enemies, thanks to appropriate Rites and Ceremonies, based on various canonical texts.

Chinese and Japanese sources do not permit us to know if such Ceremonies already existed in Indian Buddhism. If one of the texts used in East Asia, the Ninnōkyō (T(tt).8.245–46), is an apocrypha made in China, the others are Indian. We even posses the Sanskrit original of the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra or the Mahāmāyurī for example. But we do not know whether they were used for Ceremonies for the Protection of the State. According to S. Lévi (JA, January–June 1915:19) the Mahāmāyūrī was mainly a charm against serpents. In any case, in India, such ceremonies were more the domain of Brahmins since Vedic times. Even under the Mauryas or the Kuṣāṇas, Buddhism had not enjoyed a status comparable to that accorded to it in the China of the T'angs, in Japan, Tibet or Mongolia. A passage from a text by Kūkai, quoted below, refers to the "Indian example"; but it is a later evidence, and could well be but a stylistic clause (cf. La Vallée Poussin, MCB 5.265).

Texts. The Rites (*Hō 法) of Protection of the State are based above all, on two passages from the Ninnōkyō and the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra, relating to the Caturmahārājika (shitennō 四天王) who play a major role in the Protection of the State. Here, as in other points, Buddhism shows itself heir to the more ancient Indian traditions in its theory of the State and royal power. Four Kings are in fact the heirs of the Lokapālas of the Upaniṣads, of the epic and the purāṇas. The very name Lokapāla, Protector of the World, Ch. *gose* 護世, can serve to designate them. Now, the Brahanical Lokapālas maintain the order of the world, as guardians of the directions. They also mention the order of human society organised into a State which is centred around the royal person: "the body of the king (is) formed of the members of the Lokapālas" (*I.Cl.*§1012). Though secondary figures in Indian Buddhism, the Four Kings have an astonishing fortune in Sino-Japanese iconography: they are everywhere. By consecrating to them the first Buddhist monastery raised on Japanese land, Shōtoku Taishi made himself the unconscious heir of the old Indian sociologies.

The passage in question from the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra belongs to the ancient layers of this text. It appears in the three Chinese translations, respectively composed between 414 and 426, in 597 and in 703 (T16.663 ii 341b13–c3, 664 v 382c3–21, 665 vi 427c6–27). We give here the translation of the version of Yi-tsing 義浄 (T665), according to the excellent German translation of J. Nobel (Savarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra...I-tsing's chinesische Version, Leiden 1958:1.190–91). The corresponding Sanskrit text is on pages 62.4–65.10 of the edition of I(d)zumi Hōkei 泉芳璟, Kyōto 1931. It is amplified and repetitive; the Sanskrit-Chinese equivalences are badly established:

"Then the four God-Kings arose from their seats, uncovered their right shoulders, placed the right knee on the ground, raised their hands joined in a sign of respect, and informed the Buddha: 'Blessed One, in any place: country, city or village, locality, mountain or forest, or solitary spot, which this supreme King of Texts with the radiance of gold penetrates in the future—if, when it has been spread there, the king of that country, with all his heart, listens to this Text, receives it, praises it and honours it; if, besides, he maintains the quadruple Assembly (*Shu 衆) which keeps this Text; if, from the bottom of his heart, he protects it, and keeps it away from decline and tribulations; in such conditions, we shall protect this king and his people; we shall do everything to ensure their well-being, keep Dissatisfaction and Sorrow away from them, fill them with imposing virtue.

"Blessed One, if the King of this country, seeing that the four Assemblies keep this Text, respects them, protects them, furnishes them with all that is necessary, like a father and mother: we the Four Kings shall forever protect him, and cause all Beings to revere him. That is why, with the innumerable Yakṣas and divine beings (shojin 諸神), wherever this King of Texts is spread, making ourselves invisible we shall protect (the king of the country) and see that no calamity happens. We shall also protect the men and kings who listen to this Text with Presence-of-mind. We shall keep away (from them) injury and shall ensure for them complete well-being. We shall set off the complete rout of their enemies from other countries.

'If, when there is a king who listens to this Text, the enemy from a neighburing country thinks of crushing his territory with the four armies: then, O Blessed One, thanks to the imposing power of this King of Texts, this neighbouring enemy, in turn, will have other enemies who will trouble him; scourges shall multiply in his frontiers, epidemics shall spread. Seeing this, the king will prepare his four armies and move towards this country in order to cut it into pieces. Then, with our escort of Yakṣas and divine beings, unlimited and innumerable, we shall give him help and protection, each of us, making ourselves invisible, and we shall cause the enemy to submit, by himself, not daring to advance even upto the frontier. All armed engagement will thenceforth become quite impossible."

The two texts appearing at nos T245 and 246 are both known by the abridged title of Ninnōkyō 仁王經 "Text of the accomplished sovereign". In the presence of the kings of the 16 great countries (jūroku daikoku 十六 大國, Sanskrit *ṣoḍaśa mahājanapada*, T8.245 i 825a27, 246 i 834c25; Lamotte, *Histoire du boudhisme indien*, 8), the Buddha explains to king Prasenajit how a sovereign can protect his kingdom from natural calamities and invasions. Despite this Indian guise, Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 has proved, since 1928, that the work was made in China (*Taishō Daigaku Gakuhō* 大正大學學報, vol.3, June 1928, pp.12–26, cf.BB I no.84; see also T. Matsumoto, *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur*, Bonner Orientalistische Studien, 1, Stuttgart, 1932, pp.19–22). The first version was attributed to Kumārajīva; and Amoghavajra composed the second, in the circumstances which we shall see below. In the Ninnōkyō, Protection of the State is organised as a precise Rite (T(tt)8.245 ii 829c29–830a14):

"Then the Buddha asked the great kings: 'Listen well to me: I shall explain the precise manner of applying the Rite of Protection of the territory of the State (gokokudohō 護國土法). You must receive the Perfection of Sapience. When a territory is about to fall into chaos, when there is destruction, fire, enemies (zoku 賊) who come to pillage the country, ask for a hundred Images of Buddha, a hundred images of Bodhisattvas, a hundred images of Arhats and (invite) a hundred Assemblies of mendicant Monks, four great Assemblies, and seven Assemblies. At the same time, ask a hundred Masters of the Law to read the Perfection of Sapience. Before a hundred seats arising out of the roaring of the lion, light a hundred lamps, burn a hundred (sticks of) incense (with) assorted (perfumes). With flowers of a hundred colours, perform the worship of the Three Jewels. Offer the Masters of the Law the three garments and various objects of common use (jūmotsu 什物); (offer them) also breakfast or lunch depending on the time.

'Great kings, if you cause this Text (to be) read twice a day, the hundred legions (bu 部) of spirits (kijin 鬼神) who inhabit your territory, each of whom can be divided in turn into a hundred legions—all these spirits, delighted to hear this Text, will protect your territory. Great kings, when there is disorder in a country, the spirits are the first to be affected; the spirits being invaded by disorder, it covers the whole population. The enemy comes to pillage the country, massacre the inhabitants. Ministers, princes, crown prince, royal children, officials, become capable of anything. The universe goes out of order: the 28 houses, the stars, the sun, the moon find their times and courses disturbed; enemies surge up in great numbers.

'Great kings, if there is any calamity whatsoever by fire, water, wind, then also this Text must be read, and the Rite be applied in the manner that I have just explained."

The parallel passage of Amoghavajra (T(tt).8.246 ii 840a10–25) has been translated by de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 132–33.

The reading of the Ninnōkyō also permits the dissipation or prevention of the seven Public Calamities (*Nan 難), which also belong to the Protection of the State. See T(tt).8.245 ii 832c1–22, 246 ii 843a18–b5; de Visser, op. cit., 137.

A later text, the *Shugo kokkai shu darani kyō* 守護國界主陀羅尼經 "Text of the dhāraṇī which protects the sovereign of a country" (T19.997) serves as a base for an Esoteric Rite for the Protection of the State. It was translated around the year 800. Kūkai received a copy of it from the translator himself, Prājña, and composed a commentary on it. Though there is no Tib. translation, we can consider it as authentic. This text is principally concerned with the protection of the prince; but through this it also ensures the protection of the subjects (Bskd.5.47–48).

China. As we have seen, the first translation of the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra dates to 414–426. According to Mbdj.3627b29, the Ninnōkyō appears in China towards the Song 宋 epoch 420–479 or Ts'i 齊 479–502. Its diffusion seems therefore to be approximately contemporary to that of the Suvarṇa, or rather a little earlier. The epoch was a difficult one. The Protection of the State was topical. The two sūtras soon had an extended audience, and gave rise to numerous commentaries (Ttt.39.1783 to 1788 on the Suvarṇa, Ttt.33.1705 to 1709 on the Ninnōkyō). Mbdj.3627c4, 13 also mentions "explanations" (kō 講) of these two sūtras by doctors of the Nehan 涅槃 school in the 6th century. As for the Rites, Mbdj.4103b20 notes that a Ninnō daisai 仁王大齋 "great Fast of the Ninnō(kyō)" was held in 559 under the Chin 陳. The most famous Ceremony, however, is that of Amoghavajra performed at Ch'ang-an in 765, when for the first time in China, the Rite of the Protection of the State was performed exactly according to the stipulations of the Ninnōkyō. The empire had not yet surmounted the crisis caused ten years before by the revolt of An Lu-shan 安祿山. It was grappling with a Tibetan and Uigur invasion. Revising the text attributed to Kumārajiva, Amoghavajra composed a new "translation" of the

Ninnōkyō, to which the emperor Tai-tsong 代宗 himself wrote the preface. He had it accompanied by a Ritual (hō 法) and a commentary (shaku 釋), which he had translated (T(tt).19.994, 995, 996). By an imperial decree, he instituted a hundred professorial chairs (kōza 講座) at the Tseu sheng ssu 資聖寺 and the Si ming ssu 西明寺 at Ch‘ang-an, invited a hundred Masters of the Law to explain the new Text, and had a commentary composed for it by his disciple Ryōbi 良賁 (Ttt.33.1708). The Rite proved to be efficacious; the chief of the revolt died that year.

Since the epoch of the Souei 隋, monasteries for the prosperity or the security of the country (kōkokuji 興國寺, ankokuji 安國寺) were constructed here and there in the empire. One found kōkokujis, for example, at King-tcheou 涇州 in Kan-su 甘肅, at Siang-theou 襄州 in Hou-pei 湖北; ankokujis at Ch‘ang-ngan, also at Ch‘ang-tcheou 常州 in Kiang-sou 江蘇. The Ts‘ing-long-sseu 青龍寺 of Ch‘ang-an played an important role in the transmission of the Rites of Protection of the State in the Japanese Esoteric sects. Kūkai and Ennin, among others, stayed there, and were inspired by its architecture, customs and rites, particularly in the establishment of the Tōji of Kyōto and the Sōjiin of Mount Hiei.

Japan. From the beginning of Buddhism in Japan, Protection of the State was one of its important functions. The efficacy it attributes to itself on this point certainly contributed to its introduction, and subsequently to the favour which it rapidly gained from the emperor and the court. The first Japanese Buddhist monastery, the Shitennōji is related to this function. The Ninnōkyō and the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sutra appear among the first sūtras introduced to Japan. All along the 7th and 8th centuries, Protection of the State was organised. Ceremonies were held occasionally, then regularly, at the imperial palace or in the monasteries, some of which were specially constructed for it in the 9th century, the appearance of Esoteric sects gave a new impetus to the Protection of the State. The new sects of the 13th century, Zen and Nichiren in particular, were preoccupied with the question, more pressing than ever in that troubled period. In 1681, the shōgun 將軍 Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 德川綱吉 founded at Edo 江戸 an important Gokokuji 護國寺, which is the home of the Suzuki 鈴木 Foundation now, editor of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon and other works. Some Rites are still performed today, particularly in the Shingon sect.

Among the ceremonies of the Protection of the State, we better clearly distinguish the Assemblies of the Law (hōe 法會, see *E 會), and the Rites (*Hō 法) or the Ceremonies (*Shuhō 修法) to be precise, which more specifically belong to the Esoteric sects.

Assemblies. The most ancient one is the Assembly of the Ninnōkyō (Ninnōe 仁王會), which was held for the first time in 660, more than a century before that which Amoghavajra gathered together at Ch’ang-an. The Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra also furnished the base for the Assemblies of the Law for the Protection of the State: first in the version of the Dommusen (T663) since 676, then in that of I-tsing (T665) since 734. According to the titles of these two versions, the Assembly is called Konkōmyōe 金光明會 or Saishōe 最勝會. Since 802, an imperial decree organised it as a regular Assembly, held each year at the palace, from the 8th to the 14th day of the first moon; since then, in preference, it bears the name of Gosaie or Misaie 御齋會 "Imperial Assembly of the Fast". It lasted till 1467.—Let us mention at this point the "reading while turning" (tendoku 轉讀) certain sūtras: Ninnōkyō, Suvarṇa, Vajracchedikā, Mahā-prajñāpāramitā. For the last text, the tendoku is still practised at the beginning of each year in Zen Rinzai 禪臨濟 monasteries, "not only for the prosperity of the nation, but also for the peace of the entire world" (Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, New York, 1959:78).

Monasteries. The monasteries where Rites, Ceremonies or Assemblies for the Protection of the State are held bear the generic name chingokokka (no) dōjō 鎭護國家道場 "Locations of the Path for the Protection of the State", or in short form chinkoku (no) dōjō. Among these, we can cite the Shitennōji 四天王寺 of Ōsaka 大阪, founded in 593 by Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子; at Nara 奈良 and in Yamato 大和; Tōdaiji 東大寺 and the four great monasteries (*Daiji 大寺) Yakushiji 藥師寺, Gangōji 元興寺 (*= Asuka-dera 飛鳥寺), Kōfukuji 興福寺, and Daianji 大安寺; at Kyōto: Shingon-in 眞言院 of the imperial palace, Tōji 東寺, Jingoji 神護寺, Sōjiin 總持院 in Enryakuji 延暦寺 of Mount Hiei 比叡山. In 741, emperor Shōmu 聖武 decided to construct in each province of the empire, "provincial monasteries " (kokubunji 國分寺) for the specific purpose of the Protection of the State. These included monasteries of monks (kokubunsōji 國分僧寺), the official name (gō 號) of which was Konkōmyo shitenno gokokuji 金光明四天王護國寺 "monasteries for the protection of the country by the Four God-kings [of the Text] of the radiance of gold", and convents of nuns, kokubunniji 國分尼寺, officially Hokke metsuzaiji 法華滅罪寺 "monasteries where one destroys Sins by (reading the Text of the) Lotus of the Law." For the monasteries of monks the basic text was, at first, the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra in I-tsing's version which had just arrived in Japan. To the reading of this Saishōōkyō were added in 758 that of Kongōhannyakyō 金剛般若經 or Vajracchedikā in the version of Kumārajīva (T8.235), and in 806 that of the Ninnōkyō in the ancient version, which maintained its primacy over the revised text of Amoghavajra, except in the Shingon sect. The nuns read the Lotus, as the official name of their convents indicates.

The **Tendai** sect was concerned with the Protection of the State, both in its exoteric branches as well as in its esoteric branch, the Taimitsu 台密. Its founder Saichō 最澄 (Dengyō Daishi 傳教大師) distinguishes two kinds of Acts (gō 業): the Act of Peace-Inspection (*Shikan 止觀) and the Act of Shana 遮那, that is to say of Vairocana (*Dainichi) which no doubt correspond to the exoteric and esoteric formations (Tttt.74:2377 624a11–12): "Those of the Act of Peace-Inspection should permanently read, each day, year after year, the Texts for the Protection of the country, Hokke, Konkō (T663), Ninnō, Shugo 守護 (T997). Those of the Act of Shana should keep Present-in-mind, permanently, each day, year after year, the Dhāraṇīs for the Protection of the country, (dhāraṇīs) of Shana, *Kujaku 孔雀, Fukū 不空, *Bucchō". The students (gakushō 學生) of the Acts of Peace-Inspection and Shana live like hermits in the mountain for twelve years. There each of them cultivates for himself the Energy and accumulates the Practice of Inspection. Eventually, once they return to the world, they repulse the calamities and are in charge of Protecting the country (Mbdj.3629a1–3). The Tendai defines a canon of three Texts more specifically prepared for the Protection of the State (chingokokka no sambukyō 鎮護國家三部經): they are the Lotus, the Konkōmyōkyō (T663) and the Ninnōkyō (T245).

The Taimitsu branch enumerates ten esoteric rites (hihō 祕法) for the Protection of the State. These are: the Unction of the emperor when he mounts the throne (1); various rites and recitations of texts in the imperial palace (2, 3, 5, 7); two astronomical rites related to the course of the sun and moon (4, 6); giving the Prohibitions to the empresses, in order to ensure an easy delivery for them (8); commemorating the anniversary of the emperor (9); and esoteric rite for vanquishing enemy countries (10). Cf. Bdjt.1212b–c s.v. Chingokokka no hō; Mdjt.1615c–1616a.

Another Esoteric Rite of the Tendai is that of the Shijōkōbucchō 熾盛光佛頂, according to T19.964, practised for the first time by Ennin 圓仁 in 850.

The **Shingon** sect elaborated Rites and Ceremonies, and allocated the most illustrious monasteries, especially the Tōji and the Jingoji for the Protection of the State. Since 810, Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 performed the Rite of the Ninnōkyō at the Jingoji. In 796, two years after the transfer of the capital to Kyōto, two monasteries had been founded for the protection of the new capital. These were the Saiji 西寺 and the Tōji 東寺 situated to the west and the east of the Rajō gate (Rajōmon 羅城門, which is the Rashōmon 羅生門 made famous by the novel by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 and the film inspired by it).

In 823, Kūkai installed himself at the Tōji, whose function of the Protection of the State he confirmed, and which received in 825, the official name of Kyōōgokokuji 教王護國寺 "monastery for the Protection of the country by the King of Teachings". The Saiji did not have the brilliant destiny of its opposite number; it is now a modest Jōdo 淨土 temple. In 829, Kūkai founded a Shingon-in 眞言院 in the very enclosure of the imperial palace specially allocated for the Rites of the Protection of the State.

Among the Rites of the Protection of the State practised by the Shingon sect, we may cite:

1. The Goshichinichi no *mishiho 後七日御修法 "imperial ceremony of consecutive seven days", celebrated each year from the 8th to the 14th day of the first moon, at the Shingon-in, since 834, suppressed from 1871 to 1882, and now it is held at the Kanjōin 灌頂院 of Tōji;
2. The Rite of the Ninnōkyō according to the Ninnōkyō of Amoghavajra and its Ritual, T(tt)8. 246 and Tt(t)19.994;
3. The Rite of the Kujakukyō 孔雀經 (T19.982, Skt Mahā-māyūrī);
4. The Rite of the Shōukyō 請雨經 (T19.989, Skt Mahā-megha-sūtra) against drought;
5. The Rite of the Shugokyō 守護經 (T19.997);
6. The Rite of Taigensui or Daigensui 太(大)元師, according to T21.1237, 1238 and Tt.21.1239.

In the Kamakura epoch, the **Zen** sect in turn elaborated theories for the Protection of the State. Eisai 榮西 composed a Kōzengokokuron 興禪護國論 "Treatise for the Protection of the country by the development of Meditation" (Tttt.80.2543), and declared that Zen monasteries are founded above all for the Protection of the State and the Benefit of Beings.

Nichiren 日蓮 composed a Risshōankokuron 立正安國論 (Tttt.84.2688), and a Shugokokkaron 守護國家論 where he explained how the Good Law of the Lotus protects the State, while defending it against those who attack its doctrines. If calamities do not stop assaulting this country, he says, it is because of the fashion of the Perverse Laws, such as the doctrine of the Rememoration of Buddha (nembutsu 念佛); they must be forcefully repressed.

For more details on the question of the Protection of the State in Japan, especially for references to Japanese sources, we shall refer to the work by de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, Paris, 1928–1935. This article owes much to it.

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14. SHADOWS OF BUDDHISM IN SUFISM

1. Balkh & Barmecides. The roots of Sufism recall the paradigms of Balkh. E.G. Browne in *A Literary History of Persia* explained Sufism "as the reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion imposed upon it by force". Just as Persia was merged into the Islamic cosmopolis, but retained its intellectual life, likewise the forms and ideas of Balkh saw transformation in Sufism. Al-Beruni (972–1039) and Dara Shikoh (1615–58) traced many parallels between the Upanishads and Sufism. Sufism arose in Balkh as the resurgence of its pre-Islamic traditions. The early Sufis like Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Balkhi, Abu 'Ali Shaqiq Balkhi and 'Abdur Rahman Balkhi were from Balkh. Amir Khusrau (d.725) belonged to Balkh. Jalaluddin Rumi was born in Balkh in 1207. Rumi accompanied his father Bahauddin Walad, after the destruction of Balkh, to the old Roman province of Iconium (Qonia) in present day Turkey. From Qonia he got the surname Rumi or the Roman. He died there in 1273 and is buried there.

Some of the early Sufis were from Iran. Mansur-i-Hallaj was the son of Majian Bayzda, Bistami the grandson of a Majian. Mansur travelled widely and also came to India. He was put to death in 922 because he shouted 'I am God'.

Balkh had the great NowBahar monastery of the Iranian Barmecides, besides ten hamlets called nowbahars from Mashad to Neyshabur, where the influx of passion and pleasure along with spiritual companionship between men and women were an insular development in contrast to monastic Buddhism with its emphasis on philosophical dialectics.

2. Iranian identity of Balkh. The city of Balkh in Tukhara was built by King Gushtasp of Persia according to Tuan Ch'êng-shih (ca.800–863, Waley 1952:171). It was the capital of the satrapy of Khorāsān in the Achaemenid empire. The form of the name in the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius is *Bāxtriš*, in Avesta *Bāxδī*, in Greek *Bâktra*. R.N. Frye (1.1001) says: "perhaps the original form was *Bāxdrī from the name of the river." After the conquest of Alexander the Great, it became the center of Graeco-Bactrians. Alexander married Roxana (Persian Ruxsana) the daughter of the Bactrian King Oxyartes. It was the capital of the Kushans after its conquest by Kujula Kadphises. Kaniṣka, who had obtained the kingdom from the [West Asian] goddess Nana and all the gods, stopped the use of the Greek language and replaced it by Western Iranian (*arya baso*), termed Bactrian by European scholars. Kaniṣka's adoption of Bactrian in preference to Greek shows the assertion of his Iranian identity.

Bactria was given preference over other regions by the Kushans. The river Oxus bordering on Bactria was personified as Oaksho (Vakṣu) on some coins of Huviṣka (Mukherjee 1976:4). "The use of Bactrian for the main legend on almost all known coins of the later Kushan emperors indicates (sic) that Bactria was still to them the most important area of their empire" (ibid.5).

Kushans had diplomatic relations with Khotan (Mukherjee 2004:15). Baxtriš in the Old Persian inscriptions can be explained as *baxt* 'destiny' with the suffix *-ri* as in the Avesta proper name *Tigri*. Balkh was planned as a 'City of Destiny', as a representative of the collective awareness of the Iranian peoples, that is as a *Gesamtvolk* in the words of W. Geiger. The Sanskrit name of Balkh is *Bhadra* 'blessing, prosperity', a translation of *baxt* 'destiny'. It occurs in *bhadrāsana*, the mode of sitting in the Bactrian way with the legs hanging down. The name *Bāhlīka* occurs as early as the AtharvaVeda.

Since the second century, NowBahar came up to the south-west of the city of Balkh as the most splendid centre of Buddhism in the Iranian world. The erotocentric Buddhism of NowBahar was to become the "Pure Love, like Beauty, coming but from Him" of Jāmi. The Chinese pilgrim-scholar Hsüan-tsang visited Balkh on the insistent invitation of the king (Waley 1952:24).

The Persians clung to their identity with tenacity. They composed books on their superiority (Browne 1902:1.268). The marriage of Husayn and Shahr-banu the daughter of the last Sasanian King Yazdigird III represented the Prophetic and the Kingly right and virtue, being at the same time descended from the Holy Prophet and the Imperial house of Sasan. The Iranians of Balkh witnessed the splendour of their 'mother of cities' being destroyed to rubble from 653 to 1220:

653	Arab commander al-Aḥnaf raided Balkh and got tribute.
663–64	Balkh was conquered by the Arabs.
	The Nowbahar shrine was destroyed.
	Prince Nēzak Tarkhān occupied Balkh and harassed the Arabs.
—	Frequent revolts against the Arabs.
705	The city suffered from frequent warfare and it was in ruins by 705.
725	The governor of Khurāsān Asad moved the garrison to Balkh and started rebuilding the city.
736	Asad transferred the capital of Khurāsān from Marw to Balkh.
870	Descendants of Princess of Khuttal held sway.
900	Balkh passed under Sāmānid rule.
10th century	Arabic geographers describe Balkh as "the mother of cities".
1220	The city was destroyed by Činggis Khān and its inhabitants massacred.

Sufism was the resurrection of the cultural values and forms of Balkh in the splendour and majesty of the Islamic cosmopolis.

3. Mystic Love in Sufism & the concupiscent images of NowBahar. True to the erotocentric Tantras of NowBahar, the Sufis used erotic bacchanalian symbolism to reveal their ecstasy. In the words of Jāmi in *Yūsuf ū Zulaikhā* as translated by E.G. Browne:

But beauty cannot brook concealment and the veil,
It will burst all bonds and
from its prison-encasement reveal itself to the world.

From the rose flashed forth His beauty
And the nightingale beholding it, loved madly.
Pure Love, like beauty, coming but from Him
Reveals itself in thee.

Rumi's words on the eve of his death evoke the immortality achieved by Love:

If I should die
I bid you carry me to where my love might lie
There let me be
And if she would give my cold lips just one kiss,
Believe me, I would live again by this.

Rumi is eloquent on the **mystic Love** inherent in human existence.

Live in love's ecstasy, for Love is all that exists. It evokes the Tantric traditions of NowBahar. The Cakrasaṁvara-tantra says:

The most excellent place for yogis is
Wherever there is a gathering of yoginis;
There all the spiritual powers will be attained
By all those blissful ones.

NowBahar was a great centre of Vajrayāna tantras with their deities in amorous embrace: the male deity representing compassion and the female gnosis. The body itself is a divine mansion, where purity and orgy are fragments of life and liberation. In the philosophical foundations of iconic presentations, tumescence culminated into transcendence. These traditions of Balkh lived in the Love of Sufi poetry.

The concupiscent statues of goddesses at NowBahar in Balkh established the equation "ideal beauty = Buddhist image" in the East Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideas of the grace of Buddhist statues. Ayyūqī writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was...a Buddhist statue in a temple full of offerings." Further on, we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138–42 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddhist statue), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery which was well-known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature upto the time of Yaqub in the 13th century.

4. Sun of Rumi & Amitābha. The Sun is the central symbol of Rumi's poetry. He found the perfect mirror of Divine Beauty and Majesty in the wandering dervish Shams-al-Din 'the Sun of Religion' and used his name as his *nom de plume* in most of his lyrics:

May the outward sun be single,
Thou canst imagine a similar one.
But the sun of the soul which is beyond the Ether,
Has no equal, neither in the mind nor in the world.

The Sufi 'Sun' reminds of the cult of Amitābha Buddha, which dominated Balkh. Amitābha means *amita* 'infinite, transcendent' and *ābha* 'Sun'. *Ābha* is the Persian *āf* in *āftab* 'Sun'.

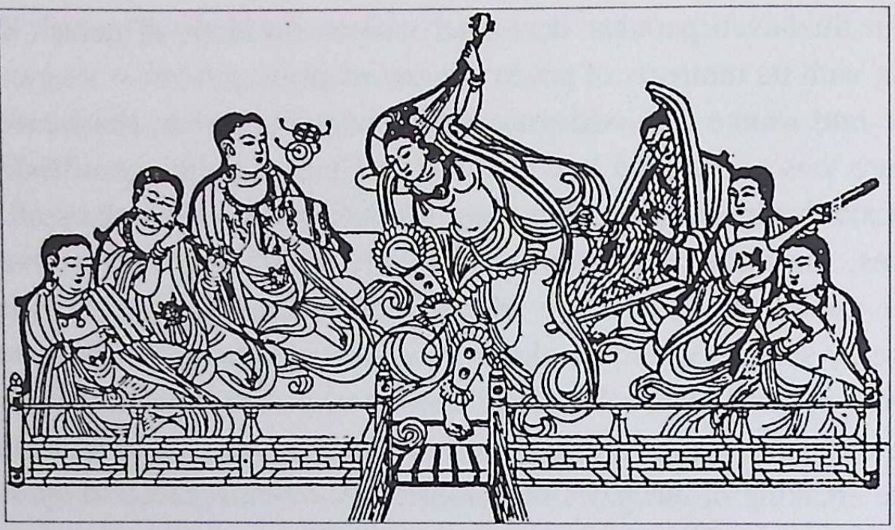
Amitābha dwells in Sukhāvatī paradise decorated with seven kinds of gems. They represent the glories of Ecbatana with its ramparts of seven colours of gems.

5. Sufi music and dance & Goddesses of Dance to ascend to the heaven of Amitābha. Amitābha's scripture was transmitted to China and in Chinese paintings of Sukhāvatī music and dance are steps to attain samādhi, which is *sama* in Sufism. "In *sama* the soul reaches a sphere beyond the spheres, the dervishes listen to a melody which comes from beyond the Divine Throne ... It is the moving force of Love which brings everything into being and lifts it up to never-ending heavenly spheres where the dance continues without end" (H. Qasemi, *The Maulavi Flute*). The heavenly spheres where the dance continues are the dhyāna-bhūmis of the Buddhist Abhidharma. The dervishes dance whirling around in their way to *sama-e-samawi*. Rumi has said: "Music is the creaking of the gates of Paradise." Though objected to by stern sharia bound Muslims, music has played an important role in Sufi life. To the spiritually advanced God reveals Himself unveiled.

The Chinese paintings of Amitābha show six musicians playing three kinds of musical instruments of (i) percussion, (ii) wind and (iii) strings. They are three stages of *nāda-laya*. The mind absorbed in *nāda* becomes calm as it is diverted from all surrounding attractions. Very loud sounds of the percussion instruments like kettle drums, intermediate sounds of wind instruments like the flute, and the subtle sounds of strings like the vīṇā, and finally unstruck musical instruments gradually lead the *sādhaka* or visualizer to transcend to the light of Amitābha. The music is accompanied by dance, the enlivening moments of the Divine. Dance is vibrant dedication of the self to the Supreme Self. In Tantric Buddhism, the graceful curves of dance, intensified by the use of music, were a means of integration into Cosmic Consciousness.

The Goddesses of Dance (Nṛtyā, Lāsyā, Gītā, Vādyā) at NowBahar were renowned for their charming grace in the Iranian world. The abbots of this monastery were called Paramaka, which became Barāmika in Arabic and Barmecides in English. The dancing girls in Egypt were called *barmaki* and claimed to be descendants of the Barmecides. Iranian literature retained poignant memories of the dancing beauties of NowBahar upto the time of Yāqub in the 13th century. The dancing beauties live on in the whirling dervishes. In the tradition of NowBahar, extreme passion and extreme serenity, the most abstract defined by the most carnal, became oneness with the Divine. In Sufism, the whirling dance becomes dynamised in union with God. We feed heaven with the offerings of music and dance.

The mausoleum of Rumi is called "Lovers' Ka'bah" by Jami. To its north is the dance hall of the dervishes (Hu.1.125). A Sufi in the state of love (*ishq*) speaks in the voice of a woman. The Sufi poetics of love can be glimpsed in the images of NowBahar. The images were celebrated in Iran as *Bot-e Māhrūy* 'moon-faced Buddhist images'. Early Persian poets sing of pure beauty as adorned Buddhist images thus creating a connection of concupiscence and Buddhist deities which was transformed into divine love in Sufism. Beyond the impermanence of appearances, the concupiscent goddesses of NowBahar breathe an inner unity of the viewer in his journey to the yonder.



Sketch of a dancing scene in the meditation on Amitābha in Tun-huang Cave 113 of the 8–9th century.

6. Song of the Reed & Flute of Lord Krishna. The opening lines of the Mathnavi of Rumi are a song of the reed:

Listen to the reed and the tale it tells
As it laments of separation.
The sound of the reed is made from fire, not breath.
It is Love's fire that ignites the reed.

Rumi stands in the ancient tradition of the flute, that is the soul's longing for its home in the infinity of the Divine. It is allusion to the imagery of the lovely flute played by Lord Krishna to draw the human heart to the Divine. The *līlas* of Krishna at Vrindavan are happenings on the spiritual plane, and Vrindavan is the inner consciousness of men. The longing of Rādhā, the flute of Krishna and their esoteric passions are the embodiment of Love's spiritual sensuality. The ingenious integration of the esoteric and aesthetic, the religious and spiritual is the transcending intimacy of human beings with divine sensuality. Even European scholars like Hawkridge sense the flute of Krishna in Sufi songs: "The songs of mystic Persian poets still charm a reader, whether or not he realises what they express, as did the cowherds wives surrounding Krishna with passion, the pain and longing of the soul on the way of God."

The flute of Krishna is the music of Love in Rumi's Diwan-i Shams. The commentary on the Petavatthu refers to Vāsudeva's (or Krishna) killing of Kaṁsa the King of Kaṁsabhoga whose capital was Asitañjana. Asitañjana was the metropolis of Bactria or Balkh. The *rāsa* dance of Krishna and gopīs is termed *hallīsaka* which may go back to Hellas or the Eleusian mysteries. Balkh was a land of multiple cultural strands which were being interiorised into Buddhism. Five unique woven rugs with the legends of Krishna have been found in Shanpula in the Khotan district. They have been dated from the third to the early seventh century. They employ the asymmetrical 'Persian' knot. Khotan was an Iranian area like Balkh (Zhang He, Figurative and inscribed carpets from Shanpula, Khotan: unexpected representations of the Hindu God Krishna, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology*, 2012:5.59–94).

7. Charkha of Sufism & Dharmacakra of Buddhism. Shah Hussain is a master of style in his short poems (*kafi*) with esoteric rhythms. In the symbolism of his kafis the charkha or spinning wheel emerges as a metaphor for the wheel of the spiritual journey. It reminds of the Dharma-cakra or Wheel of Dharma of Buddhism. The wheel stands for the Teachings of the Buddha. Sufism was born from the sacred soil of Balkh and it eternalised its deep roots in the new of Islamic transformation as the charkha.

8. The Way of Sufism & Yāna of Buddhism. The Sufis call the journey of the heart and soul to God 'The Way', reminiscent of the Buddhist term *yāna* in Mahāyāna, Ekayāna or Vajrayāna as 'The Way'.

9. Sufi Sama & Samādhi in Buddhism. The roots of Sufism recall the paradigms of Balkh. Rumi speaks of *sama* as an elevating power.

10. Sūf 'wool' & the duṣya ceremony in Buddhism. The derivation of the name Sufi has been a matter of dispute. Various etymologies have been proposed. The word Sufi appears to have been derived from *sūf* 'wool', as woollen raiment was the dress of fakirs and wandering dervishes. It was worn as a sign of renunciation. It brings to mind the rags from dust heaps used for garments by Buddhist monks (*pāṁsukūlika*) as one of the twelve dhūtaguṇas, which means 'qualities or virtues of the purified person'. From Balkh to Doshi to Bamiyan was an important highway of trade in ancient times and continues to be till now. Doshi means the centre of making *duṣya* or woollen raiments. The commentary on the Dhammapada speaks of the ceremony of putting on the *dussa* or 'woollen garment'. Lord Buddha used to live in the house of a merchant in Nalanda who was selling the woollen raiments from remote Gandhara. The Buddhist *dussa* became the characteristic of the Sufi order, named after *sūf* 'wool'.

To end with Rumi:

O my choice beauty you've gone
but your love remains in my heart
your image in my eye (Hu 1.36)

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15. PADMASAMBHAVA DEMYSTIFIED

1. Birth Padmasambhava was "born upon a mound of lotuses in lake Dhanakośa" (Tucci 1949:376, thaṅka no.33, plates 59–63). His life called Padma.thaṅ.yig (PTY) relates it in chapter 13. This thaṅka shows the solemn figure of Padmasambhava with his two consorts, the Indian Mandāravā and the Tibetan Ye.śes.mtsho.rgyal. His miraculous birth from a lotus in the middle of the sea is shown to the right. Birth from the lotus means that his parentage is not known. The shores of oceans were frequented by multinational merchants from far-off lands. Sailing across the seas for months, the sailors enjoyed their freedom on reaching entrepots, and put life into women (padma, lotus) they encountered. Dhanakośa is a mistaken restoration of a Tibetan word for *ratnākara* 'ocean'. Dhanakośa indicates transoceanic trade, and should be restored in Sanskrit as *ratnākara*. Vikramāṅkadeva-carita 1.12 says रत्नेषु लुप्तेषु बहुष्व् अमर्त्यैर् अद्यापि रत्नाकर एव सिन्धुः "though a large number of jewels are lost in the tidal disturbances yet men call the ocean 'mine of jewels' (*ratn-ākara*)." The PTY (ch.14) describes the region of Dhanakośa in Uḍḍiyāna. It is Kanchi (see 2 iii) and Dhanakośa refers to the seas and islands beyond the kingdom of Kanchi which was an important seaport for Siṁhala, Suvarṇadvīpa and as far as China. Hsüan-tsang points out its importance as a seaport.

Tulku Thondup says that "Guru Rinpoche was born miraculously in that lotus by miraculous birth (Tib. *brdzus skyes*) without human parents."

2. Oḍḍiyāna/Uḍḍiyāna is Kanchi. Three toponyms have to be distinguished:

(i) Urdi which occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's sutra *kāpiśyāḥ sphak, Bālhy Urdi Pardibhyaś ceti vaktavyam/ Bālhāyanī Aurdāyanī Pārdāyanī*. It is the Uri sector of Baramulla in Kashmir.

(ii) Oḍra is Orissa in eastern India. *The Tamil Lexicon* 1.585: *Oṭṭiyam* < Ōḍra, Telugu *Oḍḍe*, Kannada *Oḍḍi*, Malayalam *Oḍiyam* = Orissa.

Hsüan-tsang travelled from Karṇasuvarṇa to Wu(or U)-t'u 烏荼 pronounced Uḍa or Oḍa. It has been identified with Oḍra, which is modern Orissa (Watters 1905:2.194). Beal 1884:2.204 transcribes U-cha (Uḍra).

(iii) Oḍḍiyāna is Kanchi. Both words Kanchi (Skt.) and Oḍḍiyāna (Tamil) have the same meaning of 'girdle'. Kanchi was the great seaport to Srilanka (*laṅkāvatāra*) and Indonesia. The sea-lanes were the avenues of affluence (*ratnākara*, *dhanakośa*). Tāranātha names the rulers of Bengal and Kanchi in his history of Buddhism in India (*CHI*.1.128–139). European scholars could not distinguish the cerebral *ḍ* ड of Oḍḍiyāna and the dental *d* द of Udyāna (mod. Swat). So they identified Oḍḍiyāna with Udyāna or Swat, as the NW of India was known as the dominant region of Buddhism, while the role of Kanchi in the study and spread of Buddhism had not been realised then, nor is it now. Bodhidharma, Vajrabodhi, Buddhaghosa the great masters of Buddhism worked in Kanchi.

The Tibetan tradition speaks of Kanchi. Tucci (1949:1.213–214) points out that "the Guhyasamāja (GS) was revealed to King Indrabhūti in Uḍḍiyāna". The king was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi who knew and could explain the GS. The GS was commented upon by Candrakīrti, a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna who was born at Kanchi and whom the texts call *Kāñcannara* (correct to *Kāñcī-nara* 'man from Kanci'). Indrabhūti as an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi was the presiding deity of Maṅgakoṣṭha situated in Oḍḍiyāna. Maṅgakoṣṭha is modern Ekāmreśvara at Kanci (*maṅga* and *āmra* mean 'mango').

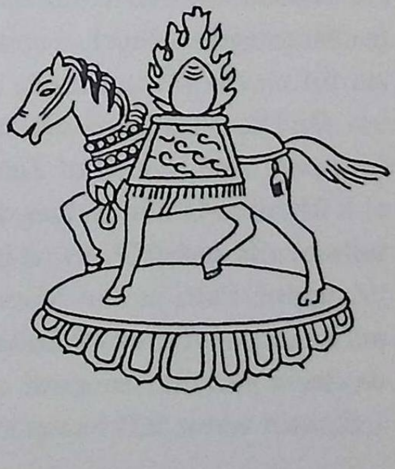
Pratts (1978:200–202) points out that the Tibetan tradition is unanimous in considering Dgaḥ.rab.rdo.rje as the first human teacher of Dzogchen. He was born in Uḍḍiyāna and his mother Prahariṇī was the daughter of King Indrabhūti who discovered Padmasambhava. The *Ḥdus.paḥi lo.rgyus* by Dge.rtse Paṇḍita holds that Dgaḥ.rab.rdo.rje was a contemporary of Padmasambhava.

I have discussed the identification of Oḍḍiyāna with Kanci at length in 'Oḍḍiyāna: a new interpretation' (*CHI*.1.146–164).

Prof. Herbert V. Guenther, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada wrote on 31 July 1979: "It was a pleasant surprise to receive your two articles which I have read with greatest interest. In particular the assessment of Oḍḍiyāna is excellent. Personally I never believed that this place was in the Swat valley as claimed by G. Tucci. There is no lake and it is far away from any cultural cross-roads. It seems that much of Indian culture in historical and geographical perspectives will have to be rewritten. Your articles are valuable contributions."

3. King Indrabhūti (misunderstood as Indrabodhi) of Oḍḍiyāna failed to have a son (PTY ch.15). He practised *dāna-pāramitā* and other rituals to be able to adopt a bright and capable son.

4. King Indrabhūti resolved to set out by sea to obtain the cintāmaṇi (ch.16) and he prayed to the cintāmaṇi, "having gathered precious gems from the sea, with the desire of benefitting others" (ib.376 no.12). The word *cintāmaṇi* has been wrongly understood as a fabulous jewel that grants all the wishes of its possessor. Actually here *cintāmaṇi* means a special breed of horse. Vaman Shivaram Apte (*The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1998:710) gives the following meaning: "3. A kind of horse, having a big curl on the neck: **कण्ठे यस्य महावर्तौ यस्याश्वस्य प्रजायते। चिन्तामणिः स विज्ञेयश् चिन्तितार्थ-विवृद्धिदः॥** (Śālihotra of Bhoja, edited by Dr. E.D. Kulkarni, p.18). Whenever Indians travelled across seas to survey islands they carried horses with them on the ship. The Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra (ch.16, pp.158–202) relates the story of merchant Siṁhala who went to the Siṁhala island with 500



merchants. They are ship-wrecked and allured are by the demonesses with whom they enjoy life. They are warned by the miraculous horse Balāha of the impending danger. Balāha ferries merchant Siṁhala across the ocean. In transoceanic travel the horse was conveyance on shore the island. The word *balāha* 'cloud' refers to the strong dark brown steeds that were imported into India from Kambuja or Central Asia.

In Tibetan, cintāmaṇi horse is the precious horse (*aśva-ratna*, Tib. *rta.mchog rin.po.che*) with thirtytwo masks of a divine horse. He travels fast and tirelessly. He bears the monarch speedily across, with royal ease. The original technical term denoting the breed of the horse was misinterpreted as the flame-haloed precious jewel on the saddle of the horse.

King Indrabhūti must have boarded a ship with a cintāmaṇi steed to be able to go round the island to search a foundling son, who could continue to benefit the people with good governance. This is the intended sense of "having gathered precious gems from the sea, with the desire of benefitting others" (cited earlier from Tucci). The esoteric Tibetan statements have to be considered on three levels: (i) as a fact which has not been stated, (ii) as an esoteric myth, and (iii) the myth being expounded as symbolic of philosophical concepts. The entire life of Padmasambhava has to be explained as various stages in his life from a foundling child to becoming the Second Buddha.

5. PTY ch.17: The King sees a miraculous child in the middle of a lotus garden, makes him his son and names him Padmarāja. Tucci says that the King and his ministers found him on the road: a more realistic statement.

6. The King brought the child to the palace and consecrated him as the Crown Prince (Tucci no.12). The young Prince was trained in all the royal arts and skills of the state (PTY ch.18). He had grown up in unrestrained non-family life, and could not settle down in an ordered system. Padmasambhava means born of an unknown mother (padma). He had been loitering free on the pathways, and was unable to adjust to a settled life, even if it lead to the rule of a kingdom. He renounced the kingdom (ch.21) and went to the park to meditate under the tree of paradise. He underwent various penances and was worshipped by ḍākinīs (Tucci nos.13, 15). He renounced the world to serve a greater number of beings through the path of esoteric teachings (*gsaṅ.sṅags*).

7. The monastery where he spent his religious life can be deduced from his Pure Land (*dag.paḥi zhiṅ.khams*) of Zaṅs.mdog Dpal.ri.

The Gatshel Publishing (Dgaḥ.tshal), Bangkok, Thailand published a sumptuously illustrated volume *Zangdok Palri: The Lotus Light Palace of Guru Rinpoche* in 2012. It translates "Zangdok Palri as the 'Glorious Copper-Coloured Mountain' which is known as a Buddhist pure land manifested through the enlightened power of Guru Rinpoche. It is an enlightened world, a paradise on earth..." (p.3). Dpal.ri has not been understood as a proper name of the mountain where Padmasambhava practised meditation. The Tibetan term for pure land is *dag.paḥi* *zhiṅ.khams* (p.88 n.2). The Tibetan expression Zaṅs.mdog Dpal.ri 'Tāmravarṇa Śrīparvata' is a misunderstanding of Tāmraparṇī Śrīparvata. Tāmraparṇī is Srilanka. The monastery on Śrīparvata was associated with Srilanka and it was the abode of Srilankan monks. *Tāmra* was understood correctly as 'copper', but *parṇī* was misinterpreted as *varṇī* from *varṇa* 'colour'. The epithet 'copper-coloured' was really Tāmraparṇī 'Srilanka'. It was added to distinguish Śrīparvata from the Śaiva Śrīśailam. Śrīśailam is mentioned in the Purāṇas as a *siddhi-kṣetra* where Śiva and Pārvatī reside. The presiding deity is Mallikārjuna, one of the Twelve Jyotir-Liṅgas.

What the tradition calls his pure land or heaven is really the Śrilankan monastery at Śrīparvata where Padmasambhava lived as a monk.

Tucci (1959:603) writes: "This heaven, which tradition has imagined and paintings represent on a mountain in the middle of the sea, is called Zaṅs.mdog Dpal.ri, the copper-coloured mountain. According to Rñin.ma.pa traditions it is in the country of Rṅa.yab.laṅ.kaḥi.gliṅ, to the NW of Rdo. rje.gdan, Bodhgayā." Tucci translates Dpal.ri as Śrīgiri. It is not Śrīgiri but Śrīparvata. Rṅa.yab laṅ.kaḥi.gliṅ means the Cāmara (Rṅa.yab) island near Laṅkā.

Śrīparvata is mentioned for the first time in a Brahmī inscription of the Srilankan King Kaniṭṭha Tissa who ruled about AD 226–244. He remitted the taxes to the Bodhi house of the Śrīparvata monastery and made a donation to its refectory. A second inscription of the same king records the construction of an uposatha-house and the perpetual grant of revenue of the village for its maintenance, besides two tanks and tracts of fields for the benefit of the monks of Śrīparvata. Inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa speak of two monastic establishments of Mahāvihāravāsin monks from Srilanka (*Siṁhala-vihāra*). Śrīparvata became a sacred spot because of the Bodhi-vṛkṣa-prāsāda at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Brāhmī inscription of the second Ikṣvāku King Śrī Māṭharīputra Vīrapuruṣadatta mentions the caitya-gṛha over the Cūla-dharma-giri on the Śrīparvata hill east of the Ikṣvāku capital Vijayapurī. The location of the caitya: *Śiripavate Vijayapurīya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāre cūla-dhamma-girīyaṁ cetiyaṁ gharaṁ*. It was for teachers from Srilanka (Tāmraparṇī-dvīpa) who were spreading the Dharma to Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, Cīna, Cilata, Tosali, Avaraṁta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsa, Yavana, Damila, Palura and Tambapaṇṇi-dvīpa.

Ikṣvāku inscriptions invariably prefix Śrīparvata to the Vijayapurī city. Construction of a mahācaitya in the 6th regnal year of King Vīrapuruṣadatta and the arrival of new architects in his 14th regnal year indicate intensive Buddhist structural activities. His title is Śrīparvatādhipati 'King of Śrīparvata'. Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang point out that Nāgārjuna resided at Śrīparvata till his death. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa refers to vihāras of Śrīparvata. For Hsüan-tsang's account see Watters 1905:200–208.

Padmasambhava made a journey to the Rṅa.yab or Cāmara country as seen in allusions to it in thaṅka no.33 (Tucci 1949:373f). King Indrabhūti had found him on the Cāmara island near modern Srilanka.

Tucci (1959:603) says that Padmasambhava's heaven "is called Zaṅs.mdog dpal.ri, the copper-coloured mountain: according to rÑiṅ.ma.pa tradition it is the country of rṄa.yab laṅ.kaḥi.gliṅ, to the NW of rDo.rje.gdan, Bodhgaya." In note 293 on p.617 Tucci has identified

Śrīgiri, Śrīparvata as one of the chief centres of late Buddhism. It corresponds to Nāgārjuni-koṇḍa, in the Guntur district, where the famous stūpa stands. (See Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, n.54, pp.5, 6; Epigraphia Indica, vol.XX, p.1ff; Rahula Sānkrityāyana, Recherches Bouddhiques, JA, 1934, pp.208, 212)."

8. Padmasambhava came to Za.hor where he chose Mandāravā as his female companion and took the name Padmasambhava (Tucci 1980:148). Once during copulation with Mandāravā, his enemies excited the mob against him and induced the king to condemn both to be burnt alive. The flames changed into a lake. The master and his mate were sitting embracing on a lotus flower in the middle of the lake (ib.385). This lake has been taken to be the Rawalsar in Mandi in the Himalayas. Padmasambhava was always on the eastern flank of India. The tradition is clear and precise in locating it in Zahor which is modern Sahore in the Birbhum district of Bengal.

9. The powerful Tibetan Emperor Khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan (755–97?) extended his dominions over the greater part of Yunnan and even took Ch'ang-an the capital of China. He was the son of a Chinese princess, and inherited strong fervour for Buddhism from his mother. He succeeded to the throne at the tender age of thirteen years. His royal priest the Indian Śāntarakṣita was an outstanding philosopher, and expounded the teachings of the ten virtues, of the eight component elements of the individual and of the twelve-part causal chain. Unfortunately, during this time Tibet experienced natural calamities. The crops were damaged and epidemics spread affecting people and cattle. People blamed Śāntarakṣita for these natural calamities as they believed that his teachings had enraged the local spirits. He was forced to return to Nepal. He advised Emperor Khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan to invite the great Tantric master Padmasambhava who was endowed with extraordinary magical powers to subdue the powerful demons of Tibet to establish a Buddhist order. The Emperor sent a delegation of seven intellectuals to invite him. Padmasambhava was in Nepal accompanied by his consort Mandāravā who was a sister of Śāntarakṣita. Padmasambhava responded to the invitation and came to Tibet in 747. His imposing personality, his vajra which symbolises the divine might of Indra the King of Gods, his sonorous intonation of the dhāraṇīs, and the panoply of Tantric rituals with *kīlaka* were powerful weapons to vanquish the opponent Bon priests as well as their supernatural *numina*. The fusion of Buddhist and Bon deities as guardians of Dharma and rituals became Lamaism.

10. The four major steps taken by Padmasambhava to introduce Buddhism in Tibet began with the subjugation of demonic forces by the power of his contemplation, esoteric rituals with sonorous incantations, fear-inspiring rites with the *kīlaka*, and the strategy of *upāya-kauśalya*. Victory was ensured by assigning the new role of *defensores fidei* (dharmapāla) to the vanquished numina. By a solemn oath they were admitted into Dharma as its ardent defenders. Interiorisation of local deities has been an important factor in the spread of Buddhism across various lands and cultural climes.

The second step was to create a permanent institution where people could worship. The monastery of Samye was constructed on the model of Odantapuri of Bengal. It was consecrated in the presence of Padmasambhava in 775 (?) and its construction was completed in five years. In 779 Buddhism was recognised as the state religion of Tibet (Tucci 1980:249).

The third step was the ordination of the first seven Tibetan monks who would give life to Samye as a centre of both devotion and learning (*puṇya-sambhāra* and *jñāna-sambhāra*). The seven young Tibetans were chosen by Śāntarakṣita and approved by King Khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan. The three seniors were Mañjuśrī of Dpaḥ, Devendra of Rtsaṅs, and Kumudika of Bran. The four juniors were Nagendra of Ḥkhon, Vairocana-rakṣita of Pa.gor, Rin.chen.mchog of Rma and Ka.ta.na of Glaṅ.

The fourth step was the introduction of the study of Sanskrit and translation of sacred texts into Tibetan. Vairocana and six others were sent to India to study and search authentic texts. On return they rendered these Sanskrit texts into Tibetan.

11. King Khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan called the Council of Samye to decide whether the Chinese or Indian point of view was correct. The Indian point of view was accepted and became the corner stone of all subsequent developments of Buddhism in Tibet for all times.

12. Conclusion. King Indrabhūti of Kanchi did not have a son to succeed him on the throne. He sailed across nearby islands and found Padmasambhava hanging around on the Camara island near Lanka. He brought him along and trained him as the crown prince in all the regality of life and governance. But Padmasambhava left the palace to meditate. Ultimately he joined the Siṁhalese monastery at Śrīparvata (modern Nagarjunakonda). After some years he travelled to Sahor in Bengal where princess Mandāravā became his consort. Mandāravā was the sister of Śāntarakṣita who was in dire need of a dominating personality to tame the demonic forces of Tibet opposed to Buddhism. Śāntarakṣita requested King Khri.sroṅ.lde.btsan to invite exorcist Padmasambhava to Tibet to control the native opposing elements. The King invited Padmasambhava who was in Nepal with Mandāravā. They came to Tibet. The imperious personality and inclusive strategy of Padmasambhava interiorised the local deities as defenders of Dharma.

All opposition and indecisions were silenced, leading to a Tibetan saṅgha with the ordination of seven monks, the creation of a monastery to stabilize the new order, and the translations of sutras and tantras from Sanskrit, along with the superiority of Ye.śes.dbaṅ.po the abbot of Samye to the ministers and aristocracy, and adoption of the straight path to the Indian school and the rejection of the Chinese school of Ch'an.

Padmasambhava was never in Swat, and Zahor is not in Mandi but in Bengal. He was always on the eastern fringes of India. We should create a pilgrimage round from Kanchi to Nagarjunakonda, and to Sahor in Bengal. A replica of Samye should be constructed as the holy of holies for pilgrimage and for magnificent rituals at Nagarjunakonda in the Pure Land of Tāmraparṇī Śrīparvata.

SUMMARY

1. King Indrabhūti of Kanchi did not have a son. He went around the islands to search for a foundling son, along with his ministers and high breed horses to be able to traverse vast areas. He found Padmasambhava on the Cāmara island near Srilanka.

2. The King brought Padmasambhava to Kanchi and trained him in the royal arts. Padmasambhava did not like the restraints of royal life. He left the palace for the carefree ways of meditative life.

3. He spent his monastic life at the Srilankan monastery at Śrīparvata (modern Nagarjunakonda) for some years.

4. Went to Zahor (mod. Sahore in Bengal) where he met Princess Mandāravā who became his consort.

5. Both travelled to Nepal to propagate Buddhism. Padmasambhava had inherited the commitment of Srilankan monks to propagate Buddhism in foreign countries.

6. Padmasambhava was invited by the Emperor of Tibet, to lay firm foundations of Buddhism in Tibet, where (i) he interiorised the local deities as dharmapālas, (ii) ordained the first seven monks, (iii) established the Samye monastery on the pattern of Odantapuri in Bengal, (iv) sent Tibetans to study in India, and (v) set up a centre to translate sutras into Tibetan. He had inherited organisation strategies from his training as the crown prince of Kanchi.

7. The identifications of earlier scholars have to be corrected.
Oḍḍiyāna is **not** Swat, but Kanchi.
Zahor is Sahore in Bengal, and not Rawalsar in Mandi.
The socalled heaven of Tāmraparṇī Śrīparvata is Nagarjunakonda.

8. A pilgrimage route can be created from Bhutan, Nepal, Sahore, Nagarjunakonda and Kanchi. A replica of Samye can be constructed at Nagarjunakonda as the traditional Pure Land of Tāmraparṇī Śrīparvata.

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16. कोरोशि चोमा शान्दोर

पचासी (85) वर्ष पूर्व प्रातःकाल की कड़कड़ाती शीत, नगर लाहौर, और वर्ष १९३६ था। टांगे में पिता (आचार्य रघुवीर) और पुत्र (लेखक) इस शीत की थपेड़े में किसी स्वप्न की खोज में चले जा रहे थे। पिता जी पूर्वी तिब्बत के देर्गे नगर में स्थित विश्वविख्यात देर्गे विहार में लकड़ी से मुद्रित विराट् ग्रन्थ संकलनों को उपलब्ध करने की आशाओं में मग्न थे। इन ग्रन्थ-संकलनों में ४५६७ ग्रन्थ हैं जो संस्कृत से तिब्बती भाषा में अनूदित हैं। अनेक मूल संस्कृत ग्रन्थ लुप्त हो चुके। इसलिए इन ग्रन्थसंकलनों का ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व है। मैं इस समय नौ वर्ष का बालक था। इस साहित्यिक स्वप्न की गरिमा से अनभिज्ञ, केवल चपेटें मारती हुई शीत से अपने में ही सिमटता हुआ, गन्तव्य तक शीघ्रातिशाघ्र पहुंचने की इच्छा से विह्वल था। घण्टे भर पिताजी और मैं एक बड़े भारतीय अधिकारी के घर पहुंच गए जो तिब्बत के यातुङ् नगर स्थित भारतीय व्यापार कार्यालय में कार्य कर रहे थे। ये अधिकारी चमकदमक वाले तिब्बती हेमांशुक पहिने थे जिन को देख मैं आश्चर्य-मुग्ध चकित-नयन रह गया। पिताजी देर्गे संस्करण पाने की वार्ता के उत्साह में तल्लीन थे—शीत से दूर, हेमांशुक की चमक से दूर। घर लौटने पर मैंने पिताजी से पूछा कि ये हेमांशुक के परिधान किस देश के हैं? पिताजी ने बताया—हिमाचल की गोद में तिब्बत देश है। ये परिधान उसी तिब्बत से हैं। पिताजी बड़ा होकर क्या मैं भी तिब्बत जा सकता हूं। पिताजी ने उत्तर देते हुए कहा 'हां, तुम तिब्बती भाषा सीख लो औप फिर वहां जा सकोगे।' अगले दिन पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय से एक पुराना सा विशालकाय तिब्बती व्याकरण ले आए। इसमें सुन्दर लांछा लिपि थी जिसका अलंकार-वैभव अनोखा था। यह कोरोशि चोमा द्वारा रचित तिब्बती भाषा का व्याकरण था। सब देखकर मैंने पिताजी से कहा "कोरोशि चोमा कितना भाग्यशाली था कि वह तिब्बती प्रदेश में जा सका। एक दिन मैं भी तिब्बती प्रदेशों में जाऊंगा और कोरोशी चामा के देश में भी।" हंगरी यात्रा का स्वप्न बाल-मानस में अंकित हो गया। यह स्वप्न और भी प्रगाढ हो गया जब १९३८ में मैंने आउरेल् श्टाइन की मध्य एशिया के अभियान पर पुस्तक पढ़ी। इसमें श्टाइन ने लिखा है कि तुन्ह्वाङ् की ५०० गुहाअनों की खोज हंगरी के वैज्ञानिक प्रोफेसर दी लोची के प्रेरणा से ही वे कर पाए। तुन्ह्वाङ् की गुहाएं भित्तिचित्रों और प्रतिमाओं की भव्य कलावीथि हैं जहां १६०० वर्षों की अनवरत श्रद्धा कला में प्रस्फुटित हुई है। आउरेल् श्टाइन (१८६२-१९४३) भी हंगरी की राजधानी बूदापेश्त में २६ नवंबर १८६२ को जन्मे थे। भारत के सांस्कृतिक इतिहास की भव्य खोज की भूमि के रूप में हंगरी का स्वरूप मुखरित हुआ जहां की नदी के तटवर्ती रेस्तरां पर रोमा लोग रोमा-भाषा के गीतों से जनता का विनोद करते थे। रोमा-भाषा हिन्दी की बहिन है। १९३६ से कोरोशि चोमा के ग्रन्थ मेरे साथी रहे। भारत-शासन की उदारता से मुझे प्रथम बार हंगरी जाने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ और कोरोशि चोमा की भूमि देखने का। यहां उनके पत्र, पाण्डुलिपियां, अभिलेख आदि देखे और इन का प्रकाशन किया। हंगरी के राष्ट्रपति महामहिम श्री पाल लोशोंचि ने विमोचन किया था। ये कोरोशि चोमा कौन थे?

४ एप्रिल १७८९ को एक छोटे से गांव कोरोश में चोमा का जन्म हुआ था। गांव छोटा और अभावग्रस्त था, परन्तु इसकी स्मृतियां गौरव से पूर्ण थीं। चोमा परिवार, सेकेली राजन्यों के वंशज थे। कार्पाथी पर्वतमालाओं में बसे ये राजन्य अपने को हूणों के वंशज मानते हैं, जिन्होंने चौथी शताब्दी में सम्राट् आत्तिला के नेतृत्व में हंगरी राज्य की स्थापना की और प्रथम हंगरीवासी हैं। सेकेली जाति आत्मसम्मान, प्रतिभा और साहस के लिए प्रख्यात है जिन्होंने १८वीं शती तक अनेक मूल परम्पराएं और ऐतिहासिक स्मृतियां सुरक्षित रखी थीं और अपनी मूल लिपि भी। कोरोशि चोमा के पिता सीमान्त-आरक्षी थे और अपनी जीविका के लिए उन्हें इसके साथ साथ खेती और कृषि उपज बेचने के लिए दूरदूर जाना पड़ता था। कोरोशि पिता के साथ इन श्रमसाध्य व्यवसाय-यात्राओं में जाते थे। कार्पाथी पर्वतमालाओं की कठोर जलवायु मानों कोरोशि को उनके भविष्य के लिए संनद्ध कर रही थी—हिमालय के विहारों में शीतयातनाएं सहने की क्षमता दे रही थी।

कोरोशि ऐसे युग में उत्पन्न हुए थे जब कि योरोप में नए नए विचारों का प्रवाह, खोजयात्राओं के लिए अदम्य उत्साह, फ्रेंच क्रान्ति से विद्या-क्षेत्रों में भी क्रान्तिकारी दृष्टिकोणों का उद्भव हो रहा था। इस काल में सेकेली जाति का जागृति-केन्द्र नागेन्येद विद्यालय था। ग्रामों की दरिद्रता में उत्पन्न बुद्धिजीवी, यहां नए क्रान्ति-आयाम प्रशस्त कर रहे थे। कोरोशि चोमा ने इसी विद्यालय में शिक्षा पाई। पिता की आर्थिक स्थिति बिगड़ जाने के कारण कोरोशि चोमा ने विद्यालय में झाड़ू-स्वच्छता आदि कर अपनी शिक्षा पूरी की। उनके मित्र उइवाल्वी शान्दोर के अनुसार “कोरोशि अतिश्रमशील और मेधावी थे। जो कुछ एक बार पढ़ते थे वह कभी नहीं भूलते थे। पेशीमय सबल शरीर था और हम सबमें सबसे अधिक शक्तिशाली थे। दैनिक भोजन—रोटी, फल, चीज़ और सालाद। मांस बिरला ही खाते थे। मिठाई और मदिरा में सर्वथा अरुचि थी। भूमि पर ही सोते थे। कभी क्रोध नहीं करते, कोई कटु वचन नहीं बोलते, और कष्टतम स्थिति में कोई आह नहीं।” आगे चलकर लदाख के विहारों में कोरोशि के लिए ये गुण वरदान सिद्ध हुए। १८०७ में कोरोशि चोमा ने विश्वविद्यालय में प्रवेश किया और प्राच्य भाषाओं के अध्ययन में जुट गए। हंगरी जाति के एशियाई उद्भव की खोज के लिए उत्कट जिज्ञासा आलोकित हो उठी। कोरोशि चोमा और उनके दो साथियों ने प्रतिज्ञा की कि वे हंगरी जाति का उद्गम स्थान खोज निकालेंगे। इस समय कोरोशि चोमा 22 वर्ष के थे? उन्होंने यह मन में ठान ली और इस लक्ष्य की ओर डट गए—क्षात्र प्रतिज्ञा कर ली। अन्ततः वे सेकेली राजन्यों की संतान थे। उनके दूसरे मित्र जीवन की खोज में प्रतिज्ञा भूल गए और वे इतिहास की विस्मृति में विलीन हो गए। १८१५ में जर्मनी के ग्योटिंगन विश्वविद्यालय में अध्ययन के लिए छात्रवृत्ति मिली। यहां प्रो. आखहोर्न की विद्या के गाम्भीर्य से उन्हें अपने वंशजों का उद्भव मध्य एशिया में खोजने की प्रेरणा मिली। सितंबर १८१८ में कोरोशि चोमा अपने देश लौटे। उन्हें विश्वविद्यालय में “कविता-प्राध्यापक” आदि ऊंचे पदों से सम्मानित करने का प्रयास किया गया। यश और प्रलोभनों से दूर थे। उन्हें अपने लक्ष्य की धुन लगी थी। सब लोकेषणा छोड़, नवंबर १८१९ में, अपने ध्येय की तीर्थयात्रा पर निकल पड़े। न कोई पारपत्र मिला, न पास में द्रव्य था। अपर्याप्त धनराशि, कुछ कपड़े लेकर देश से चल पड़े—अमर कीर्ति के पथ पर। मार्ग अज्ञात था पर ध्येय स्पष्ट था। आलेप्पो नगर पहुंच योरोपीय वेष छोड़ दिया और एशियाई परिधान पहिन लिया। तेहरान (ईरान) होते हुए मार्च १८२२ में महाराजा रणजीत सिंह की राजधानी लाहौर में पहुंचे। जून १८२२ में लदाख गए। यहां से मोंगोल देश पहुंचना संभव नहीं था। कश्मीर सीमा पर अंग्रेज अन्वेषक मूरक्रोफ्ट से भेंट हुई। दूर प्रदेश में दो योरोपीय घनिष्ट मित्र बन गए। कोरोशि चोमा ने मूरक्रोफ्ट को अपनी योजना बताई। मूरक्रोफ्ट ने कहा कि तिब्बती भाषा पढ़ लीजिए, उससे लक्ष्य-सिद्धि हो सकेगी। १७६२ में छपा जोर्गि का तिब्बती व्याकरण दे दिया। कोरोशि चोमा ने १८२२ का पूरा शीतकाल इसको पढ़ने में लगाया। १८२३ में उन्होंने लदाख की अज्ञात धरा में जाकर तिब्बती भाषा और साहित्य का अध्ययन करने का संकल्प कर लिया। जून १८२३ से अक्तूबर १८२४ तक ज़ाङ्‌ला विहार में ज्ञान का आलोक पाने जुट गए, लम्बी तपस्या के लिए। शीत, अभाव, सूनापन, अवहेलना, निराशा की झुरमुट, भूख और अकेलेपन में। सैनिक राजन्य परिवार से होने के कारण सबल काया और सुगठित शरीर के कारण ही से घटिया भोजन, रोग आदि से मुक्त रह, उनकी अजेय चेतना शून्यधातु की निधियां निकाल निकाल कर नए विद्याजगत् का सृजन कर रही थी। लदाख के ज़ाङ्‌ला विहार में नौ वर्ग फुट क्षेत्रफल के कक्ष में कोरोशि चोमा लामा के साथ बैठकर पढ़ते थे। द्वार हिम से बन्द हो जाते, बाहर निकलना असंभव था, तापने के लिए आग न थी, सायं प्रकाश नहीं था, भूमि शय्या थी, अपने तन की ऊष्मा को संजोए रखने के लिए कोरोशि चोमा दोनों हाथ छाती से सटा लेते और पढ़ते रहते। अंधेरा होते ही १४ घंटे की रात में भेड़ का कोट ओढ़े ही गुरगुट सो जाते। एक क्षण के लिए भेड़ के कोट से हाथ निकालना हाथ को खोने का वेदनामय संकट था। प्रथम शीतकाल के उपरान्त कोरोशि चोमा हस्तलिपियों के पन्ने उलटने के लिए, हाथ कोट से बाहर निकाल सकने में समर्थ हुए। यहां कोरोशि चोमा ने तिब्बती भाषा में कंजूर और तंजूर के ३३३ विशालकाय पोथियों का विश्लेषण पूरा किया। ये तीन लाख पृष्ठ हैं। इनमें संस्कृत से तिब्बती भाषा में अनूदित साहित्य संकलित है। दर्शन, काव्य, व्याकरण, ज्योतिष, सूत्र, जातक, प्रज्ञापारमिता आदि सहस्रों ग्रन्थों का संस्कृत साहित्य इनमें छिपा

पड़ा था। कोरोशि चोमा के अथक परिश्रम से यह सब पहिली बार आधुनिक संसार के समक्ष उपस्थित हो सका। कोरोशि चोमा भारत और हंगरी की मैत्री के प्रवर्तक बने और विद्याजगत् में तिब्बती भाषा में सुषुप्त नए क्षितिज के उद्घाटक। चिन्तन एवं कला, साहित्य और संस्कृति, आयुर्वेद और रसायन, और भारत के अन्यान्य लुप्त ज्ञान के क्षेत्रों का आविष्कार नए युग का प्रारम्भ बना। भारतीय सांस्कृतिक इतिहास का अन्धकार कोरोशि चोमा के पथिकृत्-प्रयासों से नवालोकित हुआ। कोरोशि चोमा ने बारह सौ तिब्बती ग्रन्थों का विशद विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया। यह ऐशियाटिक रिसर्चिज़ भाग २० में १८३६ में छपा और योरोप के प्राच्य विद्वानों में नया उल्लास छा गया।

यह सामग्री अन्य अध्ययन-क्षेत्रों में भी सहायक सिद्ध हुई। १८७५ में जापान के शासन ने इंडिया आफिस के पुस्तकालय को चीनी त्रिपिटक भेंट किया। डॉ. सम्मर्ज़ को इसका सूचीपत्र बनाने का भार सौंपा गया। ये सब ग्रन्थ संस्कृत से अनुवाद किए गए थे। संस्कृत के ज्ञान बिना इनको समझना असंभव था। डॉ. सम्मर्ज़ संस्कृत से अनभिज्ञ थे। निराश होकर उन्होंने लिखा "चीनी ग्रन्थों का नाम अनुवाद करना असंभव है।" जापान से श्री बुन्यू नांजो प्रो. मैक्स मूलर के पास संस्कृत पढ़ने आए। उन्होंने समस्त चीनी त्रिपिटक के ग्रन्थों के नाम, उनका लेखक, अनुवाद-काल आदि निर्धारित किया। ग्रन्थों के नामों का निर्धारण कोरोशि चोमा के कंजूर-विश्लेषण से ही संभव हो सका। डॉ. नांजो की कृति के प्रत्येक पृष्ठ पर कोरोशि चोमा का निर्देश है। डॉ. नांजो की सं. १०२२ का चीनी ग्रन्थ फाश्येन् ने ९८२-१००१ में अनुवाद किया था। चीनी में केवल सामान्य विवरण जैसा शीर्षक है—योग-महातन्त्र-राज-सूत्र परन्तु कोरोशि चोमा के 'विश्लेषण' (पृ. ५००) से इसका ठीकठीक संस्कृत नाम मायाजाल-महातन्त्र पता चलता है। ऐसे सैंकड़ों उदाहरण हैं।

सन् १८३४ में कोरोशि चोमा का तिब्बती व्याकरण और कोष प्रकाशित हुए। सूक्ष्मेक्षिका और सावधानी के उज्ज्वल निदर्शन हैं और इनकी प्रामाणिकता आजतक यथावत् है। अब कोरोशि चोमा के मन में हुआ कि संस्कृत पढ़े बिना वे अपने पुरखों का मूलदेश नहीं ढूंढ सकते। आगामी चार वर्ष (१८३४-१८३७) तक कलकत्ता और उत्तरपूर्वी बंगाल में नौका से और पैदल चलकर विभिन्न पंडितों से संस्कृत पढ़ते रहे। मार्ग में जहां कहीं भी अंग्रेज अधिकारी आतिथ्य देना चाहते उसे अस्वीकार करते। भारतीयों के साथ कुटियों में रहकर, चाय और चावल खाकर, संस्कृत में पारंगत हुए। प्रतिमास सेवक को ३ रुपये देते और ४ रुपये व्यय करते। इसके परिणाम कोरोशि चोमा ने हंगरी भाषा, हिन्दी और संस्कृत के समान शब्दों की सूची बनाई जो आज बूदापेश्त में हंगरी विज्ञान-संस्थान में सुरक्षित है। कोरोशि चोमा ने महाव्युत्पत्ति नामक संस्कृत-तिब्बती कोश का अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद किया जो तिब्बती में उपलब्ध संस्कृत ग्रन्थों के पुनरुद्धार के लिए अनुपम साधन है। संस्कृत के अनेक बोलचाल के शब्द इसमें मिलते हैं जो हिन्दी भाषा की व्युत्पत्तियों के लिए अनमोल हैं।

१८४२ की फर्वरी में कोरोशि चोमा ने अपनी सब अप्रकाशित कृतियों की अमूल्य साहित्यिक धरोहर एशियाटिक सोसाइटि ऑफ बंगाल को सौंप दी और ल्हासा के लिए प्रस्थान किया। ४०० मील की यात्रा पैदल की और तराई में एक घातक रात आकाश के नीचे बिताई। २४ मार्च १८४२ को दार्जीलिङ् में ज्वरग्रस्त हो गए। दार्जीलिङ् में अंग्रेजी राजनीति-अधिकारी श्री कैम्पबल ने उनकी सेवा की। कुशल चिकित्सक के साथ साथ उत्साही प्राच्य-विद्याविशारद भी थे। उन्होंने चिकित्सा-विज्ञान के कौशल और श्रान्त क्लान्त पथिक परन्तु अथक विद्वान् कोरोशि चोमा के प्रति अमित श्रद्धा एवं स्नेह से भरसक सेवा की। पथिक की जीवनयात्रा पूरी हो रही थी। तीन सप्ताह की रुग्णता के उपरान्त ११ एप्रिल १८४२ को इहलीला समाप्त हो गई। कोरोशि चोमा शान्दोर हिमालय की गोद में भूमिगत हो गए। "एक बेचारा अकेला हंगरीवासी, धन और स्तुति से दूर, परन्तु दृढ़ संकल्प और जाज्वल्यमान देशप्रेम से प्रेरित, अपनी हंगरी जाति के पुरखों की मूलभूमि की खोज में विलीन हो गया। अपनी मातृभूमि से दूर, बहुत दूर, चिर निद्रा में सोया है कोरोशि चोमा, परन्तु अपने राष्ट्र हंगरी की स्मृति में सदा के लिए जीवित जागृत।" ये उद्गार थे उसके समकालीन लेखक इश्तवान् सेचेन्यि के। तिब्बती भाषा में अनूदित संस्कृत साहित्य की गवेषणा में कोरोशि चोमा के लिए एक नया सांस्कृतिक संसार खुल गया और उन्होंने अपने देशवासियों को

आह्वान किया—"हमारे राष्ट्र के लिए संस्कृत का अध्ययन बहुत लाभकारी होगा और किसी भी और यूरोपीय जाति को उससे उतना लाभ न होगा जितना हमें। हंगकी की संस्कृति और भाषा के अध्ययन हेतु संस्कृत अनोखी निधि है।"

वर्षों की स्वप्नभूत हंगरी यात्रा का अवसर मिला। मोंगोल-भाषा के प्राध्यापक प्रो कारा के निवास पर गया। जब उनके निवास के द्वार पर पहुंचे तब उन्होंने ऊंचे से पुकारा—"अमृताऽऽ अमृताऽऽ"। मैंने पूछा—"यह किसका नाम है। क्या आपके साथ कोई भारतीय बाला है।" मुस्कुराते हुए प्रो. कारा ने "मेरी पुत्री का नाम है। संस्कृत का शब्द है—आपने ठीक ही पहिचाना है।" कोरोशि चोमा के बोए हुए अंकुर हंगरी के मानस में कितने हरे हैं।

हंगरी की जनता कोरोशि चोमा को "राष्ट्रीय विभूति" मानती है जिसने अपनी जाति के इतिहास को खोजने के स्वप्न में आत्माहुति दे दी। कवि कविताओं में यशोगाथा गाते हैं। युवा कवि श्री लायोश् माग्यारी (जिनका जन्म १९४२ में हुआ) ने "कोरोशि चोमा शान्दोर" के शीर्षक से १९७० में कविताएं प्रकाशित कीं। ये कविताएं इतनी लोकप्रिय हुईं कि उसी वर्ष दूसरा संस्करण निकला। इसके सम्पादक लास्लो कादार भूमिका में लिखते हैं कि "कोरोशि चोमा जो ईसाई धर्मवेत्ता थे लदाख में बौद्ध बन गए। इसके द्वारा वे अपने पूर्वजों के धर्म में पहुंच गए। कोरोशि चोमा का बौद्ध धर्म का इतिहास पढ़ने से लगता है कि हंगरीवासियों के पूर्वज हूण जब कार्पाथी क्षेत्र में आए तब वे बौद्ध थे।" आगे चलकर लिखते हैं "११ एप्रिल १८४२ में ल्हासा के मार्ग में कोरोशि चोमा दार्जीलिङ् में दिवंगत हो गए। जैसे ही यह समाचार उनकी जन्मभूमि में पहुंचा, उनके सहज व्यक्तित्व और बलिदानी देश प्रेम से देशवासियों की उनके प्रति श्रद्धा जगी, जो वर्षानुवर्ष, पीढ़ी अनु-पीढ़ी पढ़ती गई। आज वे अपने देश की महाविभूतियों में अग्रणी सर्वाधिक लोकप्रिय हैं। साथ ही साथ बौद्ध जगत् में भी उनकी कीर्ति बढ़ती जा रही है। जापान की राजधानी तोक्यो के राष्ट्रीय ताइशो विश्वविद्यालय में उनकी बोधिसत्त्व के रूप में १९३३ में प्रतिमा स्थापित की गई।"

हंगरी के दुलारे पुत्र और भारत के ज्ञानसखा कोरोशि चोमा के अथक परिश्रम से ऐसे नए विषय का मंगलारंभ हुआ जिससे भारत एशिया की संस्कृति के लिए प्रेरणास्रोत के रूप में प्रकट हुआ, जैसे ग्रीस पश्चिम के लिए था। एशिया की कला और काव्य, तर्क और तत्त्व, प्रतीक एवं प्रकाश, विचारों और विभवों की उद्भवभूमि भारत बन गया। इतिहास के विराट् युगों के उद्घाटक कोरोशि चोमा शान्दोर को भारत का नमन, जब हंगरी के राष्ट्रपति महामहिम पॉल लोशोंचि उनकी समाधि पर १२.१२.१९७६ को श्रद्धासुमन समर्पित कर रहे हैं॥

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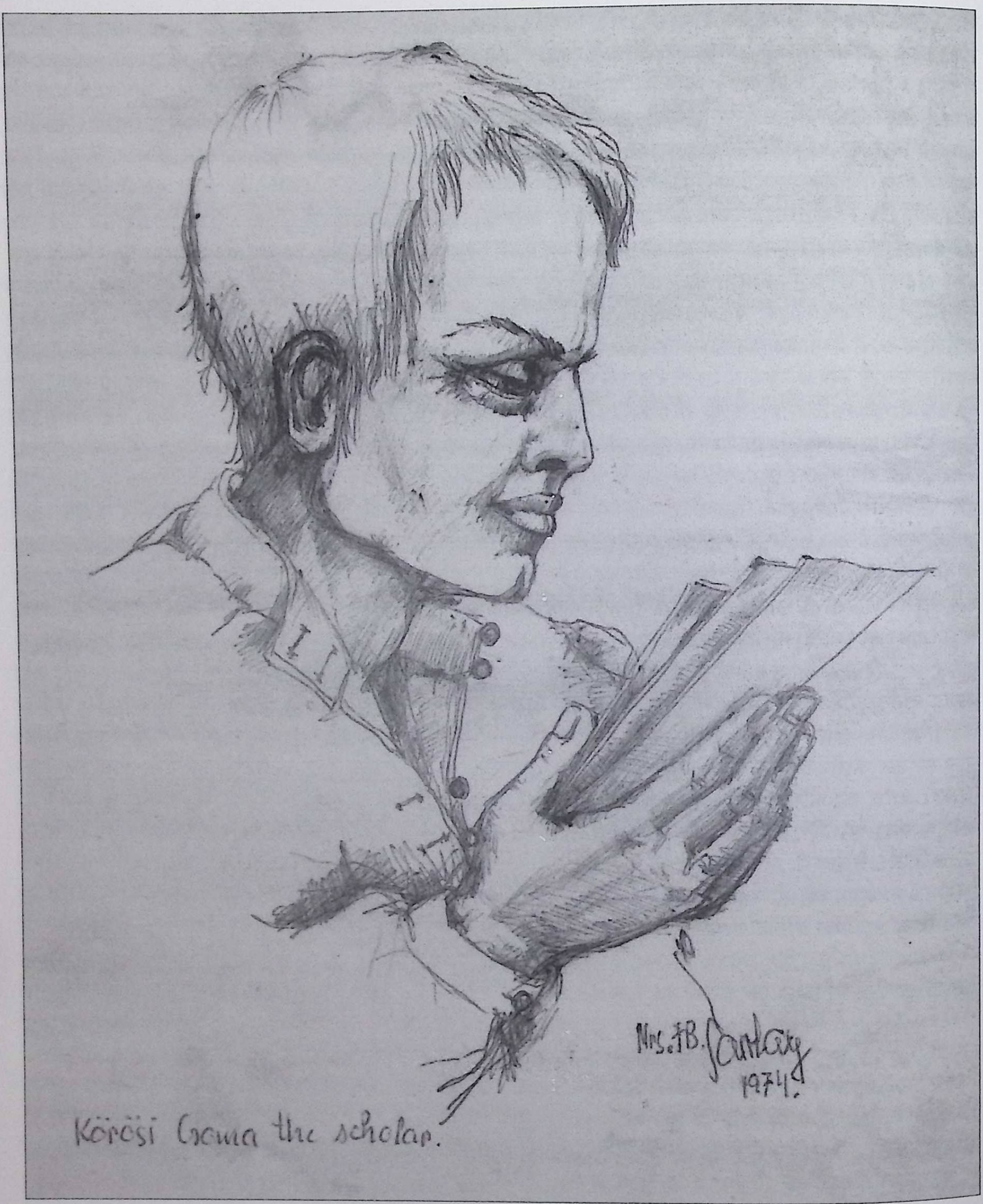
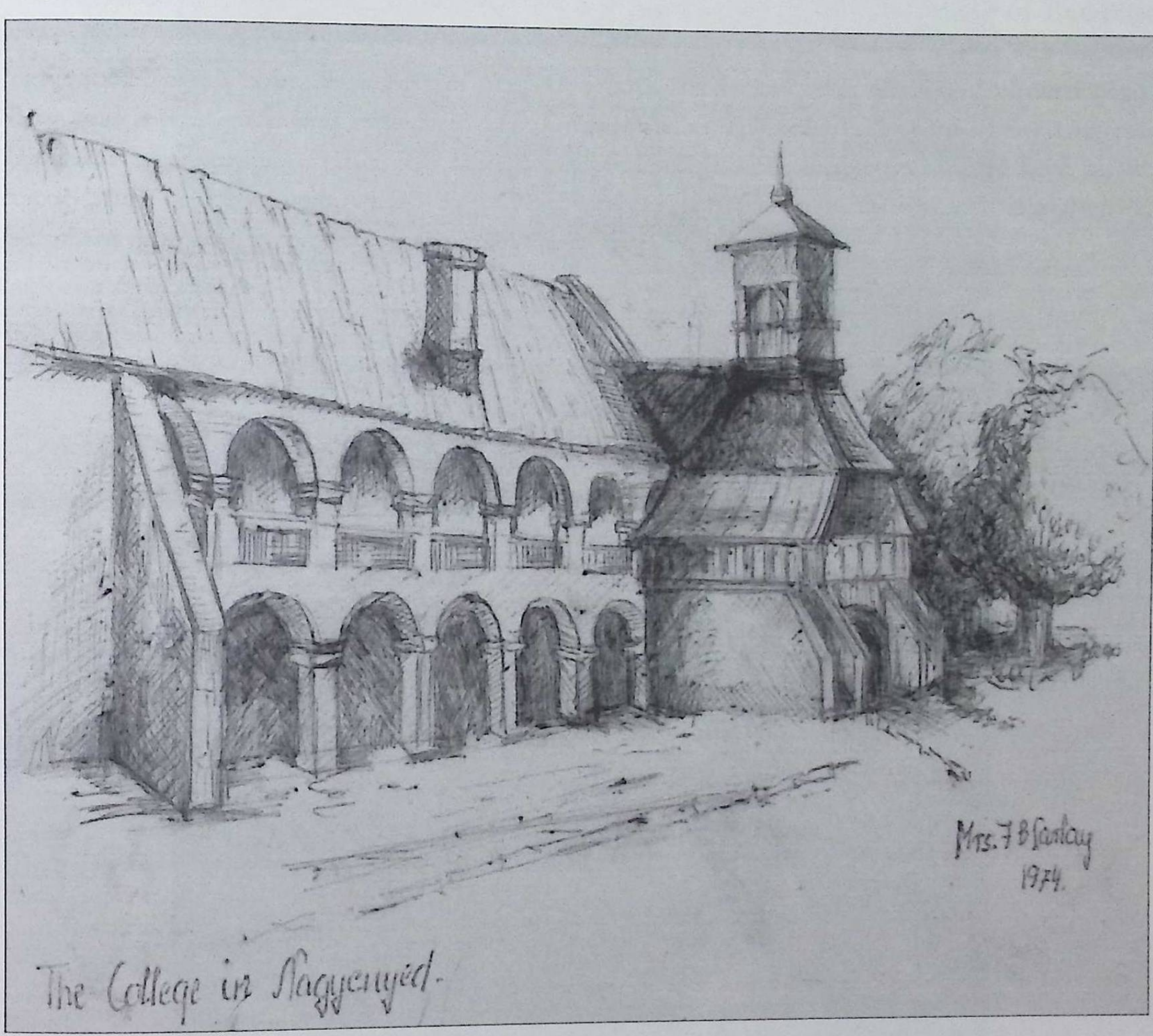
दो सौ वर्ष पूर्व हंगरी में कोरोशि चोमा शांदोर का जन्म हुआ। किशोर कोरोशि के मन में पाठशाला के अध्ययनकाल में ही स्वप्न का उदय हुआ कि वे मध्य एशिया जाकर अपने पुरखों की मूलभूमि की खोज करें। अन्य दो सहपाठियों ने भी यह प्रतिज्ञा की पर वे आगे चलकर भूल गए। ३५ वर्ष की लम्बी अवधि तक इस स्वप्न की साधना हेतु कोरोशि अध्ययन करते रहे। लक्ष्य प्राप्ति सतत मन में और कर्म में उजागर रही। कोरोशि जर्मनी के विख्यात गोटिंगन विश्वविद्यालय में उच्च शिक्षा पाने के लिए १८१५ में गए। यह जर्मनी का सुवर्णिम युग था जिसमें प्रज्ञा के उन्मेष जग रहे थे।

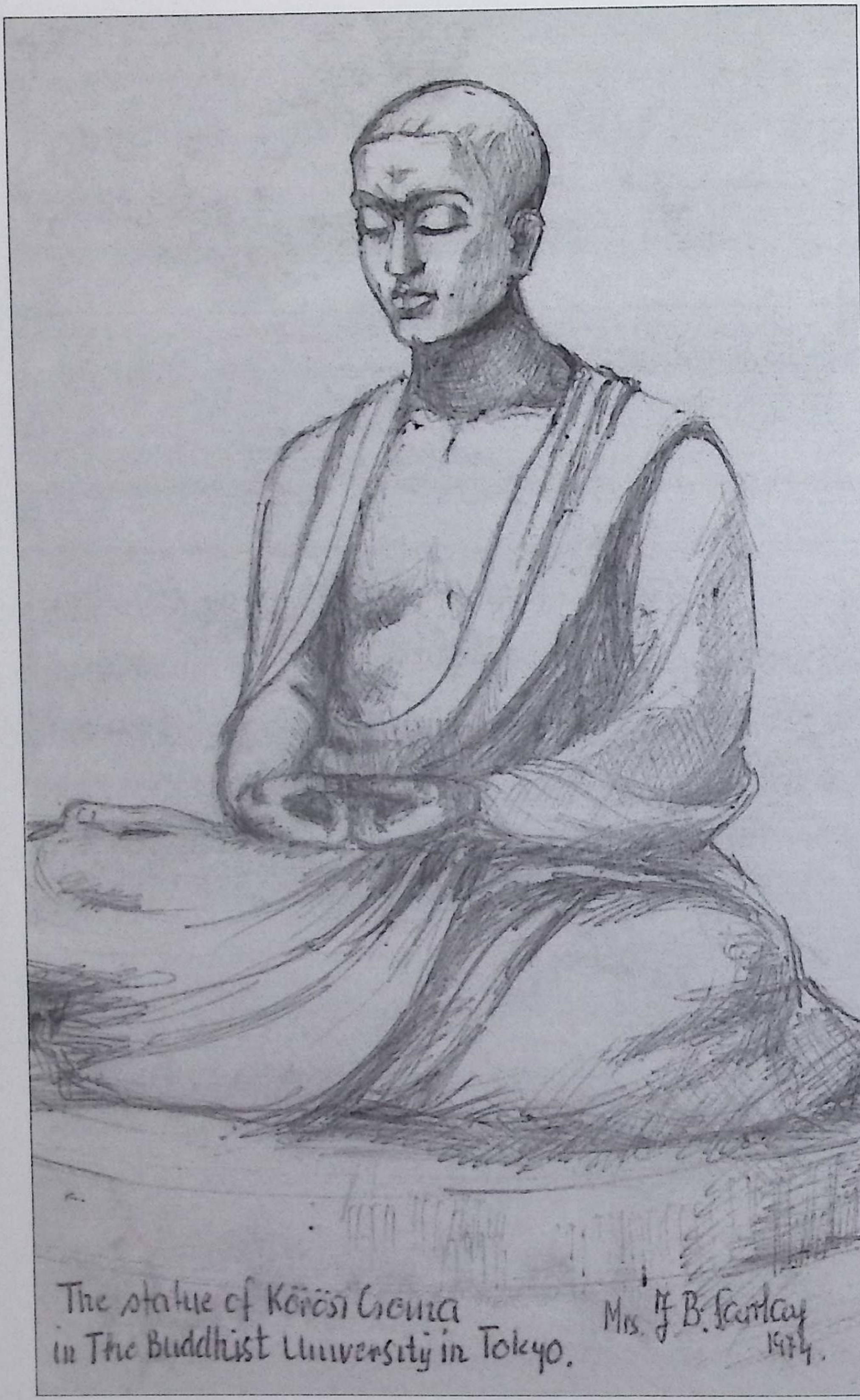
मोहिनी राजकुमारी यूरोपा के विलक्षण सौन्दर्य ने ग्रीक जाति के महत्तम देव ज़ेउस् को उन्मादित कर दिया। ज़ेउस् राजकुमारी यूरोपा को गान्धर्व विवाह करके ले गए। चार पुत्ररत्नों का जन्म हुआ जो यूरोप के विभिन्न प्रदेशों के शासक बने। समस्त भूभाग 'यूरोप' के नाम से विख्यात हुआ। २८०० वर्ष पूर्व के ग्रीक भाषा के आदिकवि होमर की कृति में 'यूरोप' का नाम प्रथम बार दृष्टिगोचर होता है। ग्रीक और लैटिन विद्वानों ने सैंकड़ों वर्ष तक ज़ेउस् और यूरोपा की व्युत्पत्ति खोजने का प्रयास किया परन्तु विफल रहे। १९वीं शती के प्रारम्भ में जब यूरोपीय विद्वानों ने संस्कृत का साक्षात्कार किया तब पता चला कि ग्रीक 'ज़ेउस्' संस्कृत 'द्यौस्' का रूपान्तर है। यूरोप का विद्वज्जगत्

चमत्कृत हो उठा। १८०२ में जर्मनी के अग्रणी कवि फ्रीड्रिख श्लेगल ने लिखा कि हमारा अन्धकारमय इतिहास संस्कृत से आलोकित हो सकेगा। विश्वकवि ग्योटे भी अभिज्ञान-शाकुन्तलम् की विलक्षण गरिमा से आप्लुत थे। समस्त जर्मनी संस्कृत में अपने खोए आयामों का मूल देख रहा था। ऑस्ट्रो-हंगेरियन साम्राज्य का भाग होने के कारण हंगरी जर्मन विद्या-परम्पराओं से ओतप्रोत था। इस वातावरण में कोरोशि का स्वप्न विकसित हुआ। कोरोशि के मन में भारत का विशिष्ट स्थान बन गया। उदीयमान हंगरी की राष्ट्रीयता को निज मूल, निज प्रतिभा, निज व्यक्तित्व का मूर्तस्वरूप देने का कोरोशि ने जो स्वप्न संजोया था उसे साकार करने १८१९ की फर्वरी में भारत की ओर चल दिए। भारत पहुंचने पर कोरोशि तिब्बती भाषा की पढ़ाई में संलग्न हुए। तिब्बत होते हुए मोंगोल देश जाने की इच्छा से उन्होंने तिब्बती का अध्ययन किया। हंगरी की मूलजाति की खोज का स्वप्न लेकर आए थे परन्तु एक और ही सत्य खोज निकाला। वह था—भारत की राजनैतिक परिधियों से बाहर संस्कृत साहित्य की थाती का भव्य विस्तार। इन्हीं दिनों राजा राममोहन राय ने समस्त भारतीय परम्पराओं के विरुद्ध अभियान चला रखा था। ११ दिसम्बर १८२३ को उन्होंने गवर्नर-जनरल को पत्र लिखा जिसमें अंग्रेजी शिक्षा का घोर समर्थन किया। उसके विपरीत प्रबुद्ध अंग्रेज न्यायाधीश और प्रशासक भारत के इतिहास और संस्कृति के अध्ययन में लगन से प्रवृत्त थे। १८२९ में एशियाटिक सोसाइटी में प्रसन्न कुमार टैगोर, द्वारकानाथ टैगोर और तीन अन्य भारतीयों को प्रथम बार सदस्य बनाया गया। कलकत्ता के बुद्धिजीवियों में विचार-मन्थन चल रहा था। परम्परा और आधुनिकता में नए आयाम की खोज थी। ऐसी परिस्थितियों में कोरोशि का कलकत्ता के वातावरण में मौन परन्तु विलक्षण स्थान था। १८३४ में उनका तिब्बती व्याकरण और कोश प्रकाशि हुए। तीन वर्ष तक (१८३४-३७) उन्होंने संस्कृत का स्वाध्याय किया। १८३६ में उन्होंने तिब्बती कंजूर के ग्रन्थों का विवरण प्रकाशित किया जिसमें १२०० के लगभग संस्कृत की लुप्त कृतियों के तिब्बती भाषान्तर थे। पहली बार विश्व में भारत के अन्तरराष्ट्रीय सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप का पता चला। लदाख के अस्थिवेधी शीत में आधे भूखे, सिर से पैर तक कम्बल ओढ़े, प्रातः से सायं हिमालय की गोद में ठिठुरते हुए, कोरोशि ने अदम्य उत्साह और अथक श्रम से, भारत के इतिहास में क्रान्ति कर दी। भारतीय इतिहास नई दृष्टि से देदीप्यमान हुआ। जैसे योरोप के लिए ग्रीस ज्योतिष्पुंज था, उसी प्रकार भारत एशिया के लिए काव्य और कला, दर्शन और विज्ञान का स्रोत बन गया। एशिया की शतियों में भारत उनकी आत्मा और आलोक का प्रतीक बना। कोरोशि की तपस्या से भारतीय मानस में नए आत्मविश्वास का अभ्युदय हुआ। एशियाटिक सोसाइटी में बैठे मौन साधक कोरोशि ने भारतीय मनीषियों की आत्म विस्मृति को झकझोरा और उनमें नई आत्मचेतना का जागरण किया। भारत का सांस्कृतिक पुनर्जन्म बंगाल में प्रारम्भ हुआ। आगे चलकर ठाकुर-परिवार भारत की नई चेतना के अग्रदूत बने। कोरोशि की २००वीं जन्म तिथि पर भारत उनकी मूक सेवाओं के प्रति आभार से प्रणत है। हंगरी के उद्भव और अस्मिता के अन्वेषक कोरोशि ने भारत को आत्मिवश्वास का मन्त्र देकर दोनों देशों को एकसूत्र में पिरोया है। आज जब हम कोरोशि को श्रद्धांजलि दे रहे हैं, हमें विदित है कि भारत के अभ्युदय का विश्वकल्याण के प्रेयस् से अभिन्न नाता है।


Mrs. F.B. Santay
1974.
Körösi Csoma the scholar.


Mrs. F B Sarlay
1974.

The College in Nagyenyed.

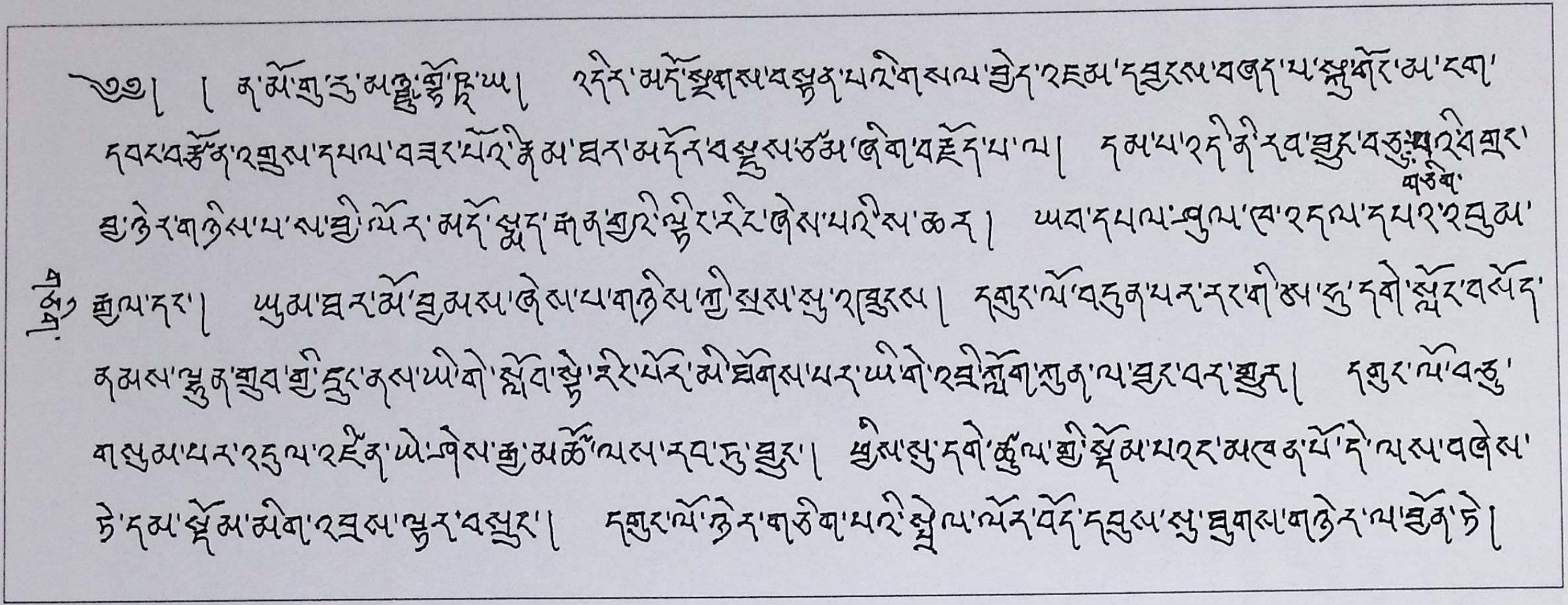


The statue of Kőrösi Csoma
in The Buddhist University in Tokyo.

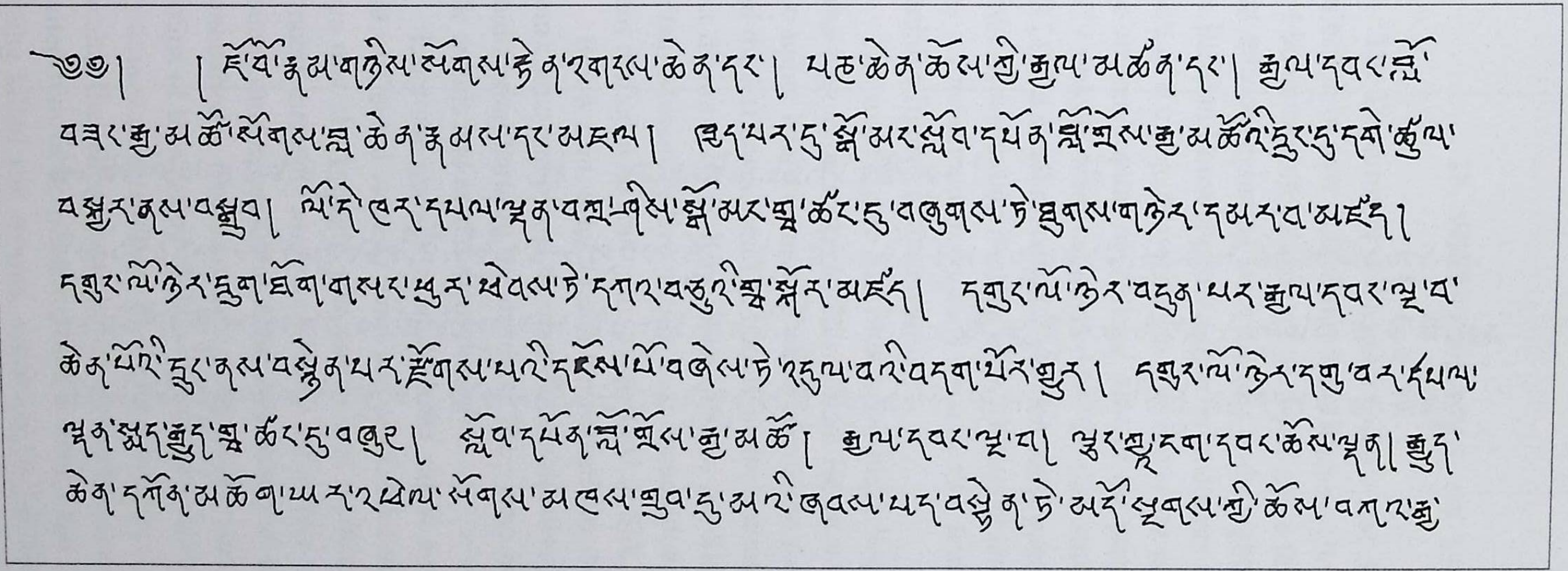
Mrs. J. B. Sarlay
1974.

17. LIFE OF ḤJAM.DBYAṄS.BZHAD.PA I (1648–1721)

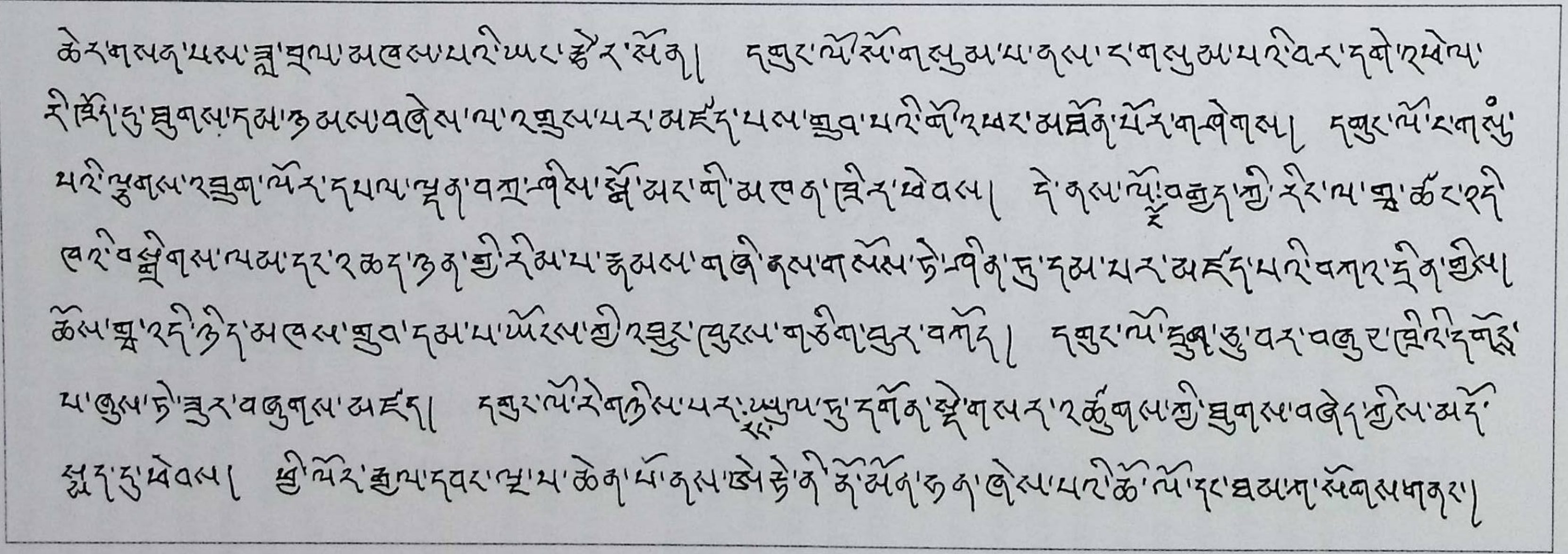
Ḥjam.dbyaṅs.bzhad.pa I is famed for his masterly manuals for the study of Buddhist philosophy. Prof. Rinchen sent me a short life-sketch of the master written by the learned Venerable Yishithabkhai whom I met in 1957 at Ulaanbaatar. I translated this brief curriculum vitae and it was published in the *Central Asiatic Journal* 1962:7.264–68 and in my *Cultural Horizons of India* 1993:3.395–99. The original Tibetan text is being reproduced here in the handwriting of Venerable Yishithabkhai who was an occean of learning and was studying the Sārasvata grammar in Sanskrit in 1957.



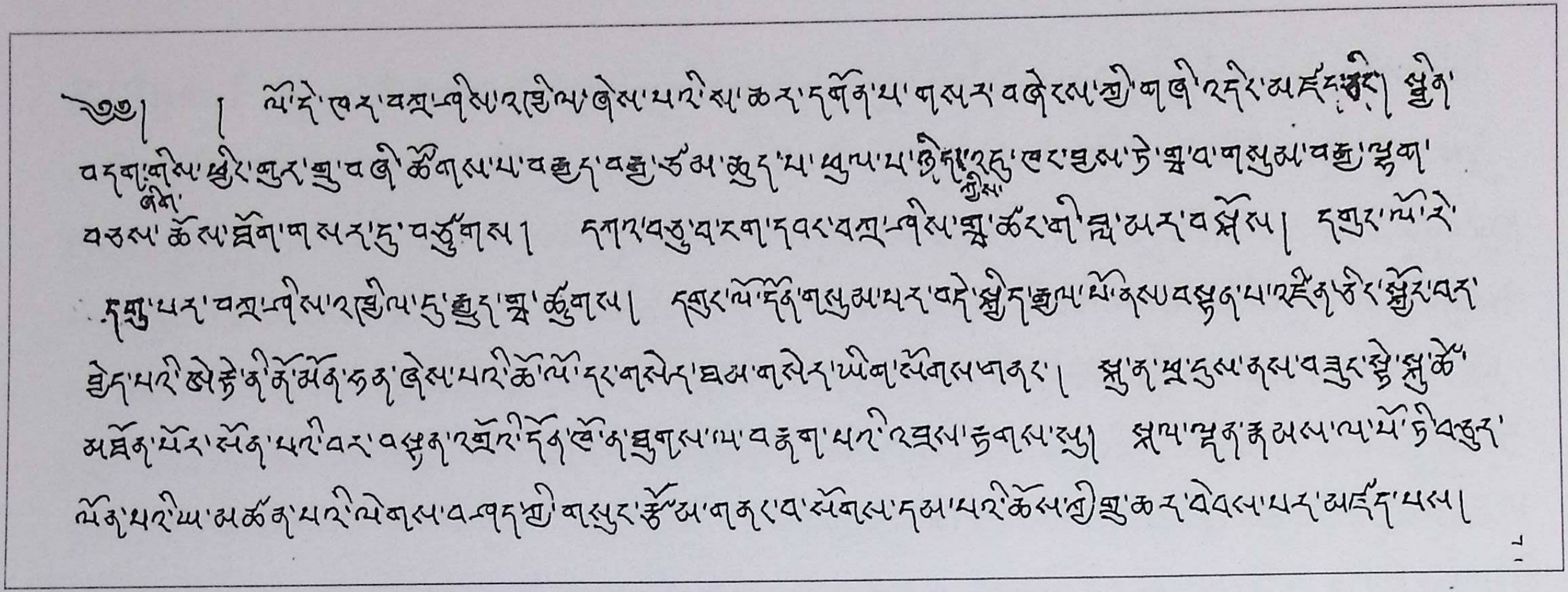
༄༅། །ན་མོ་གུ་རུ་མཉྫུ་གྷོ་ཥ་ཡ། འདིར་མདོ་སྔགས་བསྟན་པའི་གསལ་བྱེད་འཇམ་དབྱངས་བཞད་པ་སྐུ་གོང་མ་རབ་
དབང་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་མདོར་བསྡུས་ཙམ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་པ་ལ། དམ་པ་འདི་ནི་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཤིང་
ཁྱི་ཉེར་གཉིས་པ་ལ་སྐྱེ་ཡོར་མདོ་སྨད་ཀན་ཀྲུའི་ལྷོར་རེང་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཆར། ཡབ་དཔལ་ཁྱུལ་ཚེ་འདལ་དཔལ་འབུམ་
ཀྱི་ རྒྱལ་དང་། ཡུམ་ཐར་མོ་བྲམས་ཞེས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྲས་སུ་འཁྲུངས། དགུང་ལོ་བདུན་པར་རང་གི་ཨ་ཁུ་དགེ་སློང་བསོད་
ནམས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་དྲུང་ནས་ཡི་གེ་སློབ་སྐྱེ་རེ་པོད་མི་ཐོགས་པར་ཡི་གེ་འབྲི་ཀློག་ཀུན་ལ་བྱང་བར་གྱུར། དགུང་ལོ་བཅུ་
གསུམ་པར་འདུལ་འཛིན་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། ཕྱིས་སུ་དགེ་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྡོམ་པའང་མཁན་པོ་དེ་ལས་བཞེས་
ཏེ་དམ་ཕྱོམ་མིག་འབྲས་ལྷུར་བསྐུར། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་གཅིག་པའི་སྤྱི་ལ་ལོར་བོད་དབུས་སུ་ཐུགས་གཅེར་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ།



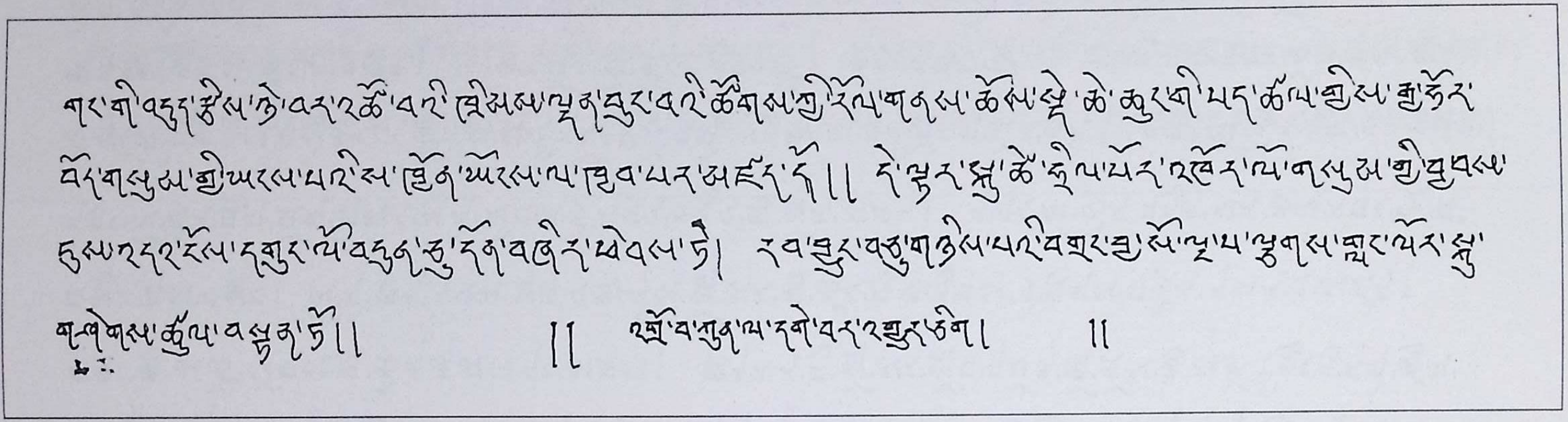
༧༧། ། རྗེ་བོ་རྣམ་གཉིས་སོགས་རྗེ་ན་འགའལ་ཆེན་དང་། པཎ་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་། རྒྱལ་དབང་བློ་
བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སོགས་བླ་ཆེན་རྣམས་དང་མཇལ། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་སྔོ་མར་སློབ་དཔོན་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དྲུང་དུ་དགེ་ཚུལ་
བསྒྱུར་ནས་བསྒྲུབ། ལོ་དེ་ཞར་དཔལ་ལྡན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་གྲྭ་ཚང་དུ་བཅུགས་ཏེ་ཐུགས་གཉེར་དམར་བ་མཛད།
དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་དྲུག་ཐོག་གསར་ཕུར་ཕེབས་ཏེ་དཀའ་བཅུའི་སྨྲ་སྐོར་མཛད། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་བདུན་པར་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ་
ཆེན་པོའི་དྲུང་ནས་བསྙེན་པར་རྫོགས་པའི་དངོས་པོ་བཞེས་ཏེ་འདུལ་བའི་བདག་པོར་གྱུར། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་དགུ་བར་དཔལ་
ལྡན་སྨད་རྒྱུད་གྲྭ་ཚང་དུ་བཞུར། སློབ་དཔོན་བློ་གྲོས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ། ཕུར་ལྕོག་ངག་དབང་ཆོས་ལྡན། རྒྱུད་
ཆེན་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཡར་འཕེལ་སོགས་མཁས་གྲུབ་དུ་མའི་ཞབས་པད་བསྟེན་ཏེ་མདོ་སྔགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་བཀའ་རྒྱ



ཆེར་གསན་པས་བླ་ཁྲལ་མཁས་པའི་ཡང་རྩེར་སོན། དགུང་ལོ་སོ་གསུམ་པ་ནས་ང་གསུམ་པའི་བར་དགེ་འཕེལ་
རི་ཁྲོད་དུ་ཐུགས་དམ་ཉམས་བཞེས་ལ་འགྲུས་པར་མཛད་པས་གྲུབ་པའི་གོ་འཕང་མཐོན་པོར་གཟིགས། དགུང་ལོ་ང་གསུམ་
པའི་ལྕགས་འབྲུག་ལོར་དཔལ་ལྡན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་གི་མཁན་ཁྲིར་ཕེབས། དེ་ནས་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་གྲྭ་ཚང་འདི
ཁའི་བསྒྲིགས་ལམ་དང་འཆད་ཉན་གྱི་རིམ་པ་རྣམས་གཞི་ནས་གསོས་ཏེ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དམ་པར་མཛད་པའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེས།
ཆོས་གྲྭ་འདི་ཉིད་མཁས་གྲུབ་དམ་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་གཅིག་ཐུར་བཀོད། དགུང་ལོ་དྲུག་ཅུ་བར་བཞུར་ཁྲིའི་དགོངས་
པ་ཕུལ་ཏེ་རྒྱུར་བཞུགས་མཛད། དགུང་ལོ་རེ་གཉིས་པར་ཡུལ་དུ་དགོན་སྡེ་གསར་འཛུགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་བཞེད་ཀྱིས་མདོ་
སྨད་དུ་ཕེབས། སྤྱི་ལོར་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་ཨེ་རྡེ་ནི་ནོ་མིན་ཧན་ཞེས་པའི་ཆོ་ལོ་དང་ཐམ་ཀ་སོགས་གནང་།



༄༅། ། ལོ་དེ་ཁར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཁྱིལ་ཞེས་པའི་ས་ཆར་དགོན་པ་གསར་བཞེངས་ཀྱི་གཞི་འདིང་མཛད་ཅིང་། སྦྱིན་
བདག་གིས་ཕྱིར་ཕུར་གྲུ་བཞི་ཚོགས་པ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཕུལ་བ་ཉེ་དགུ་འདུ་ཁང་ཟུར་ཏེ་ཀ་བ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་
བཅས་ཚོས་ཐོག་གསར་དུ་བཙུགས། དཀའ་བཅུ་བ་རག་དབང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གྲྭ་ཚང་གི་བླ་མར་བསྐོས། དགུང་ལོ་རེ་
དགུ་པར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཁྱིལ་དུ་རྒྱུད་གྲྭ་ཚུགས། དགུང་ལོ་དོན་གསུམ་པར་བདེ་སྐྱིད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡི་ནས་བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་ཅིང་སྐྱོང་བར་
བྱེད་པའི་ཨེ་རྡེ་ནི་ནོ་མོན་ཧན་ཞེས་པའི་ཚོ་ལོ་དང་གསེར་ཐམ་གསེར་ཡིག་སོགས་གནང་། སྐུ་ན་སྨ་དུས་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་སྐུ་ཚེ་
མཐོན་པོར་སོན་པའི་བར་བསྟན་འགྲོའི་དོན་ཆེན་ཐུགས་ལ་བཅུག་པའི་འབྲས་རྟགས་སུ། སྐལ་ལྡན་རྣམས་ལ་ཡོ་ཏི་བཙུར་
ལོན་པའི་ཡ་མཚན་པའི་ལེགས་བཤད་ཀྱི་གསུང་རྩོམ་གནང་བ་སོགས་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཆུ་ཆར་འབེབས་པར་མཛད་པས།



གང་གི་འདུད་རྟེན་ཏེ་བར་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ལྡན་སྐྱུར་བའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རིལ་གནས་ཆོས་སྡེ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གི་པད་ཚལ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་ཆེར་
བོད་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡངས་པའི་ས་ཁྱོན་ཡོངས་ལ་ཁྱབ་པར་མཛད་དོ།། དེ་ལྟར་སྐུ་ཚེ་ཧྲིལ་པོར་འཁོར་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་བྱ་བས་
དུས་འདར་དར་རོལ་དགུང་ལོ་བདུན་ཅུ་དོན་བཞེར་ཕེབས་ཏེ། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་བགྲང་བྱ་སོ་ལྔ་པ་ཤུགས་སྣང་ལོར་སྐུ་
གཤེགས་ཚུལ་བསྟན་ཏོ།། ༎ འགྲོ་བ་ཀུན་ལ་དགེ་བར་འགྱུར་ཅིག། ༎

18. VOTIVE PLAQUE OF THE SILK-GOD FROM KHOTAN

The Department of Oriental Culture and Art in the Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg has a collection of over 2000 items from Khotan. The objects are terra cottas, stucco reliefs, gems, wood and bone carvings, paintings on wood and a few paper manuscripts. The majority are baked clay and stucco, beginning from the first to the eighth century CE. These were purchased by officials of the Russian Consulate in Kashgar from dealers who had found them from different sites in Khotan. Most of the objects were from "the bed of the aryk washing away the soil of the ancient site... near the ancient capital of Yotkan, west of the present city of Khotan (Diakonova/ Sorokin 1960:6). 1939 objects were catalogued by the two authors. Natalia Diakonova described and illustrated GA1125 a small rectangular wooden panel painted on both faces (41 × 11 cm). The front bears the figure of a standing Buddha in an irridescent nimbus, which has deteriorated seriously. The reverse has a four-armed male deity on top, two feminine figures in the middle, and again the same feminine figures at the bottom.

The male figure has four arms, black beard, big eyes under thick eyebrows, and is sitting cross-legged on a checkered cushion. He wears soft Central Asian boots. The objects held in the two upper hands cannot be identified as the paint has flaked away. The right hand holds a spool and the left has a shear(?), both tools for sericulture. The nimbus around his head indicates that he is a divinity. He is King Vijayajaya as the Silk God as in D.VII.6 (Maheśvara/Silk God in the British Museum). Every king is an incarnation of four-armed Viṣṇu, and as such Vijayajaya has been deified with four arms as the God of Silk, with the implements of sericulture.

Below him, is his Queen Puṇyeśvarā the daughter of a Chinese king. She brought silk-worms from China and reared them in the Ma.zha district. Ministers thought that they were poisonous and would bring harm to the districts. They were burnt. The queen was dejected, but extracted some silk worms and reared them in secret.

Later she got silk from Kashmir, threw away the Chinese silk, mixed the Kashmir silk with that of Central Asia as warp and woof. Kashmir was the holy land of Khotan. Rhie 1999:1.259 says that she brought silk worms and *mulberry leaves* from China. This panel illustrates the princess throwing away a mulberry leaf, while she is mixing the Kashmir and Central Asian silks. Hsüan-tsang relates that Arhat Vairocana of Kashmir first preached Buddhism in Khotan and established a Buddhist monastery. Sung-yün says that Vairocana inspired the king to build a stūpa of the 'turned-up bowl' shape to gain the blessings of the Buddha. The Kashmir silk gave legitimacy to sericulture. The queen explained the details to the King who repented his folly in burning the silk worms. In the meanwhile Saṅghaghoṣa came to Khotan from India. The King invited him to be his guru, built a vihāra and stupa for him, to be absolved of the grave sin of having killed silk worms, according to the Tibetan annals of Khotan entitled *Li.yul luṅ.bstan.*

pa (literally Prophecy of the Li Country, Emmerick 1967:32–35). The Tibetan annals relate the circumstances in a realistic manner, while the account of Hsüan-tsang is one-sided and swayed by patriotic fervor.

The Tibetan text has three different words for the silks originating from the three areas: *dar* is the silk from Kashmir, *men.dri* is the silk of Central Asia, and *srin.bal* is the Chinese silk. The Tibetan text *srin.bal phyuṅ.nas* was not understood and wrongly translated by both Thomas and Emmerick. The Tibetan text is clear that the Queen threw away (*phyuṅ.nas*) the Chinese silk, and blended the Kashmir and Central Asian silks. The word *phyuṅ.nas* is not found in Jäsche's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, as *phyuṅ* is the perfect form of *ḥbyin.pa* 'to cast out, throw away, banish' (S.C. Das p.839).

The Queen has been duly honoured as the Goddess of Silk in being named Puṇyeśvarā. The name emphasizes the propitious prosperity (*puṇya*) that she brought to Khotan with the introduction of a better quality of sericulture. Hsüan-tsang visited the Lu-shi monastery to the southeast of the Khotan city founded by a queen of a former king (Beal 1884:2.318). Bailey (1982: 5) thinks that Lu-shi is the Iranian *Ruγžākā* 'the desired one' (from the root *rauk* 'to desire') and refers to Queen Puṇyeśvarā. *Ruγžākā* is the same as the Latin proper name *Rōxānê*, Greek *Rōxānē*, Avesta *raoxšna* 'shining, brilliant'.

The panel in the Hermitage Museum shows the Queen mixing the Kashmir and Central Asian cocoons. The Chinese lady on the left side wears a coronet, has a nimbus around her head and she is a royal princess, may be the sister of Queen Puṇyeśvarā. She holds an implement in her right hand and a silk scarf in the left. She must have accompanied the Queen to give her company in a far away land and also as an expert sericulturist. Down below, she is pointing to the crown of the queen. On top is King Vijayajaya as the God of Silk with sericultural implements in his four hands.

The panels D.X.4 and D.VII.6 have been dated probably to the 7th century by Bussagli 1978:57. Whitfield and Farrer place them around the 6th century. The Hermitage panel can be placed in the 6th century.

The legend of the ruse to gain the secret of sericulture has been accepted by most historians to date to 420 CE. Baumer (2000:20) places it in the 3rd or 4th century and states that 420 CE "is fixed too late a time". I tend to agree with Baumer in placing it in the 3rd century. The Parthians terrified the Romans by unfurling silk banners in the first century BC. They were Iranians like the Khotanese.

In 53 BC "Marcus Licinius Crassus, Governor of the Roman province of Syria, led an army of infantry against the Parthians near Carrhae. The battle was a disaster for the Romans. They were outmanoeuvred by Parthian cavalry who fired backwards as they galloped away from the enemy in a manoeuvre known as the 'Parthian shot'. The sight of huge silk banners, unfurled by the Parthians, also terrified the Romans. This is thought to have been the first contact of Romans with the precious material that, within seven years, had reached the markets of Rome" (Tucker 2003:283).

Silk has been found in India as early as the third millennium BC. Analysis of silk thread found at Harappa and Chanhudaro indicate that the Harappans had a sophisticated technique of silk production. The two thread forms from Harappa are from two species of silk-moth (*Antheraea*). The silk from Chanhudaro is from another moth of the genus *Philosamia*. The exclusive origins of sericulture by China have to be revised.

There are three panels of Puṇyeśvarā:

D.X.4 (British Museum)
D.II.016 (National Museum, New Delhi)
GA 1125 (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

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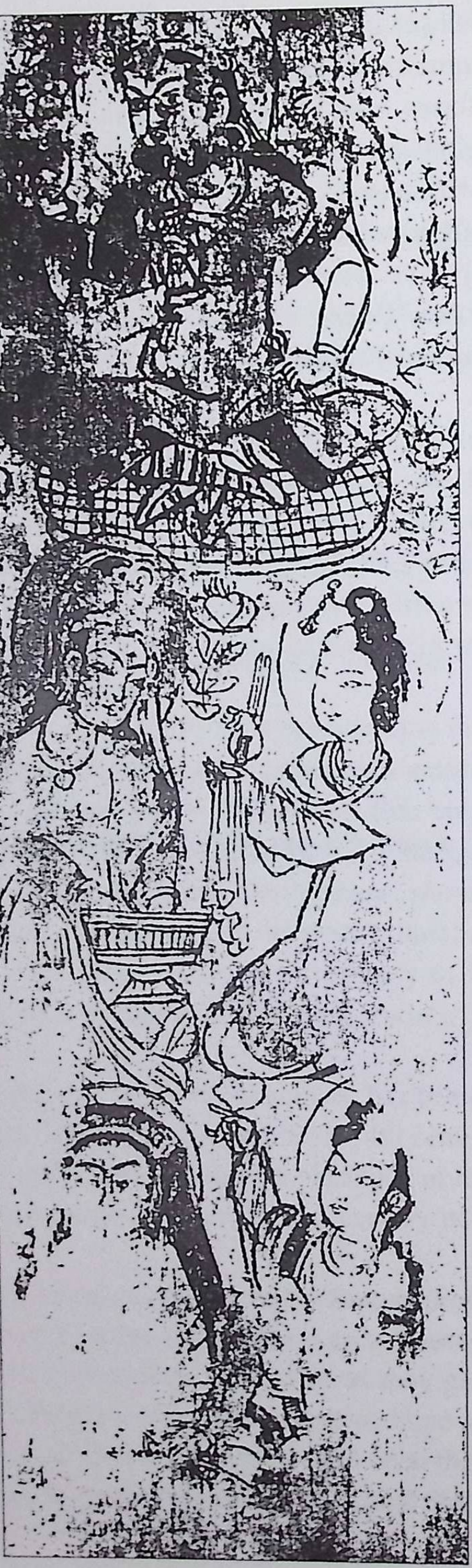
21 March 2019



Artibus Asiae 1960:23:231.

19. LORD KṚṢṆA IN BALKH, KHOTAN, KIZIL, NARA AND PRAMBANAN

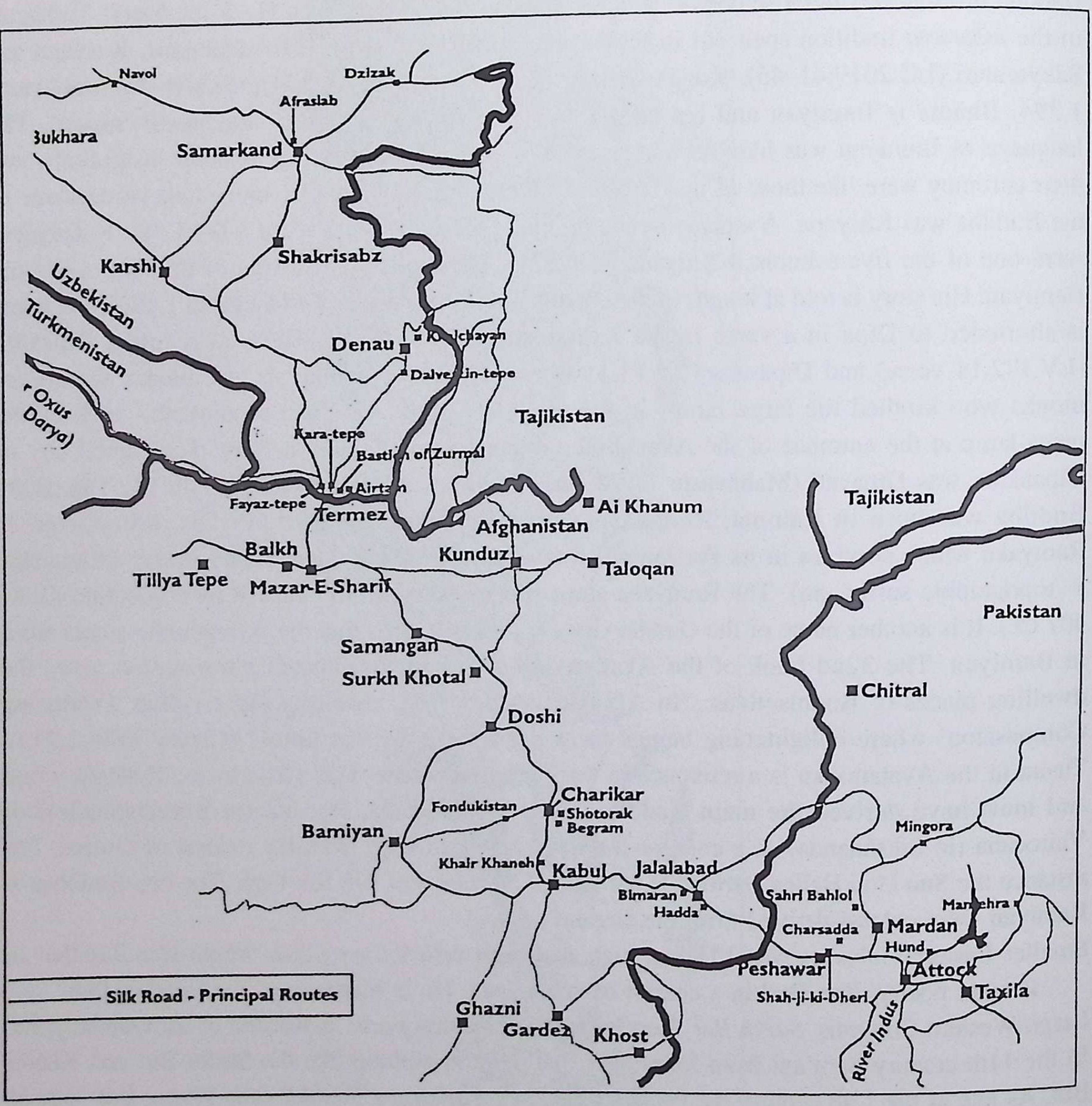
Bamiyan the glory of Buddhist colossi. The Northwest of India played a major role in the evolution and dissemination of Buddhism in Central Asia and thence to East Asian lands. Lord Buddha himself was in close contact with Balkh, Doshi and Bamiyan. He is the fourth Tathāgata in the *mauneya* tradition spelt out in the Mahāvastu: Krakucchanda, Konākamana, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni (LC.2019:41–45). Konākamana is hailed as Bhāma-Konākamana in the Mahāvastu 1.294. Bhāma is Bamiyan and his name is Tocharian: *konāka* 'sun' and *mana* 'moon'. The language of Bamiyan was like Tocharian: "their written language, their popular institutions, and their currency were like those of the Tokhara" (Watters 1904:115). The immediate predecessor of the Buddha was Kāśyapa. A stupa was erected at Balkh in his time (Beal 1884:1.48). Kāśyapīyas were one of the five schools in Udyāna (ibid.121). Dīpaṅkara the Buddha of the Past was from Bamiyan. His story is told at length in the Dīpaṅkara-vastu chapter of Mahāvastu 1.193f. His name is shortened to Dīpa in a verse in the Lalitavistara (LV) 393.12. He is also called Dīpakāra (LV.172.14 verse) and Dīpasaha (LV.11.11 verse). His name perhaps is a reminder of eminent monks who kindled the large lamps in the precincts of Avataṁsaka monasteries such as the mega-lamp at the entrance of the Avataṁsaka monastery of Tōdaiji at Nara. The capital city of Dīpaṅkara was Dīpavatī (Mahāvastu 1.194 etc., Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā 48.10). Dīpaṅkara Buddha was born in Ramma, Rammavatī (Buddhavaṁsa commentary 65). Rammavatī is Ramyaka which survives in its Persianised form Lamqan or Lamghan valley (lamq = Ramyaka + topographic suffix -an). The Ramyaka-sutra was translated into Chinese by Āryasthira (388–407 CE). It is another name of the Gaṇḍavyūha. It makes it clear that the Avataṁsaka-sutras arose in Bamiyan. The 32nd book of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras in Śikṣānanda's translation gives the dwelling places of Bodhisattvas: "In Afghanistan there is a dwelling place called 'Producing Compassion' where enlightening beings have lived since ancient times" (Cleary 1986:2.219). Tuṣita in the Avataṁsaka is a reference to the Tocharians, who were close to the Hellenic world and must have derived the main Buddha of the Avataṁsaka, Rocana (in Buddhabhadra) or Vairocana (in Śikṣānanda) as a colossus (*abhyuccadeva* in Gv.) from the colossi of Greece. For instance the Sun God Helios astride the harbour of Rhodes was 105 feet high. The two Buddhas at Bamiyan were colossi derived from the Gaṇḍavyūha:

Smaller Eastern Colossus was 127 feet high, has been called *Kheng But* 'Moon-like Buddha' in Persian poetry. Sun God in a chariot over his head. He is Maitreya of the Gaṇḍavyūha.

Large Western Colossus, *Surkh But* 'Red Buddha' of Persian poets, is Rocana of the Gaṇḍavyūha. In the 11th century Sam'ani from Merv says that there is nothing like the Surkh But and Kheng But. As late as the 17th century the Persian dictionary *Farhang-e Rashidi* calls Kheng But "one of the wonders of our time".

The grandeur of Bamiyan can be glimpsed in the colossal image of Roshana Daibutsu (Roshana = Rocana) which was erected in 743 CE at Nara (Japan), when Bamiyan was a thriving sanctum (it was destroyed by Yakub in 871 CE).

Balkh, Doshi and Bamiyan were a tripolis that shared dharma paradigms and economic affluence. Even today they are closely linked in commercial transactions. Their trade route is clear in the following map:


Navol
Dzizak
Afraslab
Bukhara
Samarkand
Shakrisabz
Karshi
Uzbekistan
Turkmenistan
Oxus
Darya)
Denau
Kalchayan
Dalverzin-tepe
Tajikistan
Kara-tepe
Bastion of Zurmal
Airtam
Fayaz-tepe
Termez
Ai Khanum
Afghanistan
Balkh
Kunduz
Taloqan
Tillya Tepe
Mazar-E-Sharif
Tajikistan
Pakistan
Samangan
Surkh Khotal
Chitral
Doshi
Charikar
Fondukistan
Shotorak
Begram
Bamiyan
Mingora
Khair Khaneh
Kabul
Jalalabad
Bimaran
Hadda
Sahri Bahlol
Manshehra
Charsadda
Mardan
Hund
Peshawar
Attock
Shah-ji-ki-Dheri
Taxila
Silk Road - Principal Routes
Ghazni
Gardez
Khost
River Indus

Map to show the trade route Balkh→Doshi→Bamiyan.

Balkh. The first lay devotees of Lord Buddha were Trapuṣa-Bhallika who came to the Tarayana tree under which He was in meditation. The Mahāvastu narrates that a deity from the skies announced that Lord Buddha had not eaten for 49 days, honour Him with eats. The two brothers offered him honey and cut pieces of water melon and He partook of this *madhu-tarpaṇa*. They requested for something to worship and the Tathāgata gave them his hair and nail-pairings and told them how to make a stūpa. On return, they constructed the **first** Buddhist stupa in Asitañjana the capital of Balkh (details can be seen in LC.1993:3.140–45). Incidentally, Trapuṣa means 'water-melon' (Hindi *tarbūz*) and *bhallika* means 'a resident of Balkh'. They could have been Greeks or Iranians, as such their foreign names had no meaning in an Indian language, so they are mentioned in a general way as 'Two from Balkh [who offered] the water-melon'. The commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya called Manoratha-pūraṇī (PTS.1924–56:1.382) says that the birthplace of Tapassu and Bhallika was Asitañjana.

According to the Kāṇha-jātaka 440 (J.6.79) and the commentary on the Petavatthu 111, Asitañjana was the capital of Kaṁsabhoga ruled over by Mahākaṁsa. The commentary on the Petavatthu refers to Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) killing Kaṁsa the King of Kaṁsabhoga whose capital was Asitañjana. Kāṇha (= Kṛṣṇa) the hero of the jātaka was a pre-incarnation of Śākyamuni. In Jātaka 4.84 Vāsudeva is addressed as Kaṇha and Kesava. The commentary explains that he is called Kaṇha because he belonged to the Kaṇhāyana (Kṛṣṇāyana) gotra and Kesava because he had beautiful hair (*kesa-sobhanatayā*). Jātaka 6.421 calls Vāsudeva Kaṇha. The followers of Vāsudeva are mentioned in a list of śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas in Mahāniddesa 1.89. Petavatthu 2.6 specifies Kesava as an *alias* of Vāsudeva. Among Mahāyāna texts, the Lalitavistara 170.16 verse has the reading *Kṛṣṇabandhu*, contrary both to metre and sense. The Tibetan translation has the correct form Nag.po 'Kṛṣṇa' (without any translation of *bandhu*). The Gaṇḍavyūha 442.14 names Vāsudeva in a long enumeration of Bodhisattvas.

The Nav Bahar monastery of Balkh was famous for the concupiscent beauty of the images of Buddhist goddesses. In the East Iranian world the Persian poets recalled the grace of images as ideal beauty, even when Buddhism had long faded away. Ayyūqī writes that the heroine "was a Buddhist statue in a temple full of offerings. We find the crescendo in stanzas 2138–42 where she is addressed as *Bot* (statue), then *lo'bat* (statuette) and finally as *nowbahar* (the monastery itself). This metaphor continued upto the time of Yaqut in the 13th century. Likewise, the flute of Lord Kṛṣṇa resonates in the lines of Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–73) who was born in Balkh:

Listen to the reed and the tale it tells
As it laments of separation.
The sound of the reed is made from fire, not breath.
It is Love's fire that ignites the reed.

Hawkridge senses the flute of Kṛṣṇa in Sufi songs: "The songs of mystic Persian poets still charm a reader, whether or not he realises what they express, as did the cowherds wives surrounding Krishna with passion, the pain and longing of the soul on the way of God." The presence of Lord Kṛṣṇa playing the flute must have been ubiquitous at Balkh in several temples dedicated to his cult as it continued to live in the hearts of her poets for six centuries, long after the destruction of the monasteries and temples.

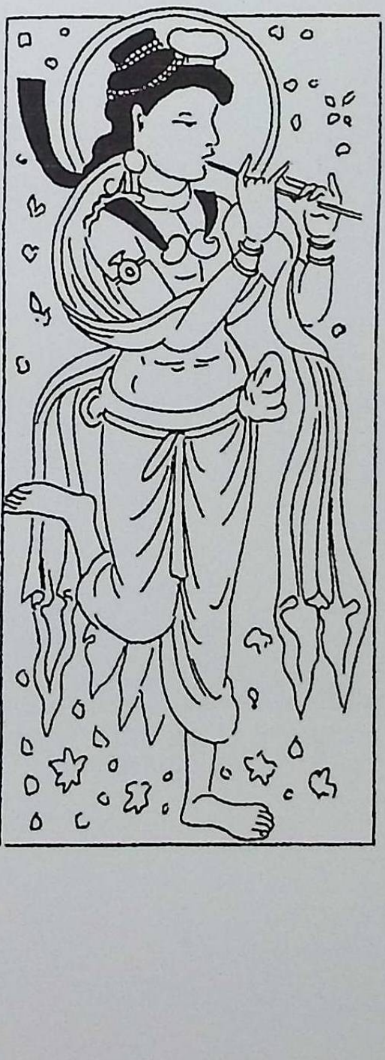
Doshi, the emporium of *duṣya*. Between Balkh and Bamiyan lies Doshi and the three have been closely connected. The memories of Doshi go back to the time of Lord Buddha who used to stay in a monastery built by a merchant who was dealing with resplendent fabrics like *dussa* and *pāvāra*. He is referred to by his profession and not by his personal name. He should have been a foreigner whose name did not fit into the linguistic tenor of India. The Pali *dussa* and Sanskrit *duṣya* have survived in the modern name of the Doshi city in Afghanistan. It is still a centre of exquisite rugs, blankets and woollen fabrics. The Chinese Jibin was identified as Kubhā (Kabul), then with Kashmir, but Prof. Willemen has rightly pointed out that it is not a transcription but translation: *ji* means 'blanket' + *bin* 'descent' *bin* signifies 'origin' and Jibin will mean the city whence blankets originated. It refers precisely to the kingdom of Doshi. Teachers from Jibin (mod. Doshi) were going to China from the fourth to the eighth century. The names of those who translated Sanskrit texts into Chinese have been preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. They are enumerated below. The dates refer to their stay in China.

Nj.	CE	
39	383–398	Saṅghadeva Gautama
44	406–418	Piṅgala, Vimalākṣa (?)
59	401+	Kumārajīva became a disciple of Bandhudatta a cousin of the king of Jibin
60	ca.399–415	Puṇyatara (ºtrāta)
61	408–412	Buddhayaśas
62	401–415	Dharmayaśas
73	423–424	Buddhajīva
75	424–442	Dharmamitra
76	394	Chih-yen came to Jibin accompanied by Buddhabhadra
76	394	He came again to Jibin and died here at 78 years
79	431	Guṇavarman, younger son of the king of Jibin
		He died the same year
141	693	Buddhatrāta (K400)
142	676	Buddhapāli came to Wutaishan but returned to his land
	682–683	Came again to Ch'ang-an
156	781–785	Prājña
	790–792	Went to Central Asia but returned to Ch'ang-an
	810	Passed away at Loyang

Khotan. The rugs with the legends of Kṛṣṇa found in Shampula, Khotan should have gone from Doshi which was a prime centre for superior quality fabrics. Doshi was closely associated with Balkh where Kṛṣṇa played a dominant role, along with renowned Buddhist monasteries like Nav Bahar.

A Kushan period relief shows Vasudeva carrying his son across the Yamunā river (Mathura Museum no.1344). It is one of the earliest representations of the cult of Kṛṣṇa. The Kushans had their winter capital in Mathura and were thus close to the epicentre of the Kṛṣṇa cult. King Vāsudeva converted to this denomination. The Kushans had close commercial connections with China. Chinese sources consider Kaniṣka a second Aśoka. The flowering of the Mathura and Gandhara schools of art was due to his patronage. The varied pantheon of his coins was for the Messanian merchants who were middlemen in the flourishing Chinese trade. Kaniṣka's name appears in Khotanese, Tocharian A&B, Sogdian and Uigur texts. The annals of the Wei dynasty say that King Po-t'iao (probably Vāsudeva) of the Yüeh-chih sent an embassy to China in 230 CE to seek assistance against the Sasanians of Iran (Rosenfield 1967:x, 28, 104). The Kushans could have carried the cult of Kṛṣṇa to Central Asia and beyond, as evidenced in His depiction on the Sampula rugs.

Kizil cave 77 depicts Kṛṣṇa playing the flute. The halo around his head indicates his divinity.

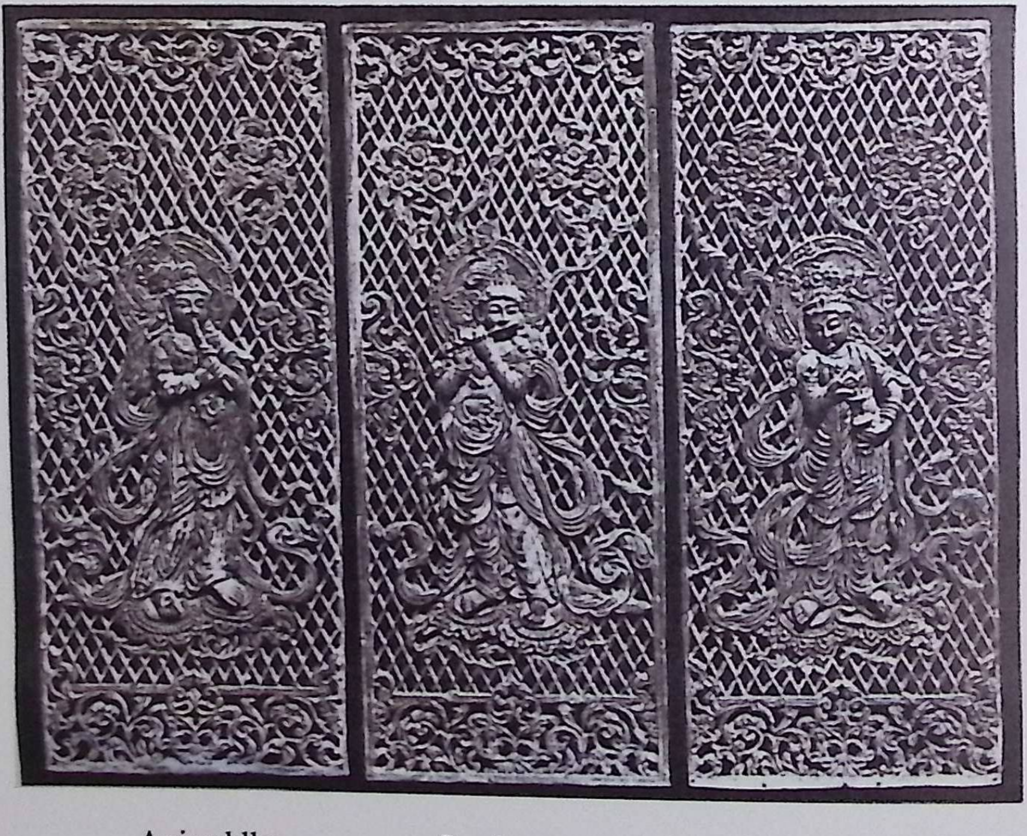


A fragment of a wall painting from the Prayer Wheel Cave of Kizil (about 600–50) has been identified as 'a divinity' playing a flute (MIK III 9233, MMA.1982:93 no.29). He is Lord Kṛṣṇa. A painting on wood from Yarkhoto (8–9th century) shows Kṛṣṇa playing the flute, though described as 'flutist' in the MMA.1982:190–91 no.130.

The Todaiji monastery of **Nara**, dated to about 752 CE, pertains to the Avataṁsaka sect. A large bronze lantern at its front is ornamented with low relief figures of 'Bodhisattvas' playing musical instruments. The figure playing the flute is Kṛṣṇa with a halo around his head. His identity as Vāsudeva (= Kṛṣṇa) is confirmed by being mentioned in the Gaṇḍavyūha the final sutra of the Avataṁsaka corpus, which is the denomination of the monastery (Kobayashi 1975:26, 33, 34).

The lantern of the Todaiji has four divinities representing the **caturvyūha** or four aspects of Viṣṇu: Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The worship of Vyūhas is the main feature of the Bhāgavata cult. The Vyūha doctrine regards Vāsudeva as Viṣṇu. From Vāsudeva sprang Saṅkarṣaṇa, from Saṅkarṣaṇa emanated Pradyumna, and from Pradyumna arose Aniruddha. The Ghoshuṇḍi Hathibada Inscription (ca.2nd c.BC) records a stone enclosure for Bhagavat Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. P. Banerjee (1978:8–10) has detailed the history of the Vyūha cult, and its spread to "Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and a few other places" (ibid.12).

The three consecutive depictions on the lantern are 93.6 cm high and 44 cm wide.



Aniruddha Pradyumna Saṅkarṣaṇa

Kṛṣṇa lifting Mount Govardhana from Khuong My, Quang Nam province, 10th century (Da Nang Museum no.17.6) evidences the presence of Kṛṣṇa cult in **Champa**. The life of Kṛṣṇa is shown on the Tra Kieu pedestal in the 11th century (Schweyer 2011:50, 51, 66). The caturvyūha depicted on the lantern of Tōdaiji could be due to Buddhasthira who came from Champa and was in-charge of the music and dances at its consecration ceremony.

Saṅkarṣaṇa or Balarāma is the elder brother of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Saṅkarṣaṇa means 'ploughing, agriculture' and it is an epithet of Balarāma. From him emanates Pradyumna. Pradyumna is Kāma or the God of love reborn as a son of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī, after he had been reduced to ashes by the third eye of Śiva. Aniruddha is the son of Pradyumna. Lord Kṛṣṇa has been represented separately.

Saṅkarṣaṇa stands for prosperity based on agriculture. Pradyumna is continuity of the lineage and progeny which was a main concern in ancient times when the sparse population had to be raised. Progeny and prosperity were crucial considerations of a ruling dynasty. We can see these two requisites of the thriving Indonesian dynasty of the Śailendras enshrined in the antechamber of the Chandi Mendut. Hārīti on the north wall with her multiple sons was to ensure royal progeny, and Kubera on the south wall with his feet on money bags for economic prosperity (Kempers 1959:39 pls.56, 57). Chandi Mendut has been dated to ca.800 CE and belongs to the golden period of the Śailendra dynasty.

The four divinities of the caturvyūha represent the *caturvarga*:

Saṅkarṣaṇa : economic prosperity (*artha*)
Pradyumna : continuing progeny (*kāma*)
Aniruddha : practice of customary observances (*dharma*)
Kṛṣṇa : eternal emancipation (*mokṣa*)

Lord Kṛṣṇa is depicted separately, playing the flute (*vaṁśā*) held in his characteristic slant to the right to draw the human heart to the Divine. The flute is the symbol of the highest *nāda*. The fourth chapter of the Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā 4.79–89 on samādhi details four stages of *nāda-laya*:

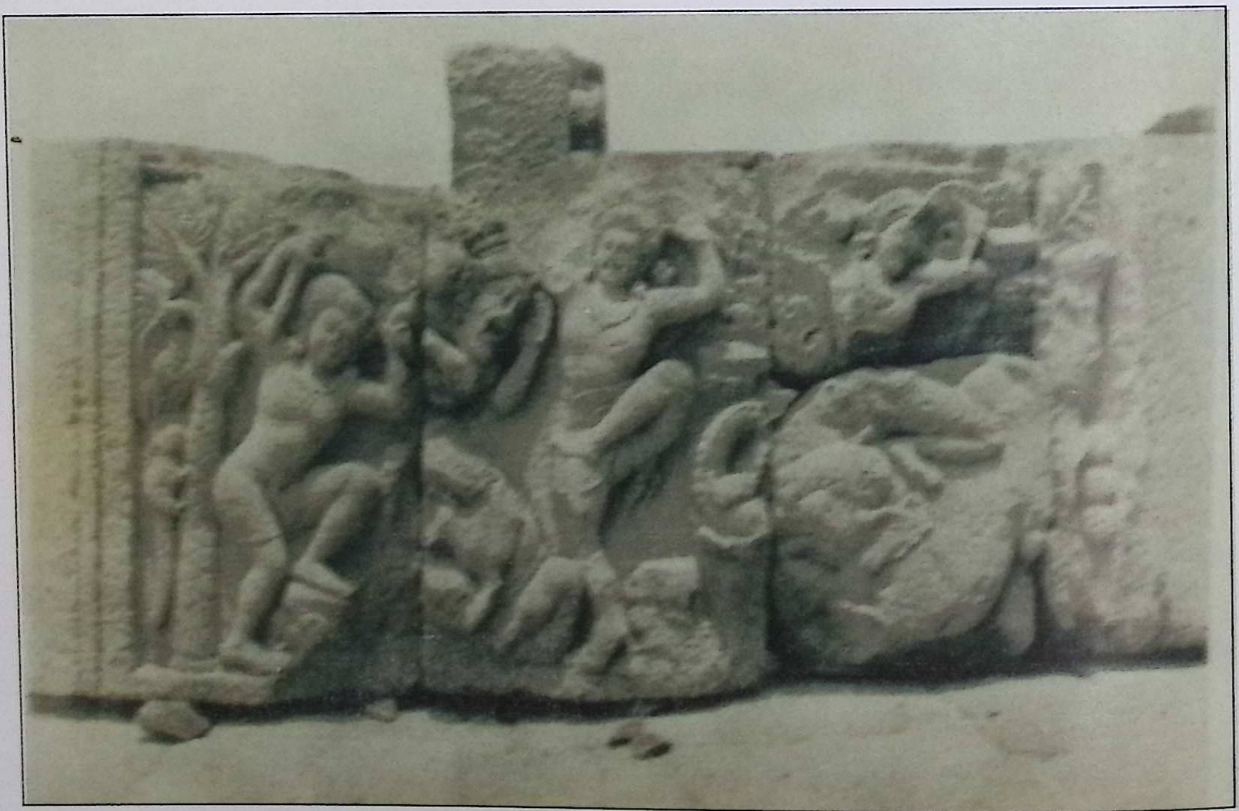
(1) Very loud sounds in the initial stage: like the surging ocean, thunder, kettle drums (*bherī*), and cymbals (*jharjhara*).
(2) Loud sounds in the intermediate stage: like the *mardala*, conch (*śaṅkha*), bell (*ghaṇṭā*), and *kāhala*.
(3) Subtle sounds in the final stage: like that of trinklets (*kiṅkiṇī*), **flute** (*vaṁśā*), *vīṇā*, and bees (*bhramara*).
(4) The mind absorbed in nāda becomes calm and collected in *anāhata*, when no (*an-*) instrument is played (*āhata*).

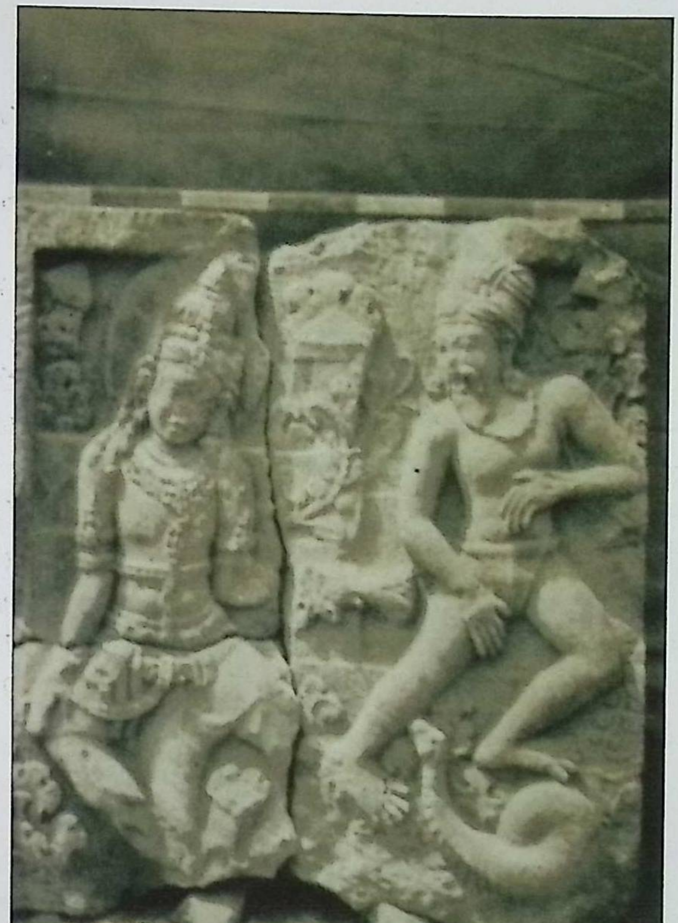
The flute of Kṛṣṇa represents the final stage of subtle sound which culminates in the song of the cosmos, the symbolical sound of silence: Lord Kṛṣṇa leads to mokṣa.

The four stages of *nāda-laya* were well-known in Japanese Buddhism. The Taima maṇḍala of 763 CE illustrates them on the basis of the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sutra.

This paradigm in Japan could be due to the two masters of ceremonies at the consecration of Tōdaiji, Bodhisena of India and Buddhasthira of Champa which was deeply saturated with South Indian paradigms. It was to ensure the vow of Emperor Shōmu to raise a colossus (Roshana Daibustsu) to symbolise the unity and power of the state of Japan.

Viṣṇu temple of Loro Joṅgraṅ. In July 2008 myself, Prof. Nirmala Sharma and Dr. Sushama Lohia went to Indonesia for an international symposium on the hidden base of the Borobudur. We went to the Loro Joṅgraṅ temple at Prambanan of the 10th century. The walls of the Viṣṇu temple have reliefs of Kṛṣṇa stories. A person was selling photographs of some of the scenes and I bought five of them. They are being reproduced here so that future scholarship may identify them. These reliefs are discussed in *Krĕṣṇāyana*: *The Krĕṣṇa Legend in Indonesia* by Soewito-Santoso (Śatapiṭaka 345, 1986:18–24). Santoso wrote an 9 Aug 1984 that a picture of Lord Kṛṣṇa can be found in J. Kats, *Het Javaansche Toneel I*, *Wajang Poerwa*, Weltevreden 1923 opposite p.360; Hardjowirogo, *Sedjarah Wajang Purwa*, 3rd print, Jakarta 1955:88; Ki Siswoharsoyo, Bhāratayuddha, vol.2 or 3, 2nd print, Ngajogyakarta 1963 front page.

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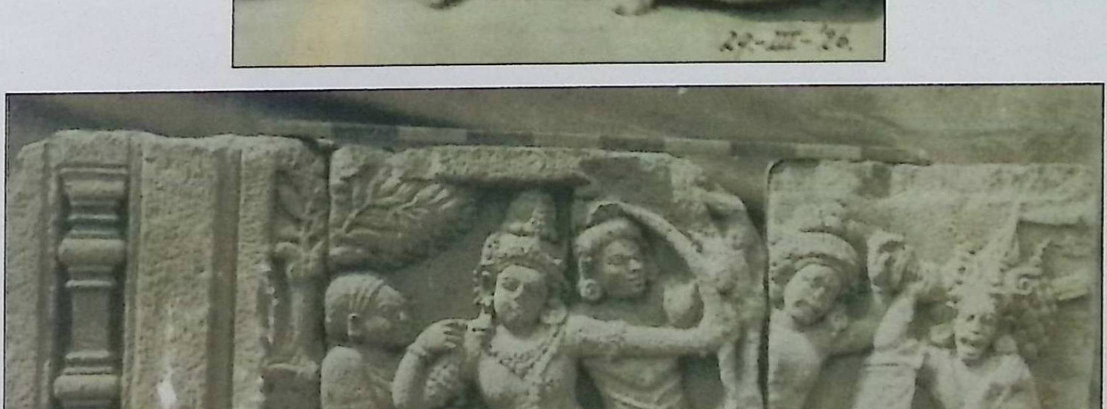

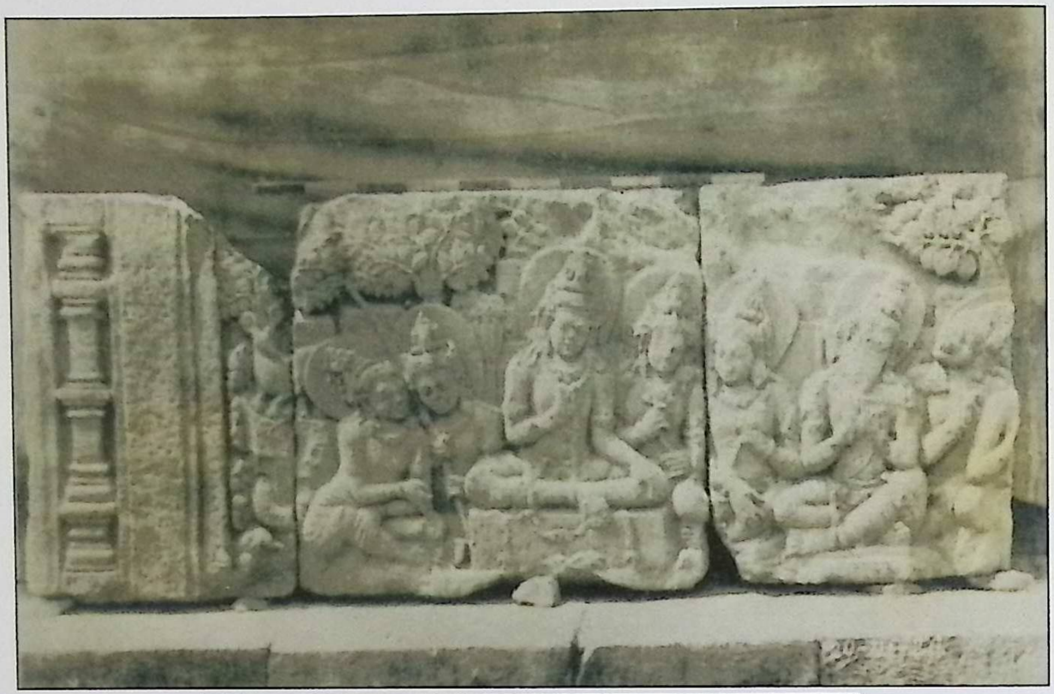

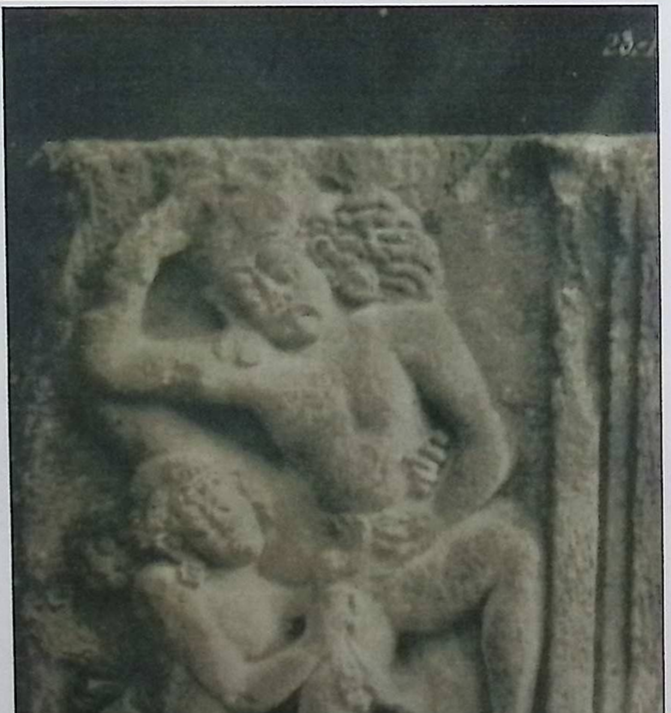
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20. BUKHĀRĀ WAS A LAND OF BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

W. Barthold [R.N. Frye p.1293] point out that the earliest occurrence of the name Bukhārā is in Chinese annals of the 7th century, but in the early coins it is *pwγ’r* (puγar). There was a vihāra near Numijikath the predecessor of Bukhārā into which it merged. The coins of the native pre-Islamic dynasty have *pwγ’r γwβ* in Sogdian meaning ‘Bukhārā king’. Barthold/Frye doubt the etymology of Bukhārā from vihāra: “The derivation of this word from Sanskrit *vihāra* ‘monastery’ is not improbable, inspite of the linguistic difficulties.”

Pelliot (1959:108) is cautious: “the name has been supposed to come from a form *Buhār, which would be derived from Skr. *vihāra* [Buddhist] monastery and which occurs in Uighur and Mongolian, through the Sogdian form.”

Several words have been used to denote a Buddhist monastery.

Anāthapiṇḍika built the Anāthapiṇḍikārāma in the Jetavana park in Śrāvastī for the residence of Lord Buddha. The grounds were covered with trees which gave it the appearance of a wooded grove (*arañña*, Samantapāsādikā 3.532). On its outskirts was a mango-grove. Buddha spent nineteen rainy seasons in Jetavana. It is usually referred to as *Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme*, at the suggestion of the Buddha to honour both Prince Jeta and millionaire Anāthapiṇḍika, so that others may follow their example. The word for a monastery in Pali is *ārāma* (Malalasekera 1937:1.963–66).

Veḷuvana was the pleasure garden of king Bimbisāra near Rājagṛha. When Lord Buddha came to Rājagṛha after his Enlightenment, the king wanted a place for the residence of Lord Buddha fitted to seclusion. He bestowed Veḷuvana. It was the first *ārāma* accepted by the Buddha. A rule was passed to allow monks to accept such an *ārāma* (Vinayapiṭaka 1.35). The Buddha at once went to stay there. During this stay, his two main disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana joined the Order (Malalasekera 1937:2.936). The Buddha stayed here often (Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Mūlasarvāstikavāda Vinaya).

The first word for a Buddhist monastery was **ārāma**, though both the Veṇuvana and Jetavana were situated in pleasant gardens (*vana*). The yoga tradition clearly defines that meditation should be done in a hermitage in the mountains, at a beach, in a forest or garden, always in a pleasing natural ambience. The Vairocanābhisambodhi-sutra specifies spots like a track of cows, a quiet place, where a waterfall merges with the plain, a temple, and so on. The word *ārāma* means ‘a pleasant place, garden, grove’ (MW).

The second word **saṅghārāma** for a residence of monks is rare in Pali. Stede records only Jātaka 1.94 and the commentary on Vibhaṅga 13. Edgerton’s dictionary does not record the word. MW cites it only from his book *Buddhism*. The word does not occur in any Buddhist Sanskrit text. It is a common expression for a residence of monks, a monastery, or monastic building in

Chinese and Japanese. The Japanese pronunciation of its characters 伽藍 is *garan*. Hsüan-tsang consistently uses this term and goes so far as to transcribe Navavihāra as *Na-fo-sêng-ka-lan* 納縛僧伽藍 'Nava-saṅghārāma', which was built by a former king of the kingdom (Watters 1904:1.110).

The third word **vihāra** for a monastery occurs in Pali texts like the Vinaya, Jātakas, Milindapañha. *Vihārapāla* 'the guard of a monastery' in Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.185, *vihāra-cārikā* 'visit to the monastery' in the commentary on the Dhammapada 1.19, *vihāra-pokkharaṇī* (ibid.1.49). The name of the Bihar state bears its name from the vihāras that once dotted it. In Buddhist Sanskrit it is *the* term for a monastery. It was translated into Tibetan as *gtsug.lag.khaṅ* 'house of sciences' because schools were associated with monasteries. The monasteries were both for *puṇya-sambhāra* or religious rites and *jñāna-sambhāra* or learning.

The fourth word for a monastery is **ṣaṇḍa** 'wood, thicket', *vana-ṣaṇḍa* 'wood' (Mahābhārata), *vṛkṣa-ṣaṇḍa* 'grove' in Kāśikā on Pāṇini 4.3.38. I-tsing narrates in the life of the Korean master Hui-lun that he studied Sanskrit and the Kośa at the Gandhāra-ṣaṇḍa monastery which surpassed all other monasteries in great opulence and abundant supply of all kinds of necessities. It had been constructed by the people of Tukhāra for their monks. I-tsing came here and met Hui-lun who was forty years in age and had the Sanskrit name Prajñāvarman (LC.2019:31–33). Ṣaṇḍa has become *saṇṇa* in the Gaṇḍavyūha in the narration of the Śākyan Gopā of Kapilavastu who roams in a forest grove of trees (*vṛkṣa-ṣaṇṇe vane*) humming with the music of birds. She had realised the tenth stage of *pariṇāmanā* meditation. The word occurs in Pali *Jambusaṇḍa* for Jambudvīpa in Suttanipāta 552 = Theragāthā 822. Ajiṇṭhā is the local name of the famous caves of Ajanta. It is derived from Ajita-ṣaṇḍa 'the monastery of Ajita (= Maitreya)'. Jules Barthoux excavated the site of Haḍḍa in the 1930s. It was visited by Fa-hsien who calls it Hi-lo 醯羅城 'Hidda' the city of the skull-bone of the Buddha. Its modern spelling is Hadda and the local pronunciation is Handa (double *ḍḍa* represents *ṇḍa*, as in Greek *aggelos* 'angel' double *gg* stands for *ng*). Giles 1923:15 translates "In the city of Hiro (= bone, now Hidda) there is a shrine which contains Buddha's skull-bone...". This is a folk etymology. Haḍḍa is actually Hāṇḍā, a common family name in Panjab. The initial *ṣ* of *ṣaṇḍa* has become *h* and Handa stands for the original word *ṣaṇḍa* 'Buddhist monastery'.

The fifth word for monastery is **puqar** or **buqar** in Uigur, Mongolian, and Chinese transcriptions in the Sung and Ming periods. The colophon of the Mongolian translation of the Tri-tattva-samādhi-samāhita in the Mongolian Tanjur says that it was translated into Tibetan at the *Nālandai-yin buqar* (Rinchen, *Catalogue of the Mongol Tanjur*, no.3926). Buqar stands for a monastery in Mongolian and occurs in an Uigur vocabulary of the Ming period. Prof. Rinchen transcribes it also as *puqar*. It can be analysed into *bu* + *qar* which represent Sanskrit *bhū* 'land, estate' + *hāra*, like *agrahāra* 'royal donation of lands to Brahmans, a land or village thus given' Mahābhārata (MW). In Bihar, the once the prime land of Buddhism, we have a special class of **bhūmihāra** Brahmans who have vast estates donated to them in former times. The word *hāra* is derived from the root *hṛ* which means ‘to appropriate (in a legitimate way), come into the possession of, receive (as an heir)’ in Manu, Mahābhārata etc.” (MW). The word *buqar* is **bhūhāra* which corresponds to the Indian *bhūmihāra*.

The sixth word for a monastery was **varẖār** in Sogdian, and *vrẖār* in early Uigur texts. It is Sanskrit *vara-hāra* on the analogy of the Hindu *agra-hāra* ‘estates given to Brahmans by kings’. *Agra* means ‘foremost, best part, chief, best’ and likewise *vara* is ‘select, best, excellent, eminent’, and ‘royal, princely’ in the Jātakamālā. In the Lalitavistara 9.22 *varadhira* means ‘earth’. Though *varahāra* is not attested in Indic texts, it must have been a dialectical Buddhist expression on the analogy of the classical *agrahāra* endowments.

Varahāra (pronounced Barahāra) was shortened to Bara in Baragāõ which was the local name of the village where ruins of Nalanda are situated. Bara-gāõ means the ‘village of the monastery (*varahāra*)’. Bara (pronounced Boro) can be seen in the name of the Indonesian *Boro*budur which dates back to about 800 CE.

The seventh word for a monastery is **vahal** in Nepal. Its etymology is not clear. Can it be connected with *bahār* of Nōbahār?

The **name Buk̲ẖārā** has the following forms:

Hsüan-tsang and other Chinese sources: transcriptions based on *Buẖār
Chau-ju-kua: P’u-hua-lo
Secret History of the Mongols: Buqar
Kalmyk legends: Buẖar
Marco Polo: several readings in manuscripts. Pelliot takes Bucara.
Orkhon inscriptions: Buqaraq (with the ancient Iranian final -k̲)
1076 CE: Kāšγarī wrote Buẖārā
Turkish dialect of Kazan: Boẖār
Sanskrit: *bhūhāra.

The initial syllable is mainly *bu°* of the Sanskrit *bhū* ‘land’ (aspirate *bh* did not exist in the local scripts). The mid syllable *hā* was written as *qa*, *ha*, *hā*, and the final *°a* was not pronounced or was lengthened to *°ā*. The term **bhūhāra* meant monasteries donated to the Buddhist saṅgha as an ecclesiastical endowment. There must have been several such endowments so that it came to be known as Bukhara, the City of Monasteries. It replaced the ancient name Nūmiǰ, Nūmiǰ-käθ which occurs in Chinese texts of the fifth century (Annals of the Wei dynasty 102.5b). A parallel case is the Bihar state in India. The city of Bukhara must have been full of Buddhist cloisters, endowed with stupas like Shang-tu the summer capital of the Yüan emperor Kublai Khan decorated with 108 stupas. Shang-tu ‘Upper Capital’ has been immortalised by Coleridge in his poem Kubla Khan at Xanadu. Buddhist carvings were being made and sold in Bukhara as late as the tenth century, centuries after its Islamisation (Melikian-Chirvani 1984:273).

One of the greatest theologians of Islam, Muhammad al-Bukhārī (810–870) accepted Islam at the hands of the governor of Bukhara. The literary style of his Ṣaḥīḥ shows that he must have been a Buddhist who knew the Vinaya. He had a remarkable memory and travelled extensively in search of traditions. He compiled his Ṣaḥīḥ in sixteen years out of 600,000 he had collected. It has 7397 traditions which are of the highest authority. It is placed at the head of the Sunnī tradition as the most important book after the Ḳur'ān" (EIs.1.1297). They begin with "Thus I have heard", like the Buddhist sutras *evaṁ mayā śrutam* which means the same. The word *śrutaṁ* has a special ecclesiastical significance as referring to *śruti* or eternal knowledge transmitted by the divine sages or rishis in distinction from *smṛti* or what have been handed down by human authors. *Śruti* means Vedic texts. Bukhari's Ṣaḥīḥ inherits the earlier Buddhist style of diction and the sanctity of the śruti tradition which was the earlier heritage of Bukhara. A famous Indian adage speaks of the close connection of Balkh and Bukhara **जो सुख छज्जू के चुबारे में, वह न बल्ख़ बुख़ारे में** 'the felicity that is in the hutment of Chajju is neither in Balkh nor in Bukhara'. Balkh was the seat of the renowned Navavihāra monastery, and so must have been Bukhara whence it came to be called a veritable vihāra.

Pelliot (1959:108) raises the question "I do not see why we have only <<New>> monasteries in Iran." Samarkand, Bukhara and Ray (east of Teheran) had Naubihār. These monasteries were dedicated to the emerging gynocentric Tantras. Buddhism owned the principle of *upāya-kauśalya* 'diplomacy', which was Buddha's skill in devising means to impress and convert people (SP = Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sutra 33.8). New ways were being devised by owning the existing traditions and interiorising them into Buddhism. SP 233.13f distinguishes its new way as *nava-yāna* from the earlier *śrāvakayāna*. It honours the adherents of the *nava-yāna* as "*bodhisattva mahāsattva*" while those of *śrāvakayāna* are mere *pudgala* 'person, man, creature'. The new was the *par excellence*.

The nava-vihāras were devoted to the newly upcoming vajrayāna with its concupicent goddesses celebrated in early Persian poetry. Ayyūqī writes of his beautiful heroine that she was a *Bot* (Buddhist statue), then *lo'batt* (statuette) and finally addresses her as *naubahar* the Buddhist monastery itself, known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature upto the time of Yaqut in the 13th century. The <<new monasteries>> were sanctities of devotion and the charm of beauty. Naubihār or Nōbihar changed to Nōbahār 'New Spring, Spring' in later times.

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21. SIDDHA KAMBALA FROM CENTRAL ASIA

The Eightyfour Siddhas have been the limelight of Tantric esoterism both in Śaivism and Vajrayāna. There are several lineages in Hindi, Tamil and Tibetan. The Tibetan Tanjur has four texts representing the lineages of Champaran, Bodhgaya and Nepal. Most of the names are common, but there are differences.

1. Champaran lineage in Abhayadatta's
Lives of 84 Siddhas (Cordier 3.427, not in Toh.).
Taken in Ḥphags.pa's list (JA.1934:2.218–25 Rahul Sankrityayana), Sum.pa.mkhan.po (1704–1788 pp.142–46), and Kloṅ.rdol.bla.ma (TSHA p.41).
2. Bodhgaya lineage in Ratnākaragupta of Vajrāsana.
Abhyarthanā of 84 Siddhas (Cordier 3.92, Toh.3758).
Stockholm thaṅkas 1–13 (Toni Schmid, *The Eightyfive Siddhas*, Stockholm, 1958; Tucci 1949:1.227III; LC.1991:1096–1179 (in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā pantheon); B.C. Olschak, The Ninety Mahāsiddhas (reprinted from *Image* 1968).
3. Nepal lineage written by Śrīsena in 1130 CE.
Abhisamaya of 84 Siddhas (Cordier 3.475, Toh.4317)
Schmid 1958:155–69.
4. Sambodhi-hṛdaya of 84 Siddhas by Vīraprabhāsvara
Cordier 2.225 no.34. Same lineage as that in Abhayadatta.
5. Dohā-vṛtti-sahita Caturaśīti-siddh-āvadāna by Vīraprabhāsvara
Commentary on the dohās of the 84 Siddhas by Abhayaśrī, collected by Vīraprabhāsvara
Cordier 3.247 no.2.

The black blanket clad yogin Kambala, Lva.ba.pa in Tibetan, is the only Siddha from Central Asia. Abhayadatta narrates that he succeeded his father as the king of the land of Kaṅkara, but handed over governance to his younger brother to enter the monastic order. Later on, he discarded the monastic order and alms-bowl to take up the habit of a yogin. He was initiated into Cakrasaṁvara by his mother who had become a ḍākinī. He attained the siddhi of mahāmudrā and went up to heaven. On the behest of his mother he came back to work for living beings. He came to Maṅgalapura in Udyāna, used to meditate in a cave in the Muruṇḍaka mountain, and went around the town for alms, wearing his distinctive black wool cloak (Robinson 1979:117).

Kingdom of Kaṅkara. The name of the kingdom of the father of Kambala has been transcribed as Kanakārāma (BP Kan.ka.ra.ma) by Grünwedel (1916:175), as Kankarāma by Robinson (1979:117), and Kaṅkarama by Dowman (1985:179). The Tibetan text runs:

yul.kaṅka.ra.ma.bya.ba.na/

All have avoided the translation of *bya.ba.na*. Sum.pa.mkhan.po clarifies the name of the kingdom (p.125): *kaṅ.ka.raḥi rgyal.rigs Kambha.la.pa ḥaṁ lva.ba.pa*. "Kambalapa or Lva.ba.pa was of the royal family of Kaṅ.ka.ra". Thus the name of the kingdom was Kaṅkara, and *ma.bya.ba.na* is the predicate of the sentence. The kingdom was a land of prosperity and happiness and there was slight or no (*ma*) work (*bya.ba*) of governance. The royal family had a carefree and buoyant life. Jäschke's dictionary clarifies the meaning of *bya.ba* in a quotation: *der rgyal.po daṅ blon.po.rnams.kyi bya.ba byuṅ.ba yin* "then the affairs of the kings and their officers, the <<concerns of the state>> (*bya.ba*) and its functionaries, gained ground?"

Chinese sources mention K'ang-chü (**Kham-ki̯at* for **Kam-kar*?) as the capital of Shih in 658 CE. The K'ang-chü were in contact with Emperor Wu who came to the throne in 140 BC. The name Kankar is given to lower Jaxartes by Ibn Chondadhbhih. The Jaxartes River is Syr Darya whose waters "produced a rich, fertile plain more than 250 km in length, still home to about one third of Uzbekistan's population." It had abundance of heavenly horses and they were found as late as 1825 (Tucker 2003:272). The town of Otrar was once at the intersection of a number of caravan routes. Its ruins are situated on top of a pentagonal hill. It was occupied as early as the first century CE. It used to be known as Kangu-Turban. It was the capital of the Kangar Turks during the 8th and 9th centuries (Tucker 2003:277). Kangu and Kangar are the ancient Kaṅka and Kaṅkara.

The Kaṅka people appear in the Mahābhārata alongwith the Śakas and Tocharians: *śakās tukhārāḥ kaṅkāś ca* (2.47.1850), and *śakās tukhārāḥ kaṁkāś ca pahlavāś ca* (12.65.2429). They are mentioned in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa 2.4.18 with the Kirātas, Hūṇas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīra, Yavana and Khaśa. Further on in 9.20.30 the Bhāgavata speaks of them along with the Kirāta, Hūṇa, Yavana, Andhra, Khaśa and Śaka. The name *kaṅka* is based on Tocharian A *kāṅk* 'stone'. It is *kaṅkaṛ* in Hindi and means 'small pebbles'. Toponyms like Takṣaśilā (*śilā* 'stone') or Einstein (*Stein* 'stone') have the word for stone. *Śilā* is stone and *śaila* is a mountain in Sanskrit. Kaṅka and related semantemes refer to places situated among mountains.

Kaṅkara as a mountain city is reflected in the mystic life of Kambala. While he was meditating in a cave on Mount Muruṇḍaka, the Kāmāvacara gods split a rock to fall on him, but he pointed his finger and the rock went into the sky (Robinson 1979:120). The Seven Hedin scroll (Schmid 1958:46) shows the rock dangling in mid-air as Kambala makes the 'fascination mudrā', delighted to have foiled the attempt of the Kāmāvacara gods to kill him.

Kambala had a magic contest with Lalitavajra at the Muruṇḍaka mountain. Lalitavajra cleft the mountain with a sword to make a passage for himself and Kambala to pass through. On the return journey, Kambala made it to disappear at night, but Lalitavajra was astounded to find it behind him next morning. Muruṇḍa is the name of a people in the Viṣṇupurāṇa. Ptolemy calls them *Maroûndai*.

Initiation into Cakrasaṁvara. Kambala began with his initiation into Cakrasaṁvara by his mother. Tāranātha says in his 'Seven Instruction Lineages' (*Bkaḥ.babs.bdun.ldan*) that when Kambala came eastwards he met ācārya Vajraghaṇṭa who empowered him into the maṇḍala of Cakrasaṁvara (Templeman 1983:33). Kambala wrote four short texts for daily rites, of which two are on Cakrasaṁvara:
- Sādhana of Cakrasaṁvara entitled Ratnacūḍāmaṇi (Cordier 2.36 no.24)
- Maṇḍala of Cakrasaṁvara entitled Ratnapradīpoddyota (Cordier 2.36 no.25)
- Nava-śloka (Cordier 3.514 no.10)
- Prajñāpāramitā in seven stanzas (Cordier 3.514 no.11)

Kambala initiated the wood-seller Acinti into Cakrasaṁvara and he became a great Siddha (Robinson 139). Kambala gave the Cakrasaṁvara initiation to King Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, and another empowerment to the sister of the King, Princess Lakṣmīkarā in a tantra that has not been specified. She attained the utpanna° and sampanna-krama of Vajravārāhī. According to Abhayadatta there were two cities (better kingdoms) in Uḍḍiyāna: Indrabhūti ruled in Sambola (Skt. Śambhala) and King Jalendra in Laṅkāpura. This passage confirms the identification of Śambhala of Uḍḍiyāna with Kanchi, which had close relations with Laṅkā. Thus Kambala journeyed as far as Kanchi.

Maṅgalapura. Grünwedel (1916:176) translates "Mālāpura in Udyāna", Robinson (1979: 119) "Malapura in Uḍḍiyāna", and Dowman (1985:180) "land of Oḍḍiyāna, to Maṅgalapur". Hsüan-tsang mentions that the kings of Udyāna reigned at Mungali (Mung-kie-li). It has been identified as Maṅgala, modern Mangora or Mangalāva (Maṅgala-pura). It is on the left bank of the Swat River. Today it is a small market town (Beal 1884:1.21 n.9, Foucher 1900:1.121).

Maṅgalapura was the capital of Udyāna (mod. Swat). Udyāna was a major centre of Buddhism, whence have come most of the Gandhara sculptures. My father Prof. RaghuVira preferred to call them Gandharodyāna sculptures. My gotra is maṅgala and centuries ago my ancestors must have left Maṅgalapura after its islamization. This family name is found at the end of the Perso-Arabic names of Muslims in Afghanistan to this day.

Black blanket. Kambala used to go around the town of Maṅgalapura for alms wearing a black wool cloak. Black wool cloak goes back to the merchant Duṣyaprāvārika of Nalanda who owned a mango-grove and built therein a monastery for the Buddha. Buddha preached sutras at this Pāvārikambavana monastery. The merchants used to bring *dussa* fabrics from NW India and

Buddhist texts extol them as divine fabrics. To this day, Doshi is a town in Afghanistan which derives its name from the *duṣya* fabric. The making of rugs from the brown winter wool of the dromedaries was a flourishing trade of a vast region. The rugs were required for the yurts of the Śaka, Hūṇa, Tukhāra, Turki and Mongolian nomads. They were spread over the floors in several layers, and were hung all around the walls of the yurts to keep them warm. I myself had the privilege of visiting the yurt of a high official near Ulaanbaatar in 1957 and it was really smug. The ascetics wore these blackish blankets as their only raiment and they were known as 'Kālī Kamblī-wala'. I used to see them in Lahore coming down from Afghanistan in winter. The siddha Kambala wears such a black blanket, where black is the renunciation of all colourful finery, or a symbol of his belonging to a Trans-Gandhāra region of manufacturing exquisite rugs from dromedaries.

Black Blanket has a special significance in the dress of Kṛṣṇa as referred to by poet Sūrdas. In the Vallabha denomination the blanket is the dynamic *māyā* of the divine (Joshi 1964:2.8).

Three names. Aalto (1977:196) wrote an article on 'The name of Tashkent' in which he identified three names as referring to Tashkent on the basis of their common etymology. Two of them are based on *taš* 'stone' in Turki and *kāṅk* 'stone' in Tocharian. The first name is Tashkent which has Sanskrit and Chinese translations. Its Sanskritization as Dākṣīkanthā appears in the Kāśikā commentary of Jayāditya on Pāṇini. According to I-tsing Jayāditya passed away in 661–62 CE (Takakusu 1896:lvii).

Aalto correlates the second name Kaṅha of Avesta (Yašt 5.54) with Kaṅka. *h* of Avesta corresponds to *s* in Sanskrit. So it is Kaṁsa, which is the name of a place in the Takṣaśilādi-gaṇa on Pāṇini 4.3.93. It became Kang in Pahlavi. Kang-diz 'Kang Castle' is celebrated in Pahlavi literature as a holy place protected by seven walls. It is known for its best wine in the Pahlavi text *Husraw i kawātan u rādah*.

The third name Kaṅka[ra] has nothing to do with Tashkent. It is Kangar, which was the capital of the Kangar Turks during the 8th–9th centuries. It is now the ruined and abandoned town of Otrai on top of a hill, whence the frequent association of Kambala with mountains. Kaṅkara was the original home of Kambala.

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22. SAMARKAND OF THE BUDDHIST PERIOD

Samarkand was once a great centre of Buddhism and Sanskrit learning. It lay on the trade route from India via Bactria (Balkh, बाह्लीक in Sanskrit) and Tirmiz. Both Bactria and Tirmiz had flourishing Buddhist monasteries. Bactria had the honour to construct the very first Buddhist stupa during the life of Lord Buddha himself. Two brothers from Bactria (Skt. *bhallika*) had come to Magadha on a business trip and they gave water-melons to Lord Buddha and are hence known as *Trapuṣa-bhallikau* त्रपुष-भल्लिकौ "the two Bactrians who gave water-melons" (*trapuṣa* is water-melon *tarbūz*). Lord Buddha gave them his nail-pairings and hair-cuttings and explained how to construct a stupa over them. Samarkand which had close economic ties with Bactria must have received Buddhism quite early.

The etymology of the name Samarkand has been in doubt. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1995:8.1031) says that the second part of the name has the East Iranian word *kand* for 'town', while the first part has not yet been explained satisfactorily. In the Greek accounts of the campaigns of Alexander it is called Marakanda. Its archaeological site Afrāsiyāb has yielded evidence of Hellenistic presence. Alexander occupied it several times fighting with Spitamenes. The Greek name Marakanda means the 'City of Māra'. The Milindapañha 285 and the commentary on Kathāvatthu 54 speak of Mārakāyika class of gods. Mārakāyika occurs in Sanskrit sutras regularly with deva(putra) or devatā: Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (pp.421, 474), Lalitavistara (pp.46, 300), Mahāvastu (pp.1.220 = 2.22, 2.163), Avadāna-śataka (p.1.215), Bodhisattva-bhūmi (p.116). The word *kāya* means a 'kingdom'. Māra has been identified by Aśvaghoṣa in his Buddhacarita 13.2 as a synonym of Kāmadeva or Cupid:

यं कामदेवं प्रवदन्ति लोके चित्रायुधं पुष्पशरं तथैव।
कामप्रचाराधिपतिं तमेव मोक्षद्विषं मारमुदाहरन्ति॥

Thus Māra is the non-sigmatic (without *s*) form of Smara (स्मर). Samarkand is Smarakanthā 'the City of Smara'. Kāma occurs in Kamarūpa the early name of Assam. Pāṇini says that *kanthā* occurs in the names of cities in TransGandhara.

Tuṣitakāyika devaputra in the Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara represent the people of the Tokharian kingdom. *Nīlakāyika devaputra* in the Lalitavistara refers to those hailing from the kingdom of the blue [stone]. The lapis lazuli of Badakshan came from the mines situated on the upper reaches of the Kokcha River which waters the kingdom. Kāya is the Sanskrit form of Persian *kai* 'king' as in Kai Xusrow.

The majesty of Samarkand as the City (*kand*) of Cupid (*Smara*) can be visualised in the dynastic annals and poems of China. To cite Schafer: "Most loved of all these young dancers from the Far West were the 'Western Twirling Girls' many of whom were sent as gifts from the rulers of Kumādh... and especially Samarkand, during the reign of Hsüan Tsung (r.712–755)... These

Sogdian girls, clad in crimson robes with brocaded sleeves, green damask pantaloons, and boots of red deerskin, skipped, tripped, and twirled on the tops of balls rolling about on the dance platform, to the delight of surfeited hearts of the rich and noble. Hsüan Tsung was very fond of this dance..." (Schafer 1963:56). Dancing girls are recorded to have come to the imperial court in 713 and 727 in the dynastic annals (ibid.294 n.149).

"The Dance of Chāch", named for its place of origin near modern Tashkent, was done by two young girls, dressed in gauze caftans embroidered in many colours, with silver girdles. They wore the tight-sleeved blouses of the Far West... They appeared first to the audience emerging from the opening petals of two artificial lotuses, and danced to the rapid beating of drums. It was an amorous dance: the maidens ogled the spectators and, at the end, pulled down their blouses to reveal their bare shoulders" (ibid.55). A poet of the T'ang reminisces: "girdles droop from gilded thighs, flowered waists are heavy". Beautiful girls trained as singers and dancers were sent from the Far West to China since ancient times.

Throughout history, Samarkand was closely associated with Bactria.

323 BC. Samarkand was the capital of Diadochi and belonged to the satrapy of Bactria.

1st century, Annals of Wei (437 CE) state that the Čau-wu dynasty was ruling since the beginning of the Christian era. They were related to the Kushans.

202 BC–AD 220 (Han Empire) the chief city of the K'ang-kü kingdom was K'ang. K'ang has been equated with Sa.mo.kian (Samarkand) in the Annals of T'ang.

A number of monks from Samarkand translated Sanskrit sutras into Chinese:

AD 187	K'ang Chu
AD 194–199	K'ang Meng-hsiang translated four sutras
AD 252	Saṅghavarman (K'ang Seng-k'ai) translated three sutras (Hobogirin 319/19, 360, 1432)
AD 247–280	K'ang Seng-hui, translated two sutras (Hob.152, 206). His Ṣaṭ-pāramitā-sutra has a short version of the Rāmāyaṇa.
AD 396	K'ang Tao-hü translated one sutra.
AD 629	Hsüan-tsang found two abandoned monasteries in Samarkand. He preached to the king and people and a large meeting was held to ordain people, who lived in the monasteries (Life 2020:47)
7th cent.	I-tsing (635–713) gives the biography of Saṅghavarman of Samarkand who went to China on foot during the T'ang dynasty, came on pilgrimage to Mahābodhi where he carved images of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara under the aśoka tree.
AD about 724–727	Hyecho saw one monastery in Samarkand and a monk who did not know how to revere the Triratna (Yang Han-sung et al., *The Hye-ch'o Diary*, Seoul, Korea)

AD 705–774. Amoghavajva was the son of a brāhmaṇa from Samarkand. When ten years old he travelled with his maternal uncle to China. Became a disciple of Vajrabodhi. Translated 83 sutras.

Amoghavajra translated the 'Dhāraṇī of Vaiśramaṇa who watches over armies for protecting Dharma' (T1248). Vaiśramaṇa was venerated in China and Japan as the God of War. In 742 CE Arabs and four allies besieged the city of Anhsi. The commander of the Chinese armies demanded relief troops from Emperor Hsüan-tsung. The Emperor said that it will take eight months for our troops to reach there and I do not know what to do. His guru I-hsing said: Invoke Vaiśramaṇa by the intervention of the Central Asian monk Amoghavajra. Amoghavajra conducted the rites of the Vaiśramaṇa-kalpa (T1247). The Emperor received report after two months that the troops of the Arabs and allies got frightened because rats had gnawed the strings of their bows and they retreated. Thus Amoghavajra saved China from Islamisation.

10th century The western gate of Samarkand was called Naubahar, a memory of the Navavihāra of Balkh.

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23. MANCHU BUDDHIST TEXTS

Manchu xylographs are hardly found in the libraries of any country of Europe, USA, Russia, and Japan. Prof. RaghuVira collection of Manchu manuscripts and xylographs is the only one in India. It comprises rare and unique texts hitherto unknown to scholars. They number about a hundred. Besides, the ten cases of the *Han-i araha manju nikan monggo tanggût hergen-i kamciha amba g'anjur nomun-i uheri tarni* comprise the Manchu and other transcriptions of Sanskrit texts contained in the Ming Edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Dr. Hartmut Walravens of Hamburg, who was cataloguing Manchu texts all over the world, worked at the Academy to catalogue our Manchu holdings. Realising that they have a distinctive significance for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Manchu, Dr. Walravens wrote a historic introduction to the catalogue of our Manchu collection.

Dhāraṇīs in Manchu. Dr. John L. Mish, Bronxville N.Y. Many thanks for your letter of January 25th. You have guessed my thoughts. After reading through the Manchu and Chinese texts, I am puzzled by the dhāraṇī which make up a large portion of the sūtra, and which are of course quoted in a wildly distorted Sanskrit. I do not know why a polysyllabic language with a quasi-alphabetic script (Manchu) should transcribe Sanskrit in single syllables, with very poor phonetic renderings, unless the dhāraṇīs were recited in this manner. स्वाहा। (31 Jan 1980)

He sent the Manchu transcription of the Sanskrit title and dhāraṇī

p.345 (title): Enetkek gisun de (i.e. in Sanskrit): a-ri-ya ba-ra-mi-da a-yur dzniya-na na-ma ma-ha-ya-na suo(?)-dara.

pp.348/49: om na-mo bha-ga-va-da a-ba-ra-mi-da a-yur dzaniya-na su-bi-ni-shdzhe-da de-dzu-ra-dza-ya da-ta ga-da-ya a-rha-da sa-myag sam-bu-ddha-ya da-dya-ta om bu-vye bu-vye ma-ha-bu-vye. a-ba-ra-mi-da-bu-vye a-ba-ri-mi-da bu-vya dzaniya-na sa-bha-ro-ba-bzhe-da om sa-rvva sam-sag-ri ba-ri-shut ddha-rmma-da-ya ga-ga-na sa-mut-ga-da sove-ba-va bi-shut-dhe ma-ha-na-ya ba-ri-ba-re sove-ha. (repeated on pp.350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357).

My response on 7 Apr 1980: I was busy with the General Elections and later on for my nomination to the Rajya Sabha (equivalent to the Senate in the USA). Hence the delay in the restitution of the dhāraṇī. Herewith is the precise transcription of the Sanskrit text. It may help you to re-decipher the Manchu transcription.

p.345 *āry-āparimit-āyur-jñāna nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*

pp.348–49 *Oṁ namo bhagavate aparimita-āyur-jñāna-suviniścita-tejorājāya tathāgatāya arhate samyak-sambuddhāya / tadyathā/ oṁ puṇye puṇye mahāpuṇye aparimita-puṇye aparimita-puṇya-jñāna-sambhāropacite/ oṁ sarva-saṁskāra-pariśuddha-dharmate gagana-samudgate svabhāva-viśuddhe mahānaya-parivāre svāhā/*

"I spent some time in going through the volumes which you kindly sent me and checked what I should like to edit and translate of the Manchu texts. For a start, I chose the Vajracchedikā (vol.2:726 and 3:1061). The two versions complement each other but are not identical. The definitive Manchu version appears to be vol.3:1061. By the way, in the table of contents of the volume, the same sutra is also given as on p.1088, but this is erroneous. The actual text is that of the "100 balin". I chose this sutra first because it is so very important in Mahayana Buddhism; it has been published in Manchu only once before, viz. by de Harlez in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (WZKM) vol.11 p.209 (1897). That text is again different, shorter and simpler than our text here, and judging from the language, older and using more Chinese terms. Out text is not always legible, but from the parallels in vol.2 and the general repetitions I am able to read it. What would you want me to do? Treat it in the same way as the Amitāyus-sutra, i.e. give a transliteration, translation, and a commentary? (vocabulary?) The best English translation and explanation is by Conze, and that again is based on a Sanskrit text slightly different from our Manchu text. Ours seems to have used also a Tibetan version, since several terms are pure Tibetan, neither Sanskrit nor Chinese.

"The next text I would like to work on is the Śyāma-Tārā-stotra (vol.2, p.472) (25 Dec 1980).

"I have almost finished the Vajracchedikā and the Śyāma-Tārā-stotra. The other eight sutras I chose are as follows:

Bhadracarī, vol.1 p.390.
Mahākāruṇika-deśanā-vidhi, vol.2 p.567.
Amitābha-sūtra, vol.2 p.798.
Sutra of the 35 Buddhas, vol.3 p.948.
Āyur-vidhi, vol.3 p.951.
Śākyamuni-stotra, vol.3 p.970.
Sukhāvatī-sūtra, vol.3 p.793.
Sutra of cause and effect, vol.3 p.1056.
Sutra of 42 sections, vol.6 p.1737.

"If I understand you correctly, all theses sutras will be given in transliteration of the Manchu text an English translation, followed by an alphabetically arranged vocabulary for all of them". (12 Feb 1981)

Manchu holdings in the Prof. RaghuVira collection were **catalogued** by Dr. Hartmut Walravens of Hamburg (Germany). Most of the xylographs are not found anywhere except at the Peking National Library, and at the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. They are translations or exegeses of Buddhist texts which are now lost. The international journal *Manjurica* welcomed the project: "Dr. Lokesh Chandra of the International Academy of Indian Culture, who is well-known for his numerous publications and reprints in the fields of South and Central Asian studies, is preparing a reprint of more than 70 Manchu Buddhist texts from his collection. This unique material will fill the gap in our knowledge of Manchu Buddhist literature and will for the first time enable scholars to study the translation techniques used by Manchu translators in order to cope with the special problems posed by Buddhist texts".

The paucity of Manchu Buddhist texts in European collections is conspicuous, except at St. Petersburg which has a fair-size collection. Prof. RaghuVira spent years in his compelling quest to gather Buddhist texts in the Manchu language. He collected Manchu xylographs, and microfilmed them wherever and whenever he could. During his visit to China in 1955 and to the Soviet Union in 1956 he was happy to film quite a few. Dr. Walravens visited New Delhi to catalogue them. His labours are embodied in *Buddhist Literature of the Manchus* (Śp.274, 1981).

Dr. Walravens wrote: "It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge receipt of *Buddhist Literature of the Manchus* which testifies to your editorial care and which presents a first rate printing job. My congratulations! I shall pass on one copy of the catalogue to Mr. Howard Nelson, The British Library, who is an excellent specialist on Manchu bibliography, and ask him to review it".

Memory and legend impart an engrossing depth to the image of tribal Manchus emerging from their nomadic impulses into new stabilising structures of an impirium, radiated by intense felicity of refuge in the compassion of the Buddha. Buddhism was introduced among the Tungus in Manchuria during the P'o-hai kingdom in the early years of the eighth century. The full efflorescence of Buddha's way took place when Manchus established themselves as the new rulers of the Chinese empire in 1644. Abahai adopted the name Manju for his people, a word which, according to Buddhist tradition, was from the family deity Mañjuśrī.

I edited a facsimile edition of the Manchu Buddhist texts in twelve volumes of the *Multilingual Buddhist Texts* in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu during 1979–81. Welcoming the undertaking, Dr. Walravens wrote: "The present work contains a large amount of polygot sūtras and dhāraṇīs, almost all of which are also represented by a Manchu language version. For this reason the collection of facsimiles will be a mine of information for the student of Manchu linguistics, religion and literature as well as for sinologists, mongolists and tibetologists. Many of the texts were reproduced from originals of the Peking Palace collection. As Li Te-ch'i's Union Catalogue did not contain Buddhist texts, some of these items were almost unknown so far. As Manchu Buddhist texts are for the most part exceedingly rare, Lokesh Chandra's reprint makes this material for the first time available to the scholar who will hopefully feel stimulated to work in this neglected field of study."

24. SAMANTAMUKHA AVALOKITEŚVARA 'ALL-SEEING AVALOKITEŚVARA'

Prof. Zhang Xiaogang's paper on 'Belief in the Lotus Sutra among the Khotanese Residents of Dunhuang' (JOS.2019:29.55–66) raises questions of interpretation.

The translation 'Avalokiteśvara Universal Gate' (p.57) needs reconsideration. The Sanskrit epithet *samanta-mukha* means 'one who keeps watch everywhere', on all events and at all times. He is the Bodhisattva of surveillance and safeguards all in dire circumstances. He averts trials, saves from fires, delivers from the troubles of rākṣasas, severs the bonds of those imprisoned in fetters and chains. He shatters to pieces the swords and staves of attackers. Burton Watson (1993:298) translates the term as 'universal gateway'. The word *mukha* means 'face' and the compound signifies that he keeps a watch (*mukha*) at *all* (*samanta*) times and in all places to safeguard his devotees. He is omnivident 'all-seeing' (*samanta-mukha*), omnipresent and omnipotent. Brahmā is also called *sarvato-mukhaḥ* 'all-seeing' (MW).

The popularity of the worship of Avalokiteśvara goes back to the Buddhist period of Central Asia when His blessings were a *sine qua non* of safety, and this chapter of the Lotus Sutra gained an independent status as the Avalokiteśvara-sutra, so that it could be carried as a lucky talisman. Its popularity is attested by more than 5000 copies from Dunhuang which are preserved in libraries across the world. The Central Asian routes were infested with highway bandits and security was a crucial concern. Sixteen Arhats were invited from Khotan to China, and they were accompanied by a lay (*upāsaka*) comrade-in-arms Dharmatāla/Dharmatrāta whose very name suggests that he was a hieratic guardian. He had to possess resourcefulness, wisdom and commanding presence. Dharmatāla created a tiger from his right knee to guard the Arhats. The tiger is portrayed to his right.

The Avalokiteśvara chapter no.25 in the Lotus Sutra clearly terms it the supernatural powers of All-seeing Avalokiteśvara. It specifies ten woes from which He saves those who utter his name. These are his *daśabala*. He

1. saves from fire
2. saves from drowning in a river
3. averts shipwrecks
4. releases from wrongful captivity
5. extricates from the evil yakṣas and rākṣasas
6. bails out from wrongly attributed crime
7. rescues from attack by thieves, brigands
8. ends the *rāga* (passion) of persons
9. endows a mother with a son

10. leads the devotee to diagnose the causes of wrongs, to accomplish their rectification leading to *puṇya* (*nidāna* and *abhisaṁskāra* of *puṇya*)

This calls for a correction of paragraphing in the Kern & Nanjio edition.

The Lotus Sutra was popular in Khotan as indicated by several Chinese texts. The Gazetteer of the Western Regions states that the palace of Khotan had the Sanskrit version in 6500 gāthās. Kumārajīvas's version seems to have been translated from a Kuchean version. Fragments of many Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered from Khotan. The socalled Kashgar Ms. is actually from Khotan sold to Russian and other collectors in Kashgar. Its donor was a Khotanese whose colophon ends the ms. Faxian obtained the Devadatta chapter from Khotan. Li Geng the Crown Prince of Khotan made copies as a prayer for the recovery of his father from illness.

Yulin Cave 32 shows the emergence of the Treasure Tower where the female donor is the Princess of Khotan, the queen of the military governor Cao Yanlu. Its mural of Mañjuśrī riding the lion is the King of Khotan and the mural of Samantabhadra has the Gośīrṣa mountain of Khotan as the background. The two Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna are sitting together in a pavilion-shaped stūpa. The two Buddhas are depicted in caves 150, 152, and 237 of Dunhuang. Cave 237 has images related to Khotan. Prof. Zhang Xiaogang questions: "Whether they have any special religious meaning remains to be studied" (p.64).

The intimate connection of Khotan and the Lotus Sutra is due to Prabhūta-ratna Buddha. The name of Khotan has been transcribed by Hsüan-tsang as *Gostama* and it is attested in the Khotanese document Ch.1.0021a as *Gaustamä* and *Gāṁsta*. Hsüan-tsang's transcription was wrongly restored as Kustana which does not exist. Fa-hsien stayed at the Gomati monastery. About 20 li to the southwest of the royal city was Mount Gośṛṅga (Beal 1884:2.313) according to Hsüan-tsang. A Tibetan chronicle of Khotan is titled Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa. A legend was created from the false etymology of *go* 'cow' and *stana* 'breast'. P.O. Skjoervϕ (*EIr*.2.784) says that the origin and meaning of the element *Go* remains unknown. In the panegyric of Viśa Saṅgrāma (P 2787) Khotan is called Ratna-janapada. *Go-* is the Chinese 玉 *yü* 'jade', pronounced *ngwoh* in Fouchow, *ngüoh* in Ningpo, *gioku* in Japanese and *ngok* in Annamese (Giles 13,630). Khotan was the main source for jade in China. The second element *-stana*, *-stam* is the Iranian toponymic suffix *-stan* 'land' as in Hindustan. Thus Gostana means the 'Land of Jade'. The Tibetan name Li.yul can refer to *li* 黎 (Giles 6945) 'a kind of jade'. The Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa mentions the Gomasālagandha caitya which was brought into being by Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa. It was the blessing of Khotan. This caitya was of great sanctity having been the abode of great yoga-ṛṣis. It was a major trading centre of jade (*go*) and the precious gem *masāragalva*, which was associated with Dīpaṅkara the Buddha of the Past.

Ratna in the name of Prabhūtaratna Buddha was considered specially propitious for the booming trade of jade, the ancient life-line of Khotan. The Khotanese gave sericultural attributes to Maheśvara and Gaṇeśa, as export of silk was their main export. The defence of flourishing Khotan was ensured by dedicating panels depicting palladia named in their chronicles. The sacred texts were an affirmation of their deep faith in Buddhism which had brought them spirituality and prosperity, as well as international status vis-à-vis China as the home of powerful Buddhist manuscripts for the Chinese emperors to ensure the elimination of all evil destinies (*sarva-durgati-pariśodhana*).

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22 Nov 2019

25. JOURNEY OF THE LOTUS SUTRA: KHOTAN TO TUNHUANG

I. **Jade** symbolised human perfection and all that is of supreme excellence in the Chinese civilization. If a person is wearing a piece of jade it prevents him being thrown from his horse. It was crucial to the imperial rites of China. Confucius said: "In ancient times, men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade". The twelve excellent qualities were benevolence, intelligence, righteousness, humility of propriety, music, loyalty, good faith, heaven, earth, virtue, truth and duty.[1] The main source of jade for the imperial court was Khotan. The Chinese encyclopedia *Tiangong Kaiwu* shows jade harvesting from the rivers of Khotan. The classical capital of Khotan was situated between two rivers named Kara-kash (Black Jade) and Yurung-kash (White Jade). King Mu (r.956–918 BC) visited the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwang-mu) in her dwelling palace in the Kunlun mountains and she presented him objects of jade. She became one of the most popular deities of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 CE). She was worshipped by the imperial family, the aristocracy, the literati and the common people.[2] The Iranian beauties of Khotan were renowned as **Jade Maidens**.

Hsüan-tsang says that the Buddha prophesied on Mount Gośṛṅga about the foundation of Khotan. The Tibetan Prophecy of Liyul calls it Gośīrṣa. On this mountain was the Gomasālagandha caitya. Go° has been translated as cow in Tibetan (Glaṅ.ru/Gośṛṅga). Actually Gośīrṣa was the guardian yakṣa of the Jetavana monastery. In Japan he is known as Gozu-tennō 'Gośīrṣa Devarāja' as the tutelary deity of Jetavana (*Gion-shōja*). He is enshrined in the Gion Shrine in Kyoto, as an incarnation of Bhaiṣajyuguru Tathāgatha (Yakushi Nyōrai). A major festival (Gion-e) is held to this day in his honour in Kyoto in which half a million people participate from all parts of Japan. His worship was introduced into Japan by Dharmabodhi (Hodo) in 650 CE and his image was enshrined on Mt. Hokke. In 876 monk Yennyo took the image to a monastery in Kyoto and a shrine was built for worship in 934 CE. In 970 a devastating epidemic was suppressed by special ceremonies on 14 June 970. Since then a grand annual festival is held in Kyoto. The Guardian Deity of Jetavana Gośīrṣa is the sacred power to expel epidemics. This transmission of Gośīrṣa festival seems to have been from Khotan to China to Japan.

The Prophecy of the Li Country says that the Buddha sat on the Gośṛṅga hill and appointed guardians to protect this place of worship and the land of Khotan. The Gomasālagandha stūpa and a great image of Śākyamuni were established on the hill. The Gośṛṅga hill is now called Kohmārī whose popular etymology is *koh* 'mountain' and *mār* 'snake'. It reminisces of Gośīrṣa as a nāga king in the Kāraṇḍavyūha 2.12. Sūryagarbha-sūtra says that Gṛhapati Nāga inhabits this site.[3] The Gandhari Dharmapada was acquired in 1892 by Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard. It was found in a cave of Gośṛṅga hill. The Sanskrit Lotus Sutra of the 8–9th century is the largest manuscript measuring 56.18 cm. It came from Khadalik. The colophon in Khotanese names its donors.

The ancient name of the Kara-kash river was Gomatī. Fa-hsien mentions the monastery of Gomatī. The national palladium of Khotan was Gomasālagandha, and its annals are Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa. Khotan was called Gostana which is found in Khotanese documents as Gaustana, Gāṁstanā, Gāṁstam, Gāṁstama, and in Chinese texts as Ja.sa.dan.na. Skjaervφ[4] says that "the origin and meaning of the element *Go-* remains unknown (Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, p.412f)". *Gō-* is jade and *stana* is the toponymic *-stan* 'land' (as in Hindustan), thus it means 'The Land of Jade'. The ancient Chinese pronunciation of *yü* 'jade' was *Go* (*Giou), and it is still *gyoku* in Japanese. The Tibetan name of Khotan is *Li.yul* 'the country of *li*'. *Li* is bell-metal. The Sanskrit name of Khotan has *ratna* for jade. It is Ratnadvīpa in Khotanese Texts 5.64–67, and Ratna-janapada in the panegyric of Viśa Saṁgrāma in P 2787. In Sanskrit, *gostanī* is a kind of red grape in the Bhāvaprakāśa 5.6.105 and a kind of wine in Nighaṇṭu-prakāśa. Gostanī is a reference to Gostana or Khotan.

Fa-hsien says that Khotan had four (or fourteen) great monasteries. The greatest of them was Gomati from which a procession of a colossus of the Buddha was carried to the city gates. On arrival, the King of Khotan and his entourage would pay homage by scattering flowers and burning incense. It housed three thousand monks. The Gomati monastery should have been a major trade centre of jade (*go*) whence its name. It ensured the prosperity and security of Khotan by the flourishing export of jade to China.

II. The **foundation** of the kingdom **of Khotan** is linked to India and China. A legend reflects a tradition of Aśoka exiling minister Yaśas to god-forsaken Khotan for the heinous crime of blinding his darling eldest son Kuṇāla. When he arrived there, the Chinese were already established. Conflict ensued and Yaśas was not successful. They worked out a strategy that the first king of the Khotanese dynasty would be a son of the soil. The king of China had prayed to Vaiśravaṇa for a son to complete his thousand sons. There was a cast away son Sa.nu (Earth Breast). Vaiśravaṇa took him to become the son of the Chinese king. When grown up, he quarrelled with his Chinese brothers, who said to him "you are no son of the Chinese King". The king tried to pacify him, but he quarrelled with the king. He assembled a force of ten thousand and came to Khotan. He became the very first King of Khotan. The Khotanese attributed their royal origins to Vaiśravaṇa from whom emanated their first king who was assigned the name Kustana. Kustana was explained as a Sanskrit word: *ku* 'earth' and *stana* 'breast'. It corresponds to the Tibetan Sa.nu: *sa* 'earth' Skt. *ku* + *nu* 'breast' Skt. *stana*. The Travels of Hsüan-tsang say that Kustana is the local name of the kingdom, but his Life by Hui-li says that the boy is called Kustana. The Tibetan Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa terms him Sa.las.nu.ma.nu which has been translated as "he whose mother-breast is breast from the earth" by P.O. Skjaervφ. It has been misinterpreted by taking the second element of the compound as *ma.nu* 'mother-breast'. Actually *nu.ma* means 'breast' (Jäschke p.305), and the last *nu* is the verb *nu.ba* 'to suck'. So the name means 'one who sucked (*nu*) the breast (*nu.ma*) arisen from (*las*) the earth (*sa*). The word has to be understood in its original Sanskrit context. The Tibetan *nu.ma.nu* is *stanaṁdhaya* 'suckling, infant' of the kāvya texts and the Mantrabrāhmaṇa, or *stanapa* 'one who sucks the breast' in the Jātakamālā. Thus *sa.las.nu.ma.nu* denotes the political concept of *bhūmiputra* (*sa.las* 'bhūmi' + *nu.ma.nu* 'putra') or rule by a son of the soil. Bhūmiputra became an important policy of governance and affected the historic developments in early Korea and Japan. It is enshrined in the Malaysian Constitution, where the Chinese are only citizens but the indigenous Malaysians are citizens and bhūmiputra. The first King of Khotan was a bhūmiputra or Son of the Soil and the eponymous founder of the Vijaya dynasty, born in the land, speaking the language thereof, and inheriting its mores. Legends based on popular etymologies reflect historic events.

III. **State and Sutras.** The Prophecy of the Li Country says: "At a time of the arising of evils in Khotan, such as pestilence and foreign foe, when one has read the Mahāyāna-sūtra Mahāsaṁnipāta and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, the conflict becomes calm" (Em. p.5). The two important sutras of the Mahāsannipāta-class are Candragarbha and Sūryagarbha sutras. Before his nirvāṇa, Lord Buddha preached the Candragarbha-sutra and appointed guardians for various lands. He appointed Vaiśravaṇa, Saṁjñāya the General of the Yakṣas, Princess Vimalaprabhā and Prince Vajrasena, Devakanyā Susthiramati and Devī Hārītī, as guardians of Khotan (ibid. p.9). The Candragarbha and Sūryagarbha sūtras were translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas in 566 CE. Emmerick (p.94) says that the Skoḥi.broṅ vihāra was dedicated to Ākāśagarbha (Thomas 1.310 n.21). There are four Ākāśagarbha sutras (K61, 62, 63, 64 = T408, 405, 407, 409) in the Mahāsannipāta class. A queen of Khotan practised *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi* in full concertation (ibid. p.65). This samādhi comes from the sutra named Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti-samādhi (Nj.71, K60, T414) translated into Chinese by Guṇaśīla in 462 CE.

The Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra had a major influence in appointing guardians of monasteries in Khotan. I have detailed its role in securing the defence of Khotan in *Buddhism: Art and Values* 2007:175–85. Guardians of some monasteries are also from it. Maṇibhadra yakṣa guards the vihāras of Hgu.zhan.ta (Emmerick p.53), Bhabanā (pp.59, 98, 102) and Byi.zha.gre.rma (p.61). He is spoken of thrice in the Suv. (Tib.63.29, 68.23, 126.3).

Vaiśravaṇa and Śrīdevī were worshipped as the guardians of the country (Em. pp.21, 98). Chapter 8 of the Suv on Śrī mahādevī says that when one mutters the name of the excellent Suv the goddess will watch over his residence and provide him all blessings.

Pṛthvī Devatā (Em. p.105) is the protector of the territory of the state in chapter 10 of the Suv. (Dṛḍhā mahāpṛthivī-devatā).

General Saṁjñāya: his name occurs only in the Suv. whose chapter 11 is devoted to him. All the references to him in the Prophecy of the Li Country are based on the deep faith of kings of Khotan in the Suv. He was appointed as the protector of Khotan by Śākyamuni (pp.9, 13, 29, 33). He guards the monasteries of Bzhah.seṅ.gre.re.ma (p.57), Ma.na.hdi (p.59), Tra.ke.hjo. Po.lo. na.jo (p.69), and Gus.sde.re.na. Āṭavaka guards the Bzhah.ser.ma monastery (p.55). He occurs in the list of yakṣa guardians in Suv.161.15 who will protect all those who hear its recitation (*teṣāṁ rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti yebhiḥ sūtram idaṁ śrutam*, 161.15). Kapila and Āṭavaka are guardians in

Suv.161.3. Kapila guards the monasteries of Sam.ña (p.47), Dḥarmakīrti (p.51), Dro.mo.mdzah (p.67), Her.mo.no (p.69), and Khye.śo.no (p.71). Devi Hārītī was appointed to guard Khotan by Śākyamuni (p.9), and she made a promise to guard Khotan with her retinue in the presence of the Bhagavān (p.15). Hārītī is one of the Five Great Goddesses as a guardian of Dharma (Suv. p.1). Her mural in shrine D.II at Dandan-uiliq is an outstanding representation, as Dandan-uiliq was the military headquarters of the Chinese General.

The ninth chapter of the Candragarbha-sutra enumerates Sixteen Great Protectors: Viśvakarmā, *Kapila*, Dharmapāla, Aṁsalocana, Virūpākṣa, Guptasena, *Maṇibhadra*, Pūrṇabhadra, Vidyādhara, *Āṭavaka*, Vāsuki, Sumana, Pūṣavima, *Hārītī*, Elavāśā, Locanā.

The first Chinese translation of the Suv. was done by Dharmakṣema (385–433 var.436) who had lived in Jibin (Doshi)[6], Kucha and was also in Khotan. The Khotanese must have recommended its translation. The Khotanese were Iranians like the Yüeh-chihs who were the backbone of the Chinese state with their steeds. Moreover, the jade beauties of Khotan had a role to play. This can be seen in Dharmakṣema's translation of the Lotus Sutra completed on 15 Sep 286 CE. It promises the believer that he will be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven, where a host of 84,000 *jade maidens* will come to him, making music and singing praises of his virtues (T9.133bc). Kumārajīva's version has: "He will be reborn there [in Tuṣita] with a hundred thousand myriad millions of *heavenly maidens* about him" (T9.61c). Dharmarakṣa came from a Yüeh-chih family of Tun-huang, was known as 'Tun-huang Tripiṭaka' (Tun huang san tsang), and naturally rendered 'heavenly nymphs' (*apsaras*) of the Sanskrit text as 'jade beauties' (jade refers to Khotan). Both the Suv. and the Lotus Sutra reached China via Khotan where they were national palladia.

The Prophecy of the Li Country says that the reading of the Mahāsannipāta and the Lotus Sutra each year in spring, summer and autumn inspired devotion and widespread blessing (Em. p.5). The kings performed worship on a large scale in the first month of the four seasons without interruption so that pestilence subsided and foreign foes were calmed. Prabhūtaratna is the only Tathāgata associated with ratna which refers to jade in the context of Khotan. King Vijaya Dharma built the Pa.ri.tha stūpa for his Indian (ārya) guru (kalyāṇamitra)[8] Dharmānanda and sanctified it with relics. "He himself procured original intact relics of the Buddha Prabhūtaratna"(Em. p.41). The Gomasālagandha stūpa on the Gośṛṅga hill had relics of "four generations of departed Buddhas" (Em. p.5). As already pointed out the stūpa was to ensure the economy of *go* 'jade' and *masālagandha* which is one of the seven precious stones. The correct reading is °*galva* and not °*gandha*. The Smaller Sukhāvatī-vyūha says that Sukhāvatī paradise has seven jewelline ponds of gold, silver, beryl (vaiḍūrya), crystal (sphaṭika), red pearls (lohita-muktā), aśmagarbha and musāragalva (ed. F. Max Müller & Bunyiu Nanjio, Oxford, 1883, p.93). Bhaiṣajyarāja Bodhisattva is one of those who made a vow (*samaya*) to guard Khotan in the presence of Lord Buddha (Em. p.13). He is a teacher of Dharma (*dharma-bhāṇaka*) in the 10th chapter of the Lotus Sutra. The Buddha delegates its preservation and propagation to him:

Medicine King (Bhaiṣajyarāja), now I say to you
I have preached various sutras.
And among those the Lotus is the foremost.[9]

The 25th chapter on Samantamukha Avalokiteśvara specifies ten woes from which he saves those who utter his name. He rescues from attacks by thieves and brigands. The Khotanese had a thriving trade of jade with China, were on pilgrimages to Wu-t'ai-shan, transmitted Sanskrit texts, and jade beauties crossed the long and inhospitable route. It had to be protected against bandits. The invocation of Avalokiteśvara as the savior from the ten perils was a must.

Emperor T'ang Jui Tsung (r.710–13) sent Hvashang to invite Sixteen Arhats from Khotan. The arhats were accompanied by a pious layman Dharmatāla as a martial escort for a safe journey. The legend says that the arhats blessed him as he was sweeping the temple, and a tiger issued from his right knee.[10] The terror of the ever-looming risks of the route were offset by the recitation of the Avalokiteśvara-sūtra.

The first Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra was completed by Dharmarakṣa on 15 Sep 286 CE. He was from a Yüeh-chih family of Tun-huang and used to collect Sanskrit texts from various kingdoms of Central Asia. The catalogue of Seng-yu attributes the translation of 154 texts to him, among which the Lotus Sutra and Lalitavistara are the most important.

By the abdication of the Eastern Han emperor Hsien-ti in 220, China was divided into three principalities, ruled by three former imperial generals. By 280 they were conquered by the Western Chin dynasty (265–317). The Yüeh-chih Dharmarakṣa must have translated the Lotus Sutra into Chinese in 286, to strengthen the Western Chin Emperor Wu-ti (265–289). This sūtra had the role of preempting foreign foes in Khotan. Khotan played a positive role in Chinese polity and piety from the days of the Queen Mother of the West to the first Chinese version of the Lotus Sutra.

Dharmarakṣa translated the sutra during the reign of Ssu-ma Yen (Wu-ti) the founder of the Western Chin dynasty. In 265 Ssu-ma Yen had deposed the last figure-head of the Wei dynasty and ascended the throne. In 280 he annexed Wu the last of the Three Kingdoms and created a united South China. After sixty years of division, the empire was united as if the great days of Han had returned (Grousset 1953:103). But soon the princes and members of the imperial family were quarreling and fighting. Ssu-ma Yen was "tortured between conflicting interests, and was himself powerless" (Eberhard 1955:120). By shrewd counter-measures he succeeded in playing off one against the other and continued in power. It was a period of darkness. To put the dynasty on firm foundations, the translation of the Lotus Sutra was the ritual empowerment of the state. The 26th chapter of the Sutra affirms that those who follow the Sutra, Samantabhadra will take care of their safety, avert blows and destroy poison, so that no one laying snares for them may surprise them, neither Māra the Evil One or his sons, as he will protect them (Kern 1909:433).

Ākāśagarbha occurs in the Kāraṇḍavyūha 1.10, but it has to be verified if Kṣitigarbha is also mentioned (Edgerton does not record the word Kṣitigarbha). Nāgarāja Hu-lor guards the Po.yen.do (Em.67) and Ho.ron.hjo (Em. p.69) monasteries. This name occurs only in the

Kāraṇḍavyāha 2.11 (variants: Hullura, Hulura, Hulluḍa, Huluḍa). [Avalokiteśvara-guṇa] Kāraṇḍavyūha sūtra must have been prevalent in Khotan. It was translated into Chinese by Śāntideva who was in China from 980 to 1000 CE (T1050).

The Sanskrit text of the Avataṁsaka-sutras was obtained from Khotan and translated into Chinese by Buddhabhadra in 422 CE. Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text and invited Śikṣānanda therefrom. She took part in its translation, as the Avataṁsaka was to strengthen her rule.

The Yüeh-chihs were providing horses for the Chinese cavalry from the 3rd century BC to ward off the constant skirmishes of the Chinese with the Hsiung-nu. When they gave up horse trade, established their kingdoms, they started providing sutras for protection, esp. from Khotan, the Land of Imperial Jade. Khotan became *the* source of (i) jade for imperial rites, (ii) sutras for preempting foreign foes, (iii) sutras for the protection of the kingdom, (iv) the Lotus Sutra translated into Chinese, as the foremost text, at Tun-huang which had been established as a Chinese commandery against barbarians. The Lotus Sutra had the eulogy of Avalokiteśvara who saved from the attacks of the brigands on the Silk Route, and the promise of a host of jade maidens in Tuṣita heaven to a believer. Jade maidens refers to Khotanese beauties with their gilded thighs, heavy waists, snowy faces, whirling in clouds. It reminds of the divine *houries* in the Holy Quran and the young girls performing the 'dance of Chāch' during the reign of the T'ang Emperor Hsüan Tsung. The danceuses emerged "from the opening petals of two artificial *lotuses*, and danced to the rapid beating of drums. It was an amorous dance: the maiden ogled the spectators and, at the end, pulled down their blouses to reveal their bare shoulders." The Lotus Sutra in Chinese was a gift of Tun-huang to East Asia, to become its wonder world. "Maiden of the Black Eyebrows" from the South Seas, a girl of remarkable skills, had "the talent of embroidering the seven scrolls of the Lotus Sutra in tiny, perfectly formed characters on a single foot-length of artist's taffeti" (Schafer 1963:139). A monastery in Ch'ang-an had a thousand copies of the Lotus Sutra in a stupa.

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[1] Legge, *Li Ki*, book 45§13.

[2] Stephen Little & Shawn Eichman, *Taoism and the Art of China*, Chicago IL 2000:154. Illustrates her court (Qing dynasty, 17th cent. scroll on p.36) and a tomb tile of the Eastern Han dynasty (2nd cent.) and a money tree of the same period on p.154.

[3] Sylvain Lévi, Notes chinoises sur l'Inde, 4.40n.

[4] *Encyclopedia Iranica*, s.v. Aśoka, p.784.

[5] *Encyclopedia Iranica*, s.v. Aśoka, p.783.

[6] Charles Willemen, Remarks about the history of Sarvāstivāda in Northwestern India, p.162, in Nirmala Sharma (ed.), *Buddhism in Kashmir*, New Delhi (Aditya Prakashan), 2012.

[7] Soothill's translation p.262, Kern's translation p.436 (Sacred Books of the East), and Kern/ Nanjio p.478: *trayastriṁśatāṁ devānāṁ sabhāgatāy-opapatsyante/ sahopapannānāṁ caiṣāṁ caturaśītir-apsarasāṁ sahasrāṇy-upasaṁkramiṣyanti/ te'dhimātreṇa mukuṭena devaputrās tāsām apsarasāṁ madhye sthāsyanti/*

[8] Kalyāṇa-mitra means one who blesses his disciple or devotee with beneficence or munificence (*kalyāṇa*). Mitra in the NW region of Classical India was used in the Iranian meaning of *mihir* 'divine or spiritual grace' (mihir<mithra<mitra).

[9] Burton Watson, *The Lotus Sutra*, 1993:164.

[10] G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 1949:558.

[11] Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley, 1963:55 (based on Hsiang Ta, T'ang tai Ch'ang-an yü Hsi-yü wen-ming, Peking, 1933:61–62).

[12] Schafer 1963:272 from Tuan Ch'eng-shih, hsü chi 6.226.

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26. DHĀRAṆĪS OF PURE RADIANCE (VIŚUDDHA-PRABHĀ)

The *Sanskrit* title of this dhāraṇī (henceforth KR) from the Tibetan Kanjur is:

Raśmi-	*vimala-*	*Viśuddha-*	*prabhā-*	*dhāraṇī*
rays	immaculate	Pure	Radiance	dhāraṇī.

It can be translated as 'dhāraṇī of the Pure Radiance of the immaculate rays' of Amitāyuṣa who is invoked in the first dhāraṇī.

The *Khotanese* reworded the title to convey its ritual function clearly, in lucid and perspicuous terms: It runs: *nirmala-vibhāsa-koṭi-pariśuddha-Sarvatathāgata-samast-āśā-pratiṣṭhita-mudrā* "Meditation for consummating all one's wishes by the supremely pure immaculate radiance of the Omnipotent Tathāgata." The literal translation is: *nirmala* 'immaculate' + *vibhāsa* 'radiance' (= raśmi of the Skt. title) + *koṭi* 'supreme' (here it does not have a numerial denotation of 'ten million') + *pariśuddha* 'pure' + *Sarvatathāgata* 'Omnipotent Tathāgata' (*sarva* = omni-, it does not mean 'all Tathāgatas', and here it refers to Amitāyuṣa of the first dhāraṇī) + *samasta* 'all' + *āśā* 'wishes' + *pratiṣṭhita* 'consummating' (the correct grammatical form should have been *pratiṣṭhāna*) + *mudrā* 'meditation'.

The word **mudrā** has been an enigma since centuries. The Japanese Vajradhātu maṇḍala poses a semantic difficulty in the Catur-mudrā-maṇḍala 四印會 and Eka-mudrā-maṇḍala 一印會 where Chinese has rendered *mudrā* by *yin* 'official seal, stamp' (Giles Dict.13,282). The first was explained as *catur-jñāna-mudrā* 四智印, symbols of four knowledges, and by abbreviation the name of this maṇḍala became maṇḍala of four symbols' (LC & NS 211). Eka-mudrā was interpretted as the jñāna-muṣṭi-mudrā 智拳印 of Vajradhātu-Vairocana. In both cases *yin* was taken to signify (not mean) *jñāna* 'knowledge' (ib.214).

Mudrā has three meanings in Sanskrit:

(i) A seal or material for sealing, e.g. a letter so that it is fully closed and cannot be tempered with. The basic idea is to secure its confidential nature.

(ii) Impression made by a seal as a symbol of authorization: as *rāja-mudrā* (in the Dhammapada commentary 1.21), *muddādhikaraṇa* 'office of the Keeper of the Privy Seal' in the Milindapañha 281. *Mudrā* would mean 'ratified by a seal'. *Mudrā* means 'authorization' in the Mudrārākṣasa drama.

(iii) Intertwining of the fingers in worship with an occult meaning and supernal efficacy, in Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha and Kāraṇḍavyūha (MW). Hand-postures in dance.

Mudrā occurs only in the Khotanese title of the KR. This scroll had been commissioned for a high monk of the Gomatī Monastery as an efficacious ritual for him to attain the Supreme. Mudrā could have meant that this scroll is 'ratified by a seal'. As 77 or 99 copies of a dhāraṇī had to be offered by the officiant, mudrā can also mean a 'printed version' from *mudraṇa* 'printing'.

A mantra could be printed by a wooden block 100,000 times for lakṣa-pūjā in India. So mudrā would mean a 'printed version'. Another dhāraṇī in the Tibetan Kanjur is entitled *Ārya-Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya-guhyadhātu-karaṇḍa-mudrā nāma dhāraṇī* (Suzuki 1962:no.508). The word *mudrā* was not clear to the Tibetan translators Vidyākaraprabha and Devendrarakṣita, so they left it out in the Tibetan title even though it was a literal rendering. MW (p.1310) correctly translates the root *adhiṣṭhā* 'to bless' from Divyāvadāna.

When a Sanskrit word defies a reasonable meaning, we can resort to NIA parallels. Hindi has the root *mūdanā* 'to close, shut' (esp. the eyes), which is derived from *mudrayati* by Turner in his *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London 1966:588). He cites *mudrayati* 'seals' from the Harivaṁśa, Prakrit *muddei* 'closes', Assamese *mudiba* 'to close (e.g. the eyes)', Bengali *modā*, Oriya *mudibā*, Maithili *mūnab*, Marathi *mūdhṇē*. In Hindi *mūdnā* is used for the eyes: *ā̃kh mūdnā* 'to close the eyes', and it cannot be used for shutting the door. Thus *mudrā* is 'closing the eyes in meditation', or just 'meditation', and mudrā-dhāraṇī means a 'dhāraṇī for meditation'. It suits the context perfectly.

Raśmi or rays are Viśvedevāḥ in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 3.9.2.6: रश्मयो ह्यस्य (सूर्यस्य) विश्वे देवाः, 4.3.1.26 तस्य (सूर्यस्य) ये रश्मयस्ते विश्वे देवाः, and in other passages. The rays are all the gods collectively. Raśmi-vimala of the Sanskrit title has been replaced by a simpler word *vibhāsa*, and the sequence of adjective (*nirmala*)-noun (*vibhāsa*) has been regularised. *Prabhā* of the Sanskrit title has been omitted as being a tautology. The Khotanese *nirmala-vibhāsa* is a paraphrase of *vimala-raśmi*. The supplementary *koṭi-pariśuddha* 'supremely purified' refers to Amitābha which means Infinite (*amita*) light (*ābhā*) i.e. the Transcendent Sun. Jōmyōji monastery at Nara has a pictorial depiction of the Formless Ultimate Buddha Body in a provisional form with 48 rays of light (Okazaki 1977:171 fig.179).

Raśmi or supernal radiance was paramount in the perception of Khotan's identity. The Tibetan chronicle of Khotan entitled Li.yul luṅ.bstan.pa 'Prophecy of Khotan' begins with a myth of the drying up of Khotan which had become a lake because of adharma and was converted into a land by the rays (*raśmi*) of Śākyamuni. Mythicization is an expression of the sacred to impart it a trans-worldly reality, to endow it with extraordinary authority. The myth is the validity of the religious life, like a temple that is of paramount importance in everyday social traditions.

The Chronicle says that Khotan had become land just when Buddha Kāśyapa appeared in the world (Em.7), and its inhabitants followed Dharma. Later on the Dharma of Kāśyapa declined, so also the Dharma of Khotan, and many sages (*ṛṣi*) left as evil persons treated them with contempt. The Nāgas were displeased by the false beliefs of the inhabitants, and they inundated the country into a lake. After a long time Śākyamuni flew to Khotan, sat on a lotus-throne seven palm-trees high above the lake (later on the great stupa of Hgum.tir came up here), and filled the country with his rays (*raśmi*). Three hundred and sixtythree lotuses arose from these rays. Lamps appeared on several lotuses. The rays collected together and did three pradakṣiṇās above the water and sank in the midst of water. Lord Śākyamuni ordered Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa to break up the lake.

The lake was broken up by the mendicant staff of Śāriputra and the spear of Vaiśravaṇa. The Lord prophesied that Khotan will become a country, blessed it (*adhiṣṭhāna*) and appointed eight Mahāsattva Bodhisattvas to guard it. He remained absorbed in meditation for seven days and nights, and returned to Vaiśālī in India.

Gomasālagandha stupa with the relics of the four generations of Buddhas came up where Śākyamuni had sat on the lotus on the lake. Lord Śākyamuni preached the Candragarbha-sūtra on mount Gṛdhrakūṭa in Rājagṛha and appointed guardians of various lands. Those appointed for Khotan made a solemn vow (*samaya*) in the presence of the Lord for its protection.

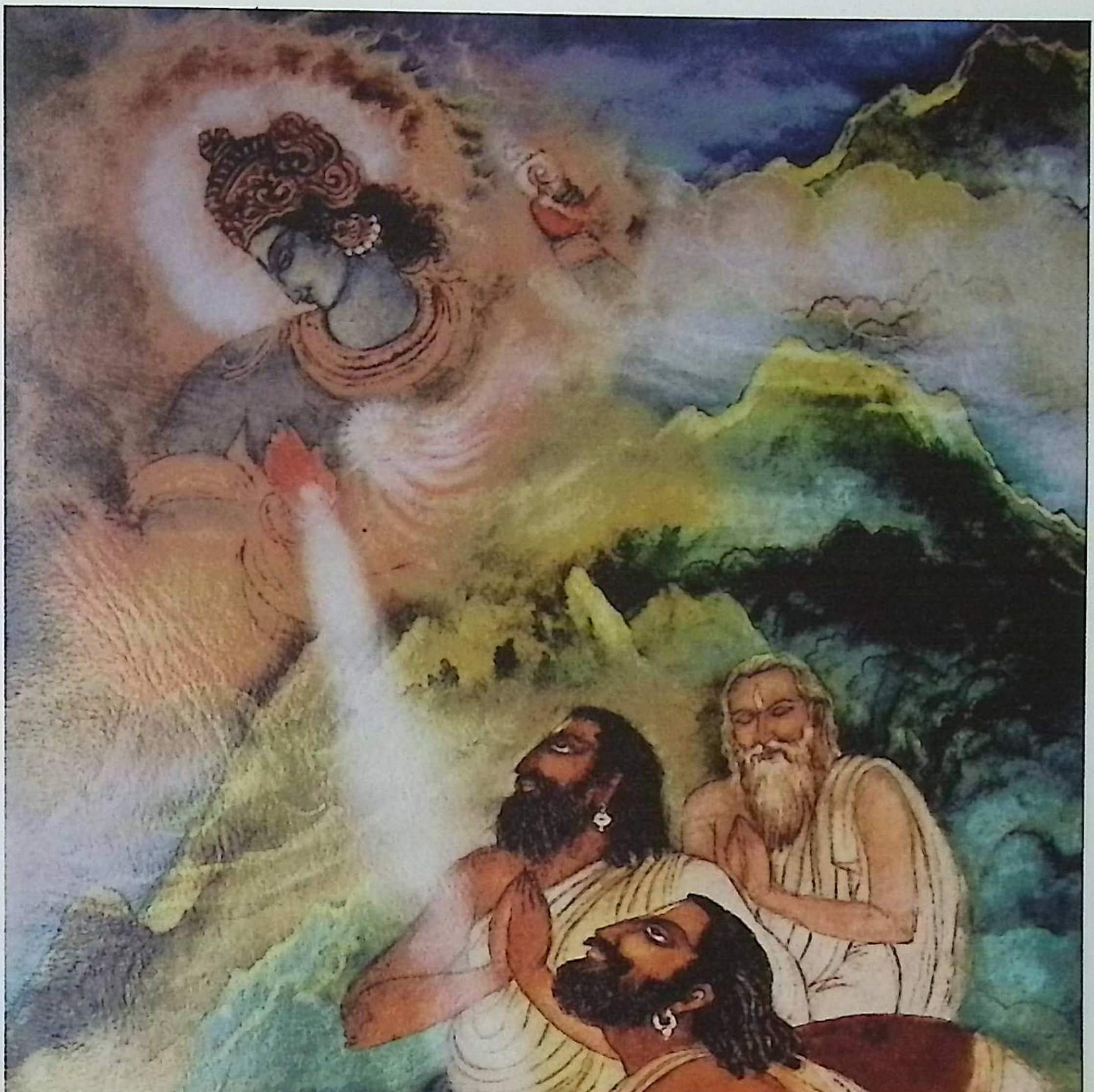
- Eight Bodhisattvas: Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, Samantabhadra, Mahāsthāma, Bhaiṣajyarāja
- Vaisravaṇa and Saṁjñāya the General of Yakṣas
- Princess Vimalaprābhā the daughter of King Ajātaśatru and Prince Vajrasena (brother and sister)
- Deva Aparājita, Ākāśacakṣus
- Devaputra Suvarṇamāla, Devaputra Susthiramati, Nāgarāja Gṛhāvatapta
- Devī Aṅkuśavatī, Devī Sthānavatī, Devī Hārītī.

The entire legend is founded on the analogy of Kashmir being drained of its lakes by sage Kāśyapa, whose name survives in Ptolemy's designation of Kashmir as Kaspeiria. The close relations of Kashmir and Khotan are detailed in LC.2020:28–32.

Relics of four generations of Buddhas were in the Gomasālagandha stūpa. The four Buddhas are mentioned in the Mahāvastu 2.401.7: Krakucchanda, Kāśyapa, Konākamana and Śākyamuni (details in LC.2019:41–45).

. Śākyamuni filled Khotan with his rays (*raśmi*), from which arose 363 lotuses on which appeared lamps. The word *raśmi* begins the names of Tathāgatas in the Gaṇḍavyūha, the last sūtra in the Avataṁsaka corpus. The two Chinese translations of the complete Avataṁsaka corpus were done by monks from Khotan: by Buddhabhadra in 422 CE and by Śikṣānanda in 699 CE. The Sanskrit originals were also from Khotan. The Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā 1416.7 and Mahāvyutpatti 519 have a samādhi called *raśmivimukta*. The supernal rays (*raśmi*) of Viṣṇu consecrating the sages can be seen in a sumptuously illustrated de luxe edition of the Bhagavad Gītā published by Srinivas Fine Arts Pvt. Ltd., Sivakasi 626130 (Tamilnadu) in 2015.

Lord Śākyamuni consecrating Khotan with his *raśmi* or radiance was to trasmute it as a Buddhakṣetra with the accumulation of merit (*puṇyasambhāra*) and the collection of knowledge (*jñānasambhāra*). It was the vow (*praṇidhāna*) of Śākyamuni to endow the inhabitants of Khotan with all the Buddha-dharmas. In the intensity of love for their Land the people had named it Hvataṁna 'Our Land' from *hva* = Skt. *sva* 'self' + *tana* 'suffix of belonging'. The *raśmi* transformed Khotan into a *puṇyabhūmi*: (i) The Land was created by the drying up of the lake as it was sluiced by Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa for the water to run out. (ii) The metropolis of Lṅa.ldan and the fortress of Hu.ten came up where the rays emitted by Śākyamuni had collected together



and sunk into the lake. The image of Rājagrāma Buddha came here flying from India. (iii) The defence of the kingdom was ensured by Lord Śākyamuni by appointing guardians who have been named above. (iv) Sites for the construction of 363 monasteries were 363 lotuses arisen from the rays, on which lamps appeared. (v) The Gomasālagandha was established where Śākyamuni had sat on the lake near River Sgo.ma. It had the relics of the Four Buddhas and the great image of Śākyamuni.

The 363 lotuses were to become monasteries. The lotus is innately divine and not contaminated by karmic faults. Nalanda was named after lotuses (*nāla*) blossoming in its ponds. To this day, the most sacred flowers for ikebana in Japan come from the Horyuji Monastery founded in 607 by Prince Shotoku. Thus the lotuses were a perfect substratum for the monasteries that were to come after Buddhism had become the value system of the Land.

The *Chinese title* was simplified by its translator Mitrasena to 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Nj.380, T1024, K352, STP.8.198): Wu-kou (vimala) ching (viśuddha) kuang (prabhā) ta t‘o-lo-ni (mahā-dhāraṇī) ching (sūtra).

The *Tibetan title* is: *Ḥphags.pa ḥod.zer dri.ma.med.pa.rnam.par.dag.paḥi ḥod ces.bya.baḥi.gzuṅs*, an exact translation of the Sanskrit title.

The title becomes clear by the first dhāraṇī. It reads: salutation to Lord Amitāyuṣa Tathāgata. Amitāyuṣa endows long life without cares, without ailments, and the plenitude of a hale and hearty span of life. He is parallel to Amitābha. He was invoked to cure the ill-health of a person in his terminal years and to go to paradise of Amitābha on death. The light aspect of Amitābha is clear in the Sanskrit title which invokes the Pure Radiance (*viśuddha-prabhā*) of His immaculate rays (*raśmi-vimala*) to lead the devotee to Sukhāvatī. Rebirth in the Western Paradise of Sukhāvatī is emphasised four times in this sutra (McBride 2011:40).

Divine Radiance has been the awesome dignity of Buddhist images in China: Nun Daoqiong made a golden image of Amitāyus in 438 CE. It "emitted a ray from between its eyebrows, shinning brightly with a golden hue in the nunnery". Clergy and lay people "came to pay their respects. Upon seeing the divine radiance, all were delighted and happy." (Biographies of Buddhist Nuns by Shi Baochang, in *Lives of Great Monks and Nuns*, Numata Center, 2002:76 V93).

Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, cites several instances of the awesome power of the light emitted by relics. K'ang Seng Hui found a relic in a phial, offered it to the King Sun Ch'üan (r.222–252), and a "five-coloured flame shone dazzlingly above the phial. The King paid reverence and had a pagoda erected (pp.5–6).

In 266 scholar-courtier Hsün Hsu made twelve gilded images at Loyang. They emitted a great radiance, and large crowds came to pay homage.

In the Chin era (326–334) the Prefect Kao Li had a gilded image dug out of the bay with a Sanskrit inscription reading 'made by the fourth daughter of King Aśoka'. It was installed at Ch'ang-kan-ssu. It emitted a light that filled the hall (p.9).

Master Tai rose one night "to see a light over the temple, which blazed so brightly that he thought a fire had broken out" The Buddha Hall shone and radiated light into the heavens. People came to do reverence (p.20).

A nun stationed at Ch'ang-an saw a purple light rising from a tree in 437 CE, and as she looked up she saw a miniature gilded image (p.57).

A devout maiden made offerings to a miniature gilded image and wanted to continue as a nun. The parents made plans to marry her. She vowed to die rather than submit. The image emitted a golden light that filled the whole village and the startled parents submitted (p.58).

The Buddhānusmṛti-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra (Kuan fo san-mei hai ching) translated by Buddhabhadra between 398 and 421 (Nj.431, T156, K402) says: that meditation on the rays from the white tuft between Buddha's eyebrows from one to seven days lightens four types of sin. After seven weeks one's sins disappear wholly (p.189).

The immeasurable luminosity of Buddhahood and universal radiance have been dominant in Buddhism, from Amitābha to Rocana (Jap. Roshana) and to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. *Svarga* 'heaven' means 'the world of light'. *Svar* is 'sun, sunshine, light, lustre' in the Rigveda, Atharvaveda, Vājasaneyi-saṁhita. Radiance (*svar*) leading to heaven (*svarga*) by obviating all sins can be seen from the earliest ages of India down to Buddhism.

Solar symbolism. The title of the KR commences with *raśmi* which invokes the rays of the sun who is *raśmipati* 'the lord of rays' as the divine protector in the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka (*āditya-raśmaya eva pātāro*). The synonyms of the sun are *raśmimālin* 'encircled by rays', *raśmimuca* 'emitting rays', *raśmivat* 'having rays'. This KR is a hymn to the solar tradition but it has been kept opaque to endow it with the profundity of mystery. Here *vimala* is not an adjective in the sense of 'stainless, pure' but a noun to signify the immaculacy of the rays of the Sun. The noun *vimala* is a mantra recited over weapons in the Rāmāyaṇa. Vi-mala is the im-maculate that exempts from sin, as is clear in dhāraṇī 2: *mala-viśodhani* (voc) for the imperative 'please purify [my moral] impurities', or in dhāraṇī 1: *sarva-pāpa-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe* 'purify all my mental and physical sins'. The third word *viśuddha* is the qualifying adjective of *prabhā* 'radiance' personified as the consort of the Sun in the Purāṇas. Thus the title will mean 'the Pure Radiance of the immaculate rays of the Sun'. The title was not clear to Tibetan translators and they rendered it literally without any declensional ending. The second part of the compound *viśuddha-prabhā* indicates that *raśmi-vimala* should be in the genitive case. The Indian theory of exegesis is 'gods love the cryptic' (*parokṣa-priyāḥ devāḥ*). The enigmatic makes the KR a mystifying arcane.

The seventh dhāraṇī in the Chinese sutra begins with a salutation to *saptasaptati* 'seventyseven' in the Siddham script. The Tibetan text is quite different. It was changed by Atiśa. *Sapta-saptati* seems to be an error for *Saptasapti* which means Sun is the Mahābhārata and kāvyas. The Sun protects all life: *ya eṣa tapaty eṣa hīdaṁ sarvaṁ gopāyati* (ŚBr.14.1.4.9) 'the one who shines protects all this'. The Sun is the soul of all the gods (*Sūryo vai sarveṣāṁ devānām ātmā* ŚBr.14.3.2.9). May the Sun protect me from all divine dangers (*sūryo mā divyābhyo nāṣṭrābhyaḥ* *pātu* PBr.1.3.2.). The Sun is life (*prāṇa ādityaḥ*, PBr.16.13.2). The Sun absolves from sin (*asau vā ādityaḥ pāpmano 'pahantā*, ŚBr.13.8.1.11). The common adage is that the Sun is the 'soul' of the moving as well as of stationary life, that is the totality of beings (*sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuśaś ca*).

The Jinxian caitya commissioned by a high official of the T'ang Dynasty for his departed wife in 722 CE has **seven cakras** on the top. The Rigveda speaks of the *Sapta-cakra*. Raśmi in the title can be compared to *Saptaraśmi* of the Rigveda meaning Sun. Seven is a solar number. The Sun is called *Saptāśva* 'having seven horses' in the Rigveda, *Saptasapti* in the Mahābhārata (*sapta* seven, *sapti* horse), and *Saptaraśmi* 'having seven rays' in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda. The light of the Sun has seven colours: vibgyor (violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange and red).

The KR has seven dhāraṇīs, in allusion to 'seven' as the solar number. Prof. Duan Qing says that the Khotanese manuscript consists of 12 sheets of paper affixed together to form an elongated sheet of paper about 5m long (p.102) A copy of the Chinese text printed on 12 sheets of paper (of 751 CE) was found in the Sukgatap caitya of the Bulguksa monastery of Korea. If connected they would measure 6.43m in length (p.111). The number of sheets as twelve is significant. Twelve is a solar number. It represents the Twelve Ādityas in allusion to the Sun in the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. Ten sūktas of the Rigveda are devoted to the Ādityas. Their functions are to ward off disease and distress (RV 8.18.10), to bestow long life (RV 10.37.7–8), offspring (RV 5.82.4), and prosperity (RV 10.35.11). Āditya-hṛdaya in the Rāmāyaṇa is a hymn to the Sun to annual all wrong actions, fill one with happiness, and bestow victory in battle.

Vedic words: mantra, raśmi, kalpa. Prof. Duan observes that the Khotanese version calls the dhāraṇīs *mantras*, which is a Vedic word. *Raśmi* in the title also comes from the Rigvedic *Saptaraśmi* meaning 'Sun'. Khotan had a tradition of enhancing the transfinite quality of Buddhist and secular traditions by supplementing them by Hindu (tīrthika) elements. King Vijayajaya became the God of Silk with four hands like Viṣṇu, holding implements of silk manufacture (DVII.6 in the British Museum). Maheśvara appears on the reverse of his votive panel DVIII.6 in the British Museum to enhance its sanctity. Gaṇeśa from Endere in the British Museum (1907, 1111.143, E.ii.l) holds implements of silk manufacture:

weaver's comb	axe
silk ball	radish

Silk was a major export of Khotan and its continuous prosperity had to be ensured by Hindu deities. Inscribed carpets from Shanpula–Khotan depict legends of Krishna.

The title Kalparāja itself represents the ṣaḍaṅga or six disciplines auxiliary to the Veda. The six vedāṅgas (MW. p.1016) are *śikṣā* 'the science of proper pronunciation' to ensure euphony of the mantras, 2. *chandas* 'metrics' , 3 *vyākaraṇa* 'grammar', 4 *nirukta* 'explanation of difficult Vedic words', 5. *jyotiṣa* 'astronomy' to find out the most auspicious days for sacrifices, and 6 *kalpa* 'ceremonial'. The first and second are to ensure the correct recitation of the Veda, the third and fourth its understanding, the fifth and sixth its proper employment. They are alluded to by

Manu 3.184. Kalpa is the most crucial of the six vedāṅgas as it prescribes the rules of ritual. The Khotanese text is not simply a kalpa but a kalpa-rāja i.e. a supreme ritual.

There are **seven dhāraṇīs** in the Chinese version which was translated in 704 CE, while the Tibetan version has six, as the 2nd dhāraṇī for the column is missing. Tibetan calls them mantras (Tib. *sṅags*). They were corrected by Atiśa (980/90–1055) and Ḥbrom.ston. Lcaṅ.skya Qutuγtu Lalitavajra (1717–86) corrected them in the Chinese version in his quadrilingual encyclopaedIa of all the Sanskrit dhāraṇīs in the Ming Chinese Tripiṭaka entitled *Yü chih man han meng ku hsi fan ho pi ta tsang ch'üan chou* (LC.1966:8.1989–99).

All the seven dhāraṇīs invoke Viśuddha-prabhā 'Pure Radiance' with a feminine vocative e.g. *āyur-viśodhane* (dh.1) 'O You who purify life [of sins]'. She is the epiphany of the Omnipotent Tathāgata Amitāyuṣa. The worshipper invokes Her in the imperative mood, e.g. *sara-sara* 'hasten, hasten' to bless me. At times the vocative stands for the imperative, e.g. *āyur-pālani* (short °*i* for vocative) means 'grant me a long life', or *adhiṣṭhite* 'You the blessed one' stands for 'please bless me'. The plural forms are majestic plurals for dignity and have no numerical connotation, e.g. *koṭi* (ten millions), *nayuta* (myriad), *sahasra* (thousand) in mantra 4 are hyperbole to indicate the immense magnification of the effectiveness of the mantra. The KR became widespread, because it had dhāraṇīs for averting evil. In the words of Pāṇini 5.1.111 vārttika 3 it as a *śāntivācana* of the *puṇyāha-vācanādi-gaṇa.*

Viśuddhaprabhā 'Pure Radiance' is a **deification** of the *raśmi* which have been invoked since the Vedic period: *Raśmi-pavitra* 'purified with rays' occurs in the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa. She is invoked in the first five dhāraṇīs in the vocative case. She is immaculately pure, redeems all sins, and commutes all physical ailments and mental afflictions.

dhāraṇī 1: *sarva-pāp-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe* 'purified of all sins and physical ailments'
dhāraṇī 2: *nirmala-viśuddhe* 'immaculately pure'
dhāraṇī 3: *mala-viśodhani* 'rapairer of the damaged (*mala*) pagoda'
dhāraṇī 4: *sarv-āvaraṇa-viśodhani* 'who purifies all mental afflictions'
vipula-nirmale 'immensely immaculate'
sarva-pāpa-viśodhani 'redeems all sins'
dhāraṇī 5: *vipula-vimale* 'immensely immaculate'

Personification of concepts is a conspicuous element in the Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and other texts, e.g. Kriyā 'Religious Action' is personified as a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma in the Mahābhārata 1.2578, Harivaṁśa 12452 and Bhāgavata-purāṇa (MW). Darpa 'Pride' is a son of Adharma in the Vāyu-purāṇa 1.7.26, Bhāgavata-purāṇa 4.1.51 (MW). Smaya 'Smile' is the son of Dharma and Puṣṭi in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa (MW).

Hyperbole. The dhāraṇīs speak of *koṭi* 'ten million', *nayuta* 'myriad', *śatasahasra* 'hundred thousand', and 'countless like the sands of the Gaṅgā river' *(Gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-sama* in dh.5, 6). The high numbers are magnitude of the spiritual efficacy and not arithmetical numbers. The

Immense is life *(prāṇo vai virāṭ)*. It is a hyperbole. Koṭi is *hyakuman* in Japanese. *Trayastriṁśat-koṭi* deities are specified in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 4.5.7.2 as: 8 Vasus + 11 Rudras + 12 Ādityas + 2 Heaven and Earth. They are supreme *(koṭi)* because they anoint Indra for paramount rule in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. Prof Soekmono of Indonesia asked me at the International Oriental Conference at Ann Arbor, Michigan as to how could King Mūlavarman (ca.400 CE) donate 20,000 cows to Brāhmaṇas as stated in his yūpa inscription III. Java could not have had so many cows in the fourth century. I replied that high numbers are exaggerations. He must have donated twenty cows of a high pedigree and *sahasra* 'thousand' means 'of the highest breed'.

The invocations of the *dhāraṇīs* can be better understood by the sevenfold classification of *anuttara pūjā* or forms of supreme worship in the Dharmasaṅgraha, translated into Chinese by Dānapāla in 985 CE (K1124): *vandanā* (salutation), *pūjanā* (worship), *pāpa-deśanā* (confession of sin), *anumodanā* (gratification), *adhyeṣanā* (request for blessing), *bodhicittotpāda* (awakening of the Bodhi mind), *pariṇāmanā* (maturation). The Cambridge manuscript has only five forms, while two other mss have six forms (Kasawara 1885:3).

Empress Wu (r.684–705) came from a pious Buddhist family and was a patron of the Buddhists. She came to the throne in 684 and by 691 Buddhism became the state religion. During 677–78 fiscal problems had become a major crisis. In 687 most of north China was in famine. In 689 a white stone was discovered in the Lo river bearing the prophecy 'A Sage Mother shall come to rule Mankind, and her imperium shall bring Eternal Prosperity. A grand celebration of its veneration took place in 689. In 692 her army crushed a Tibetan invasion and established a protectorate at Kucha. She busied herself with Buddhism and added 'Maitreya the peerless, Golden Wheel' to her title. Golden Wheel means the Supreme Cakravartin. The years from 695 to 699 were plagued with the border raids of the Northern Turks, defeat of a large Chinese army only 200 miles from Ch'ang-an by the Tibetan minister Mgar Khri-ḥbriṅ, rebellion by the Khitan, the crusade of the Khitans to depose the Empress, plunder of the border prefectures by the Turkish ruler Qapaghan, conspiracy of Liu Ssu-li to seize the throne, and the atmosphere of dread at the court. Cintāmaṇi (wrongly reconstructed as Ratnacinta) was invited to China to translate Sanskrit texts on Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara. He was hailed as a kṣatriya of the royal caste. She sent a special envoy to Khotan to bring the Avataṁsaka corpus, whose translation extended over five long years and the Empress herself took part in the translation. The main deity of the Avataṁsaka is Rocana (Jap. Roshana) or "Sun". Rocana of Bhagavaddharma's translation became Vairocana in Śikṣānanda which is translated as the Great Sun in Chinese.

The most effective talisman of KS had been brought to China by Prajñādevendra six years before the Avataṁsaka corpus. The Empress became seriously ill in early 699. Śikṣānanda made its first translation in 700 for her recovery. As soon as the translation was completed it disappeared, probably whisked away by the detractors of the Empress. A team for its translation was set up a second time under Mitrasena (not Mitraśānta) who had come from Tukhāra ten years ago in 690 and was working at Ch'ang-an. He completed the translation by 704 (K352, T2152:369c26).

The restoration of the name to Mitraśānta (?) has been influenced by that of another Indian monk Chi-yu. It means Śāntimitra 'friend of quietitude' (*chi* 'quiet, solitary' Giles 931 + *yu* 'friend' Giles 13429). Chi-yu reflects the Chinese phase 友道 'friendly to Tao, loving the doctrine or the truth e.g. of Confucius'. The name Mi-t'o-sien is a transcription of Mitrasena. *Mitra* is the Sun God and *sena* is a suffix for the names of the warrior class of kṣatriyas. It means a kṣatriya blessed by the invincible Mitra or Mithra Invictus. Mitrasena occurs in the dictionary of MW as the name of a Buddhist. Being of the royal caste he was respected by the Empress. When he personally presented the KR to her, she rewarded him lavishly and granted him permission to come and to leave China at will. She had been seriously ill from 703. She felt relieved when the translation of the KR by Mitrasena in 704 made it possible to perform its special rites to lead her to the Western Paradise of Sukhāvatī, when she passes away. She was gone at the age of 82.

Empress Kōken (r.749–758, 764–769) suffered from depression. On the advice of her cousin Fujiwara Nakamaro she abdicated the throne in 758. Monk Ganjin founded the Toshodaiji monastery under her patronage in 759, with Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara as its main deity. The monastery was to be a blessing for her return to the throne. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was and is invoked for protection in all hazards in the Nīlakaṇṭhaka dhāraṇī of Bhagavaddharma (T1060). In the version of Amoghavajra (T1056) the dhāraṇī says: bring the state under my control, including all the kingdoms (*sīghraṁ vaśaṁ me rāṣṭraṁ sarājakaṁ kuru*, Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara,* 1988:268, 273).

The Empress was introduced to a handsome young monk Dōkyō. He nursed her to a miraculous recovery. The rites of the KR were performed during this period of loss of power to come out of the depression and to return to the throne. The rite became famous as *hyakuman-tōdarani.* A hundred myriad copies were printed as per the fourth dhāraṇī, which enjoins 99 million copies. The phrase has to be analysed as *hyakuman* + *tōdarani*: *hyaku* 'hundred', *man* 'ten thousand' is a hyperbole, *tōdarani* is 'dhāraṇī for insertion in the *tō*/stupa'. The word *tō* 'stupa' goes with dhāraṇī and not with *hyakuman.* The extant sheet of Empress Kōken is the second dhāraṇī to eliminate all sins and to lead to enlightenment. The cousin disliked the monk. He led a rebellion, but was killed. The Empress came to the throne in 764 and ruled till 769.

The *hyakuman tōdarani* of the Empress were taken as an arithmetical number and not as a hyperbole. The hyperbolic numbers were to highlight the multifold efficacy of the dhāraṇīs. The high numbers are the magnitude of the spiritual. Life is immensity (*prāṇo vai virāṭ*). The Empress understood *hyakuman* as **the** number, had one million dhāraṇīs printed and one million tiny wood pagodas crafted to store them. Chinese substituted 99 copies by 100 as it confirms to the rectitude of ideographic stylistics. Several thousand copies of the dhāraṇī are still preserved at the Horyuji monastery.

Seven dhāraṇīs of the KR

Dhāraṇī 1. Tibetan calls it mūla-mantra (*rtsa.baḥi sṅags*)

namo saptasaptatibhyaḥ | samyak-sambuddha-koṭīnām | pariśuddha-mānasa-vāk-citta-pratiṣṭhitānām |

namo bhagavate amitāyuṣasya tathāgatasya |

oṁ tathāgata-śuddhe āyur-viśodhani saṁhara-saṁhara | Sarvatathāgata-vīrya-balena pratisaṁhara āyu | smara-smara Sarvatathāgata-samayaṁ | bodhi-bodhi budhya vibudhya bodhaya-bodhaya | sarva-pāpa-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe vigata-mara-bhayaṁ subuddha-buddhe|hulu hulu svāhā|

Salutation to the Seventyseven of the Supreme (koṭi) Perfectly Enlightened Ones, worshipped with purity of the mind, speech, and conscience.

Salutation to Lord Amitāyuṣa Tathāgata.

Om.You purified by the Tathāgata, purify my life, sustain [me]. Sustain [my] life by virtue of the powers of the Omnipotent Tathāgata (i.e. Amitāyuṣa). Think of the vow of the Omnipotent Tathāgata. You the Enlightenment, being enlightened, enlighten me. You are purified of all sins and ailments, make me devoid of the dread of death, and supremely enlightened. Hasten, hasten, svāhā.

The devotee invokes the Goddess [Pure Radiance] to absolve him of all sins, to take away the apprehension of death and to endow him with a long life.

The Chinese text has a salutation to *saptasaptati* 'seventyseven', while Tibetan has 'seven'. Originally it might have been *namo Saptasaptibhyaḥ* 'salutation to Saptasapti or 'Sun' as Amitāyuṣa is a solar deity. Saptasapti was not understood by the writer of the KR and he substituted it by the numerical for 77. Saptasapti means 'having seven horses' and is the name of the Sun in the Mahābhārata. It is a synonym of Saptāśva 'Sun' in the Rigveda.

Sarvatathāgata does not mean 'all Tathāgatas' but 'Omnipotent Tathāgata', the prime Tathāgata of KR namely Amitāyuṣa.

Āvaraṇa are mental afflictions and *nīvaraṇa* are physical ailments, like *ādhi* and *vyādhi*.

The **Tibetan differs** from the Chinese:

namaḥ saptānāṁ samyak-sambuddha-koṭīnāṁ pariśuddhena manasā abhyarcita-pratiṣṭhitānām|

namo bhagavate Amitāyuṣasya Tathāgatasya|

oṁ Sarvatathāgata-śuddhe, āyur-viśodhani saṁhara-saṁhara|Sarvatathāgata-vīrya-balena pratisaṁhara āyuḥ sara-sara|Sarvatathāgata-samaye bodhi-bodhi buddhya-buddhya bodhaya

bodhaya mama sarva-pāpaṁ|āvaraṇa-viśuddhe vigata-maraṇa-bhayaṁ subuddhe buddhe huru huru svāhā|

Salutation to the seven Supreme (*koṭi*) Enlightened Ones worshipped with a pure mind for being blessed.

Salutation to Lord Amitāyuṣa Tathāgata.

O You empowered by the Omnipotent Tathāgata, purify my life. Enhance it (i.e. life). Enhance life with the mighty powers of the Omnipotent Tathāgata. Come Come. You the vow of the Omnipotent Tathāgata absolve all my sins. Deliver me from all mental afflictions (*āvaraṇa*), take away the dread of death. You the enlightening one, hasten, hasten. Svāhā.

The devotee prays for being delivered of all mental afflictions, for being absolved of all sins and for taking away apprehensions of death.

Pratiṣṭhita is for *adhiṣṭhita* 'to be blessed': MW translates *adhiṣṭhā* 'to bless'.

Dhāraṇī 1

⑦南謨颯哆颯怛底（頤以⑧反 下同）弊（毘也反 脣聲）三藐三 ⑨佛陀俱胝喃（奴暗⑩反 下同⑪）

nan na mo maḥ sa sap duo ta sa sap da ta di ti bi bhyaḥ bi bh ye ya san sam miao myak san sam fo bud tuo dha ju ko zhi ṭī nan nāṁ

鉢唎戍（輸聿反 下同）陀摩捺娑⑫薄（去聲 引）⑬質多鉢唎底瑟耻哆喃

bo pa li ri shu śu tuo dha mo mā na na suo sa bo vā[k] zhi ci duo ta bo pa li ri di ti se } ṣṭhi chi duo tā nan nām

南謨⑭薄伽跋⑮底阿彌多喻殺寫恒他揭怛寫 唵（引聲）旦他揭多戍第

nan na mo mo bo bha ga ga ba va di te e a mi mi duo tā yu yu sha ṣa xie sya heng ta ta thā jie ga ta ta xie sya an oṁ da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta shu śu di dhe

阿喻毘輸達儞 僧噉 ⑯（呵葛反）羅僧噉⑰羅

a ā yu yu(r) pi vi shu śo da dha ni ni seng saṁ he ha luo ra seng saṅ he ha luo ra

1 (2)

薩婆怛他揭多 毘唎耶跋麗娜

sa sa[r] po va da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta pi vā lo ri ya ya ba ba li le na na

鉢⑱剌底僧噭囉阿喻 薩麼囉薩麼囉

bo p– la ra di ti seng saṁ he ha luo ra a ā yu yu sa s– mo ma luo ra sa s– mo ma luo ra

薩婆怛他揭多三昧焰 菩提菩提

sa sa[r] po va da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta san sa mei ma yan yaṁ pu bo ti dhi pu bo ti dhi

勃地（亭也反下同）毘勃地 菩馱也菩馱也

bo bu da dhya pi vi bo bu de dhya pu bo duo dha ye ya pu bo duo dha ye ya

⑲薩婆播 波（引）阿伐喇拏（上）毘戍第 毘揭多末羅珮焰

sa sa[r] po va bo pā bo pa a ā fa va la ra na ṇa pi vi shu śu di dhe pi vi jie ga duo ta mo ma luo ra pei bha yan yaṁ

1 (3)

蘇	so	su
勃	bo	bu
馱⑳	dao	ddha
教	bo	bu[d]
第	di	dhe
虎㉑	hu	hu
嚕	lu	lu
虎*	hu	hu
嚕	lu	lu
莎㉒引	suo	svā
訶*引	he	hā

Dhāraṇī 2 is for the pillar (*yaṣṭi*). It is not found in Tibetan.

Oṁ Sarvatathāgata-vipula-yaṣṭi maṇi-kanaka-rajata-vibhūṣita-yaṣṭi dhuru-dhuru | *samantāvalokite sara-sara* |

pāpa-viśodhani | *bodhani sambodhani* | *pravara-yaṣṭi-vare maṇi-tuṣṭe huru* | *nirmala-viśuddhe hūṁ hūṁ svāhā* |

Om. O magnificent (*vipula*) yaṣṭi of the Omnipotent Tathāgata (i.e. Amitāyuṣa), decorated with gems, gold and silver, bestow your care, keep watch everywhere, please come, come.

Purify my sins and enlighten me. You the exalted yaṣṭi, brilliant(?) with gems, hasten. Homage to you the Immaculately Pure.

dhuru dhuru 'sustain' is from the root *dhṛ*, like *dhuraṁ-dhara* 'helping another out of need' from Hitopadeśa (MW).

The second dhāraṇī was printed in a million copies by Empress Kōken around 770 CE. The Khotanese version calls it the mantra for the *dhvaja* and it has to be placed in the dhvaja (Duan p.112). The Chinese version calls *dhvaja* a multi-cakra-shaped pillar.

Yaṣṭi, cakra, dhvaja, yūpa-yaṣṭi, dharmarāja are technical terms of architecture and have to be studied in comparison with Tibetan texts on the construction and symbolism of the stupa. Tucci 1988:113 cites and translates two Tibetan works: Bde.bar.gśegs.paḥi sku.gzugs.kyi tshad.kyi rab.tu.byed.pa yid.bzhin.gyi.nor.bu and Vaiḍūrya.g.yaḥ.sel (folio 290b6–). Mark E. Long 2014:215f, 337 has discussed the architecture of the stupa in Indonesia. The Kriyāsaṅgraha of Kuladatta whose earliest manuscript is dated Saṁvat 336 which corresponds to 1216 CE was transcribed and translated in 'Étude sur le stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne' (BEFEO 1960:50.37–116), by Mireille Bénisti. The KR will have to be retranslated in comparison with these and other works.

Prof. Duan describes the pagoda in two portions: the bottom part and above it the column (yaṣṭi) built of stone in seven layers. The terms can be clarified in accord with the prescription in the KR and in the Sanskrit dhāraṇīs. The hollow square room at the bottom is a stūpa-prāsāda or stupa palace a term in the Old Javanese Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan 55.23. The column above it is called *yaṣṭi* in the dhāraṇī. Tibetan terms it *srog.śiṅ* which is a translation of *yaṣṭi* in the Mahāvyutpatti 7064. *Srog.śiṅ* is an equivalent of *yūpa* in the Tibetan Amarakośa (342.169, 179.18): *yūpa* is a sacrificial pillar in the Rigveda. The column represents the function of a yūpa. *Srog.śiṅ* also means a pole in a stūpa. The duration of life depended on the *srog.śiṅ* 'life-tree'. Chinese terms it a *xiang-lun-cheng* 'multi-cakra pillar'. In Khotanese it is *daśa* which is Sanskrit *dhvaja*. *Dhvaja* is a technical architectural term and does not mean a 'banner'. It has been rendered as 'a house situated to the east of any object' (V.S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*), or as 'a place prepared in a peculiar way for building' by MW (522a), who cites it as a lexical word. Hemacandra says that *dhvaja* is a house in the east (*pūrva-diśo gṛhaṁ*). The compound *dhvaja-gṛha* occurs in Hemacandra. The dhvaja has seven cakras, being dedicated to the solar deity Amitāyus. The Sun rays have seven colours. Cakra is the wheel of the Sun's chariot in the Rigveda. In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1.265 *cakra* means 'sovereignty, realm' as the wheels of a monarch's chariot roll over his dominions. In the pagoda of Empress Shōtōku they are rounds but square in the Chinese pagoda of the princess. In India, maṇḍalas were round, but they became square in China, as the imperial metropolis was rectangular.

The Khotanese version says that the second dhāraṇī was the 'mantra of the dhvaja', or 'the mantra dwelling in the dhvaja'. Dhvaja-yaṣṭi means 'flag staff' in Manu and Mahābhārata. The dhvaja has also been called *damarāśa* in Khotanese. It is Dharmarāja or Yama the God of Death. The KR was enunciated by Lord Buddha to Kapilacaṇḍa who was on the verge of death. Prof. Duan has rightly pointed out that the KR was efficacious for increasing life-span in this existence and for attaining paradise in trans-life. Empress Wu had fallen seriously ill in 703 and its rites were performed in 704 to lead her to the Western Paradise. The Empress passed away in 705. The KR was primarily a terminal rite in the final decade of life and it could not have been the *spiritus movens* for the spread of stupa worship. Worship of the stūpa goes back to the life time of Lord Buddha himself. He gave his hair and nail pairings to two merchants from Bactria and instructed them in the way of making a stūpa for worship. They made this stupa at Asitañjana the capital of Bactria and Hsüan-tsang visited its ruins.

Dhāraṇī 2

唵（引）　薩婆怛他揭多毘補羅曳（移熱反下同）　瑟撥（竹几反下同）

an om　sa sa[r] po va da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta pi vi bu pu luo la ya　se ṣ– zhu ṭi

末尼羯諾迦（舉佉反）　曷喇折哆②（上）　毘菩瑟哆

mo ma ni ṇi jie ka nuo na jia ka　he □ la ra zhe ja duo ta　pi vi pu bhā se ṣi duo ta

曳瑟撥　杜嚕杜嚕　三曼哆　③尾嚕吉帝

ye ya se ṣ □ ṭi　du dhu lu ru du dhu lu ru　san sa man maṇ duo tā　wei va lu lo ji ki di te

④薩囉薩　⑤囉播跛　⑥尾輸達尼　菩達尼三菩

sa sa luo ra sa sa　luo ra bo pā bo pa　wei vi shu śo da dha ni ni　pu bo da dha ni ni san sam pu bo

2 (2)

達尼　鉢囉⑦上伐囉*上曳瑟撥伐囇　末尼脫

達	da	dha
尼	ni	ni
鉢	bo	p–
囉	luo	ra
伐	fa	va
囉	luo	ra
曳	ye	ya
瑟	se	ṣ–
撥	□	ṭi
伐	fa	va
囇	li	ra
末	mo	ma
尼	ni	ṇi
脫	tuo	□

誓　鶻嚕止囉*上末羅毘戍第　吽引⑧吽莎

誓	shi	□
鶻	gu	hu
嚕	lu	lu
止	zhi	ni
囉	luo	r
末	mo	ma
羅	luo	la
毘	pi	vi
戍	shu	śu
第	di	dhe
吽	hong	hūṁ
吽	hong	hūṁ
莎	sue	svā

引訶

訶	he	ha

Dhāraṇī 3 for the renovation of the pillar.

Oṁ Sarvatathāgata–mala–viśodhani skanda|*vilepana-vare pratisaṁskara*|
tathāgata-dhātu-dhare dhara–dhara| *sandhara–sandhara*|*Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhite svāhā*|

Oṁ, you who repair the damages [to the pagoda of] the Omnipotent Tathāgata, leap forth. You the excellent restorer, repair it.

You who conserve the relics of the Tathāgata, safeguard them. Homage to you empowered by the Omnipotent Tathāgata.

The word *mala* in this context refers to the ruined condition of the pagoda that requires repairs.

Pratisaṁskāra is repair, restoration of ruined buildings in the Divyāvadāna, Karmavācanā and other texts, e.g. s*phuṭita-pratisaṁskāraḥ kṛtaḥ* in Divy 23.11.

The Tibetan version is:

Oṁ Sarvatathāgata-mala-viśodhani rūḍha-bale pratisaṁkara|
tathāgata-dhātu-dhare dhara- dhara|*saṁdhara-saṁdhara*| *Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite svāhā*|

Oṁ, you repair the damages [of the stupa] of the Omnipotent Tathāgata, restore [the damaged pagoda] with your enhanced power. You conserve the relics (*dhātu*) of the Tathāgata, safeguard them. Homage to you empowered by the blessings of the Omnipotent Tathāgata.

Adhiṣṭhāna means 'blessing'. It is common in Mongolian as *adistid* 'blessing'. It has been misunderstood, e.g. by R.E. Emmerick in his *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (1963:3): "At a time when the Li country had been a lake the Buddha Śākyamuni, in order to prophesy its becoming a country, and to control it (adhiṣṭhāna)...soared down from the sky..." Lord Śākyamuni flew to Khotan to bless the country, and not to control it.

Dhāraṇī 3

唵（引）	an	oṁ

薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va
怛	da	ta
他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta

末	mo	ma
羅	luo	la
毘	pi	vi
輸	shu	śo
達	da	dha
尼⑨	ni	ni

⑩鍵	jian	skan

陀	tuo	da
鞞	bing	vi
⑪梨	li	le
鉢	bo	pa
娜	na	na
伐	ta	va
囇	li	re

鉢	bo	p–
⑫囉	luo	ra
底	di	ti
僧	seng	saṁ
塞	sai	s–
迦	jia	ka
囉	luo	ra

怛	da	ta

他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta
馱	tuo	dhā
都	dou	tu
達	da	dha
⑬麗	li	re

達	da	dha
囉	luo	ra
達	da	dha
囉	luo	ra

珊	shan	saṁ
達	da	dha
⑭囉	luo	ra
珊	shan	san

達	da	dha
*囉	luo	ra

薩	sa	sa(r)
婆	po	va
怛	da	ta
他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta

阿	a	a
地	de	dhi
瑟	se	ṣ–
耻	chi	ṭhi
帝	di	te
莎（引）	suo	svā
訶	he	hā

Dhāraṇī 4 is for the sanctification of the pillar (Duan p.106). The Bodhisattva Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin spoke this dhāraṇīs.

namo bhagavate nava-navatīnāṁ samyak-sambuddha-koṭi-nayuta-śata-sahasrāṇāṁ |
namaḥ Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhine bodhisattvāya |
oṁ dhuru-dhuru sarv-āvaraṇa-viśodhani Sarvatathāgata-āyur-pālani |
vipula-nirmale sarva-siddhā[n] namaskṛtvā vara-vara |
sarva-sattv-āvalokini hūṁ | *sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhini sarva-pāpa-viśodhani svāhā* |

Salutation to the Bhavagān of 99 millions of supreme (*koṭi*) Perfectly Enlightened Ones.

Salutation to the Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin Bodhisattva.

Om. Sustain [all your activities], you who purify all mental afflictions, and who grant life [by the grace of] the Omnipotent Tathāgata.

You the Immense Immaculate grant all the perfections.

Hūṁ to you who care (*avalokini*) for all sentient beings: keep away all physical ailments (*nīvaraṇa*), redeem all sins. Svāhā.

Bhagavān is Amitāyuṣa who is invoked by the singular dative form *bhagavate*.

The number of copies of the dhāraṇīs to be deposited in the canopy is 99 (Duan p.113). This number is specified in three dhāraṇīs (nos.4, 5, 6). The number 99 is to preclude hundred. Hundred years are the full span of life in the Rigveda, Atharvaveda (*śata-śārada, śatāyus, śatasāyana*) and the entire Indian tradition. Hundred copies would be inauspicious as denoting the end of the life span.

Sarva-siddhā[n] is a wrong reading of *sarva-siddhīn* 'all the perfections'. *Vara-vara* means 'grant me'. The varada-mudrā is for granting boons.

The Tibetan version runs:

namo bhagavate nava-navatīnāṁ samyak-sambuddha-koṭi-nayuta-śatasahasrāṇāṁ |
namaḥ Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhine bodhisattvāya |
oṁ turu-turu[1] *mama sarva-āvaraṇa-viśodhani Sarvatathāgata-āyur-pālani* |
vipula-nirmale sarva-siddhīn namaskṛtvā[2] *vara-vara-*
sarva-satva-avalokini | *oṁ sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhini mama sarva-pāpa-viśodhanaṁ*[3] *kuru svāhā* |

Salutation to the Bhagavān of 99 millions of supreme (koṭi) Perfectly Enlightened Ones.

Salutation to the Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin Bodhisattva.

Hasten (*turu*) to purify all my mental afflictions, to grant me life [by the grace of] the Omnipotent Tathāgata,

O Immense Immaculate, grant (*vara*) all the perfections,

You who care for all sentient beings, keep away all the physical ailments, redeem all my sins, Svāhā.

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[1] *turu-turu* 'hasten, hasten' from the root *tvar*.

[2] *sarva-siddhi* (so in Tib.) *namaskṛtvā* is not clear.

[3] Tib. °*viśodhani*. The anusvāra on top has been misread as the vowel sign °*i*.

Dhāraṇī 4

南	na	na
謨	mo	mo
薄	bo	bha
伽	ga	ga
伐	fa	va
帝	di	te
納	na	na
婆	po	va
納	na	na
伐	fa	va
底	di	tī
喃	nan	nāṁ
三	san	sam
藐	miao	mya
三	san	sam
佛	fo	bu
陀	tho	dha

俱	ju	ko
胝	zhi	ṭi
那	na	na
庾	yu	yu
多	duo	ta
設	she	śa
多	duo	ta
索	suo	sa
訶	ha	ha
薩（二合）	sa	s–
羅引	luo	rā
喃	nan	ṇāṁ
南	nan	na
謨	mo	mo
薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va

儞	ni	nī
伐	fa	va
囉	luo	ra
拏（二合）（去聲）	na	ṇa
毘	pi	vi
瑟	se	ṣ–
劍	jian	kam
鼻（二合）	bi	bhi
尼引	ni	ne
菩	pu	bo
提	ti	dhi
薩	sa	sa[t]
埵	duo	tvā
也	ye	ya

唵引	an	om
覩	du	dhu
嚕	lu	ru
覩	du	dhu
嚕	lu	ru
薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	pa	va
阿	a	ā
伐	fa	va
囉	luo	ra
拏	na	ṇa
毘	pi	vi
戍	shu	śo
達	da	dha
尼	ni	ni

4 (2)

薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va
怛	da	ta
他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta
摩	mo	ā?
庾	yu	yu
播	bo	pā
②		
喇	la	la
尼	ni	ni
毘	pi	vi
布	bu	pu
麗	li	la
昵	yi	nir

末	mo	ma
③		
麗	li	le
薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va
悉	xi	si
陀	tuo	dha
南	nan	na
摩	mo	ma
塞	su	s–
訖	qi	k–
栗	li	ṛ
帝	di	tva
跋*	ba	va
羅	luo	ra
跋	ba	va
囉	luo	ra

薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va
薩	sa	sa
埵	duo	tvā
④		
縛	fu	va
盧	lu	lo
羯	jie	ki
尼	ni	ni

吽	hong	hūṁ
*引		
薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va
尼	ni	nī
伐	fa	va
囉	luo	ra

拏	na	ṇa
上聲		
毘	pi	vi
瑟	se	ṣ–
劍	jian	kam
毘	pi	bhi
⑤		
泥	ni	ni

薩	sa	sa[r]
婆	po	va
播	bo	pā
波	bo	pa
毘	pi	vi
燒	shao	śo
達	da	dha
尼	ni	ni

⑥		
莎	suo	svā
訶	he	hā
⑦		
引		

Dhāraṇī 5 is to be recited during the worship of the consecrated pillar (Dien p.106)
namo navanavatīnāṁ tathāgata-koṭīnāṁ gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-samānāṁ |
oṁ vipula–vimale pravare jina-vare sara-sara |
sarvatathāgata-dhātu-garbha-saty-ādhiṣṭhite svāhā |
āgata-toṣaṇi svāhā | *sarva-deva-nivaha-□□□□-adhiṣṭhāna-samaye svāhā* |

Salutation to the 99 supreme (*koṭi*) Tathāgatas who are as numerous as the sands of the River Gaṅgā.

Hasten. You the Immense Immaculate, the preeminent, the chosen of the Jinas.

Homage to You who are the quintessence (*garbha*) of the relics of the Omnipotent Tathāgata and empowered thereby.

Homage to You who bring joy. Homage to You the symbol of the empowerment of all the classes of deities.

By this dhāraṇī the devotee seeks blessings of Viśuddhaprabhā to bring joy (*toṣaṇi*).

The Tibetan version reads:
oṁ vipula-vimale pravare jina-vare sara-sara |
sarvatathāgata-dhātu-garbhe adhiṣṭhite svāhā |
āyata-toṣaṇi svāhā | *sarva-deva-nivaha-yavi buddha-adhiṣṭhāna-samaye svāhā* |

Dhāraṇī 5

南	na	na
謨	mo	mo
納	na	na
婆	po	va
納	na	na
伐	fa	va
底	di	tī
喃	nan	nāṁ
怛	da	ta
他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta
俱	ju	ko
胝	zhi	ṭī
喃	nan	nāṁ
彊	jiang	gaṅ
伽	ga	gā

捺	na	na
地	de	dī
婆	po	vā
盧	lu	lu
迦	jia	kā
三	san	sa
摩	mo	mā
喃	nan	nāṁ
唵（引）	an	oṁ
毘	pi	vi
補	bu	pu
麗	lo	la
毘	pi	vi
末	mo	ma
麗	li	le

鉢	bo	p–
囉	luo	ra
伐	fa	va
麗	li	re
市	shi	ji
那（上）	na	na
伐	fa	va
麗	li	re
薩	sa	sa
囉	luo	ra
薩	sa	sa
囉	luo	ra
薩	sa	sa[r]

婆	po	va
怛	da	ta
他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta
馱	duo	dhā
都	dou	tu
揭	jie	gar
鞞	bing	bhe
薩	so	sa
底（丁耶反）	di	tyā?
地	de	dhi
瑟	se	ṣ–
耻	chi	ṭhi
帝	di	te

5 (2)

⑭薩 sa svā
引
訶 he hā
阿 a □
引
⑮那（夷我反下同） na □
咄 duo □
都 dou to
飯 fan ṣa
尼 ni ṇi
莎 suo svā
引
訶 he hā
薩 sa sa

婆 po va
提 ti de
婆 po va
那 na ni
婆 po va
⑯阿 a □
耶 ye □
弭 mi □
勃 bo □
陀 tuo □
阿 a a
地 de dhi
瑟 se ṣ–
侘 cha ṭhā
那 na na

*上
三 san sa
摩 mo ma
也 ye ye
莎 suo svā
引
訶 he hā

Dhāraṇī 6. Concluding rite (*visarjana*) of bidding farewell (*cala*) to Viśuddha-prabhā. Its meaning is not clear. Perhaps it was intended to be a mystic camouflage.

namaḥ nava-navatīnāṁ tathāgata-gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-koṭi-nayuta-śatasahasrāṇām |
oṁ bāvari cāraṇi cari mori gauri cala | *vare svāhā* |

Salutation to the 99 of the millions of supreme (*koṭi*) Tathāgatas who are as many as the sands of the Gaṅgā river.

Om, Fantastic One (*bāvari*), Celestial Musician, Young Maiden, my Fair One, farewell (*cala*). Homage to you the Supreme (*vare*).

This dhāraṇī bids farewell to the goddess Viśuddhaprabhā. It is technically termed the rite of *visarjana*. As vocatives, all the epithets end in a short °*i*. *Bāvari* is 'crazy, wayward' in Hindi *Cāraṇī* is a 'female celestial singer' in Bālarāmāyaṇa (MW). It corresponds to Gītā 'Goddess of Music' in the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha. *Cari* means 'a young woman' in a Sanskrit lexicon (MW). *Mori* is a NIA word for 'my' instead of Sanskrit *mama*. *Cala* is an imperative from the root *cal* 'to walk away, to leave'.

The Tibetan text reads:

namaḥ nava-navatīnāṁ Tathāgata-gaṅgā-nadī-vālukānāṁ koṭi-niyuta-śatasahasrāṇāṁ |
oṁ bobori | *cariṇi cari* | *mori gori cala vāri svāhā* |

The dhāraṇī should have read: *namaḥ nava-navatīnāṁ gaṅgā-nadī-vālukānāṁ Tathāgata-koṭi-niyuta-śatasahasrāṇām* | It is confused in both the Chinese and Tibetan versions.

Dhāraṇī 6

南	nan	na
謨	mo	maḥ
納	na	na
婆	po	va
納	na	na
伐	fa	va
底	di	tī
喃	nan	nāṁ
怛	da	ta
他	ta	thā
揭	jie	ga
多	duo	ta
㊤		
彊	jiang	gaṅ
伽	ga	gā
捺	na	na
地	de	dī
婆	po	vā
盧	lu	lu
迦	jia	kā
俱	ju	ko
胝	zhi	ṭi
那	na	na
庾	yu	yu
多	duo	ta
設	she	śa
多	duo	ta
索	suo	sa
訶	he	ha
薩	sa	s–
囉	luo	rā
喃	nan	ṇāṁ
唵	an	om
引		
普	bu	bā
怖	bu	va
哩	li	ri
折	zhe	ca
里	li	ra
尼	ni	ṇi
折	zhe	ca
哩	li	ri
慕	miu	mo
上		
哩	li	ri
忽	hu	gau
哩	li	ri
社	she	ca
❷		
邏	luo	la
跋	ba	va
❸		
上		
哩	li	re
莎	suo	svā
引		
訶	he	hā

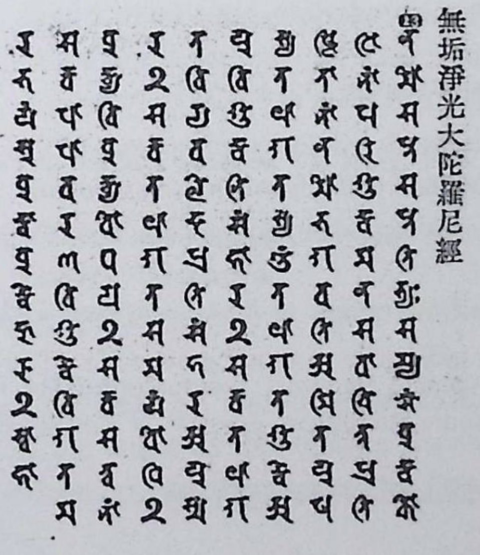
Dhāraṇī 7. This mahādhāraṇī is given at the end of the Chinese text in Siddham script. It has minor variations from the first dhāraṇī.

namo saptasaptatibhyaḥ samyak-sambuddha-koṭināṁ pariśuddha-mānasa-vā[k]-citta-pratiṣṭhitānāṁ|

namo bhagavataḥ amitāyuṣasya tathāgatasya|

oṁ tathāgata-śuddhe āyur-viśodhani saṁhara-saṁhara| *Sarvatathāgata-vīrya-bale pratisaṁhara āyu*| *smara-smara Sarvatathāgata-samayaṁ*|*bodhi-bodhi budhya vibudhya bodhaya-bodhaya*| *sarva-satvānāṁ sarva-pāpāvaraṇa-viśuddhe vigata-mara-bhayam*| *subuddha-buddhe huru-huru svāhā*|

It pays homage to 77 of the supreme (*koṭi*) Perfectly Enlightened Ones who have been consecrated by pure mind, speech and devotion. The reading is clearly *sapta-saptati* and Lord Buddha enjoins the brāhmaṇa to make 77 copies of this efficacious dhāraṇī. It seems that this simplified reading (*lectio simplicior*) replaced *Saptasapti* whose meaning 'Sun' was not understood by the writer of the KR. *smara-smara* signifies 'be mindful to grant me Bodhi': Take away the fear of death (*mara-bhayam*) of all beings.



The Tibetan version of the last dhāraṇī is more prolix.

Namas traiyadhvikānāṁ Sarvatathāgatānāṁ| oṁ bhuvi bhavān vare vacaṭau|culu culu|dhara-dhara| Sarvatathāgata-dhātu-dhare padmagarbhe jayavare acale smara tathāgata-dharmacakra-pravartana[ṁ]|vajrabodhi-maṇḍ-ālaṅkāra-alaṁkṛte Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhite bodhaya-bodhaya|bodhani-bodhani|budhya-budhya|saṁbodhani saṁbodhaya|cala cala|calantu sarv-āvaraṇāni|sarva-pāpa-vigate|huru huru|sarva-śoka-vigate| Sarvatathāgata-hṛdaya-vajriṇi|sambhava-sambhava| Sarvatathāgata-guhya-dhāraṇī-mudre|buddha subuddha Sarvatathāgat-ādhiṣṭhite|dhātugarbhe svāhā|samayādhiṣṭhite svāhā| Sarvatathāgata-hṛdaya-dhātu-mudre svāhā|supratiṣṭhita-stūpe tathāgat-ādhiṣṭhite hūṁ hūṁ svāhā| oṁ Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa-dhātu-mudraṇi| Sarvatathāgata-dharmadhātu-vibhūṣita adhiṣṭhite huru huru|hūṁ hūṁ svāhā|

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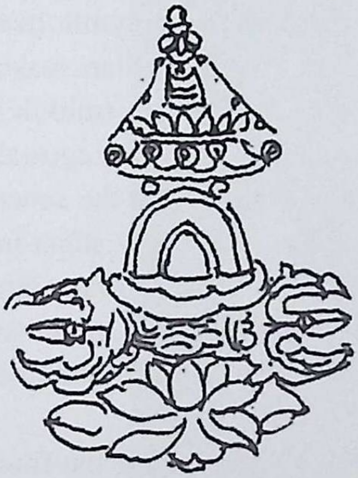
27. DAITŌ OF KŌYASAN

by Yamamoto Chikyō, Koyasan

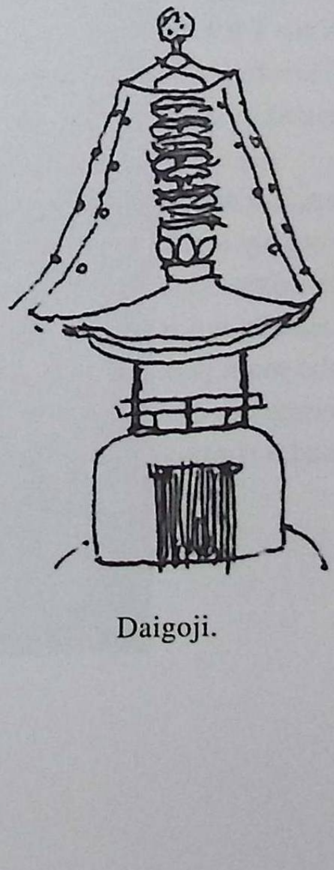
The Hōtō (Ratna-stūpa, precious stūpa) of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan is a special stūpa. It has an *aṇḍa* (bell-shaped or cylindrical) as the basis, covered with a roof and supplied with an umbrella. This was brought from China by Kōbō-daishi together with Esoteric iconography. Mahāvairocana Buddha is enshrined in it. The stūpa is regarded to be the samaya of Mahāvairocana Buddha. Extant pagodas do not help to know the ancient form of the Hōtō. The oldest graphic maṇḍala, i.e. the Takao maṇḍala is very much dilapidated. We must look at the Omuro version of the Takao maṇḍala which was copied long ago when the images were preserved well. Samaya of Vairocana in the samaya-maṇḍala in the Vajradhātu is a Hōtō. Triśūla is laid on an open lotus, surmounted by a Hōtō. The aṇḍa is higher than semi-globular, and the sides are not perpendicular but wider at the bottom. This is similar to the Indian prototype of a stūpa. The roof has not much curvature as in later buildings. The Hōtō that has been handed down in Japan is the oldest specimen of the most ancient form. Such a stūpa was venerated as the samaya of Vairocana. This type of stūpa was prevalent in Japan together with Esoteric Buddhism.



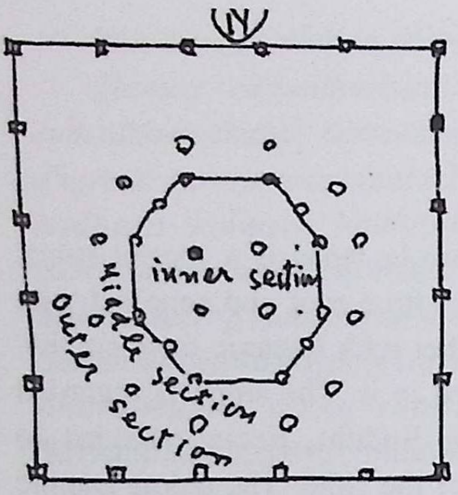
From the Takao maṇḍala.

The five-storied wooden pagoda of Daigoji dates from the middle of the 10th century (952). There is a painting of a Hōtō on the wood panel. The sides of the aṇḍa are almost perpendicular. There are many specimens of the stūpa of this type in Esoteric Buddhist iconography (in the Iconographic Section of the Taisho Edition of Chinese Tripiṭaka)

The Daitō of Kōyasan. The Daitō of Kōyasan was commenced in 819 by Kōbō-daishi and was accomplished by the second patriarch of Shingon. It is the stupa of Vairocana. It is a symbol of Vairocana-Buddha in the centre of Kōyasan. It was burnt five times by lightening. Let me describe the present Daitō. The intervals of pillars are five on the sides of the rectangular form. The three intervals in the centre are the entrance. The two at the ends are walls. There is a skirt on the first storey, it is not a roof. There is an aṇḍa on the skirt. It is a remnant of the aṇḍa of the Indian stupa. Because it



Daigoji.



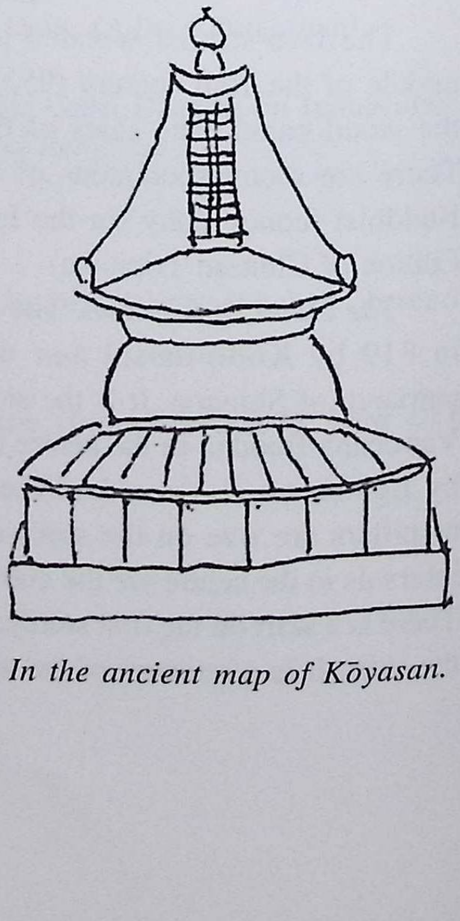
Entrance of Daitō, Kōyasan.

has to be circular, it is made of stucco and not of wood. The roof surmounting the main body of the stūpa is seen in a Hōtō. Ordinary stūpas of Esoteric Buddhism called Ta-hō-tō are derived from Hōtō. As for the pillars, there are 20 rectangular pillars on the four sides of the quadrangular wall. Three rows of circular pillars encircle the central part inside the stūpa.

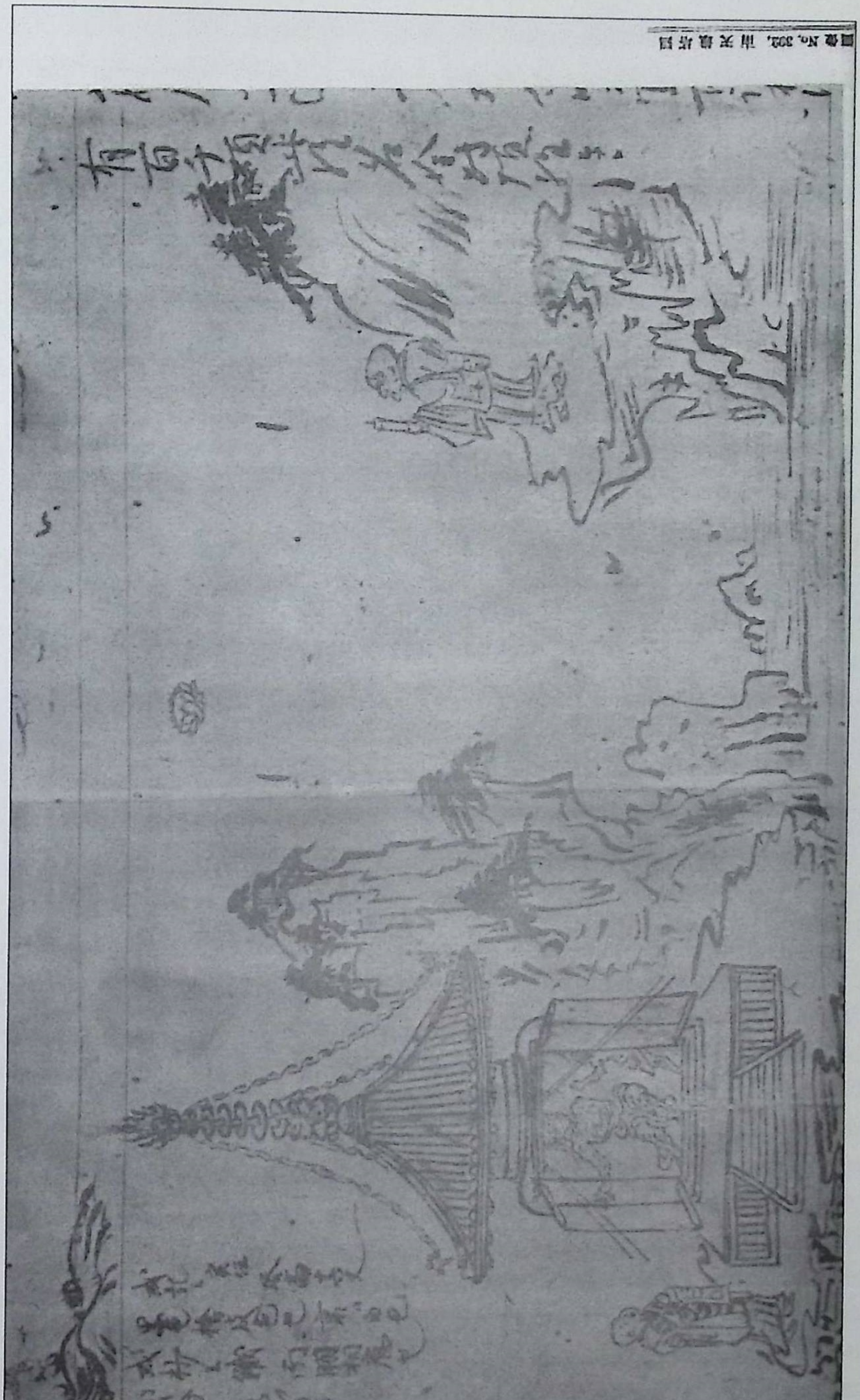
The quadrangular form symbolises bhūmi in the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, the circular form is water element, that symbolised वं Vajradhātu. Both of them symbolize *advaita* of the pair of maṇḍalas. Twelve circular pillars make the border of the outer section and intermediate (middle) section. Twelve circular pillars stand on an octagonal platform, three pillars each on the four sides, dividing the intermediate section from the inner section. In the centre are four big circular pillars. These four pillars are found in every stūpa in Japan in Esoteric as well as in Exoteric stūpas. The total number of pillars is 48. If the central pillar is added they make 49. It symbolizes the 49 temples in Tuṣita heaven. It is not necessary to use so many pillars from the architectonic standpoint. The central pillar stands above the ceiling of the first story.

The central divinity is Mahāvairocana of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala surrounded by the four Buddhas of the Vajradhātu: Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. Hereby the esoteric meaning of the advaita of the two maṇḍalas is marvelously symbolised. This stūpa is Mahāvairocana Buddha. It is also called the stūpa formed by Vaṁ (वं) the bīja of Mahāvairocana of the Vajradhātu. Therefore this is the centre of Kōyasan, and Kōyasan in the paradise of Mahāvairocana Buddha.

An ancient map of Kōyasan gives a figure of Daitō in ancient times. Though it is not very accurate, but still it is roughly a general outline of the stūpa. The Daitō of Kōyasan is supposed to be a copy of the Iron stūpa of South India. But actually it is a Japanised form of the Indian stūpa with aṇḍa as the main part. Japanese stūpas are made of wood. So it was necessary to have a roof. The first storey was not solid but had a shrine that enshrined divinities.



In the ancient map of Kōyasan.


圖像 No. 392, 南天鐵塔圖

Iron Stupa of South India (TZ.102.392).

28. THE HISTORIC ROLE OF INDIA IN SE ASIA

With the culmination of dreams of lust we stand at the threshold of a new quest. Events are hard to curb and restless. Yet the future speaks to us the language of today. The 'how' of the past and the 'where to' of the future are the pulsing life-blood of a new political order. Every segment of time can be a part of fulfillment. We can give meaning to moment-hidden events. India seeks a shared earth, rather than a seared globe. Even the arch imperialist Kipling had said:

There is neither East nor West,
Neither Border, nor Bread, nor Birth.

India and SE Asia with their millinerian cultures can renew synthesis of the here-and-now along with great visions of 'first to live'.

India and Srilanka. The Srilankan chronicle Dīpavaṁsa 'Annals of the Island' states that the first king of Srilanka was Prince Vijaya from the Lāṭa kingdom in southern Gujarat. He sailed from Bharoch and Sopara and reached Tambapanni inhabited by yakṣas (i.e. tribals). He assumed the crown and despatched an embassy to the Pandyan king of Madura for the hand of his daughter. The princess and her retinue landed at Mantota in Srilanka. **King Vijaya** ruled from 483–445 BC. The country was named Siṁhala after the father of King Vijaya. Srilankan kings performed the ceremony of "Girding on the Sword of Vijaya" on their coronation till recent times. According to the Rājavalliya Chronicle of Srilanka, the ship in which Prince Vijaya came from India was so huge as to accommodate full seven hundred passengers. It is confirmed by the *T'ang Yü Lin* 'Miscellanea of the T'ang dynasty': "Sea-going ships from Srilanka are the largest, the companion-ways alone being several tens of feet high".

Emperor Aśoka stands out in Indian history by his unique **global vision** which encompassed SE Asia, Central Asia and Western kingdoms. He sent his son Mahendra and daughter Saṅghamitrā to Srilanka in 251 BC to spread the message of Dharma. With Dharma came a new way of life of values, and a political system of the State represented by a six-storeyed palace termed *nandyāvarta* sent by Aśoka to the king of Srilanka. The most ancient dharmasūtras attest to frequent sea voyages and even lay down rules for marine insurance. The War Office of Emperor Candragupta (321–297 BC) had a Board of Admiralty. Kauṭalya gives details of the Naval Department.

Aśoka gave up war at Kaliṅga and *bherīghoṣa* was substituted by *dhammaghoṣa*; the drums of war were silenced into drums of Dhamma. He sent monks to preach Dhamma to Syria, Egypt, Cyrene (in North Africa), Macedonia and Epirus. These missions covered the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.

Aśoka sent his son and ministers to found the state of Khotan in Central Asia, according to the four accounts of the foundation of Khotan in Tibetan and Chinese. Conflict with the Chinese was resolved by a compromise that a local person would be king. Coexistence of Indian and Chinese in Khotan is indicated by coins from Yotqan with Chinese legends on the obverse and Prakrit in Kharosthi script on the reverse. Thus Aśoka initiated the presence of India in Central Asia in all spheres of life.

Aśoka's international vision had two major components:

(i) Dharmaghoṣa. Acculturation of the tribal orders and creation of their language, life-style and kingdoms.
(ii) Bhūmiputra: governance by kings of the soil.

Kanchi to Canton. Pan Ku describes trade with the South Seas in the *Ch'ien Han-shu* which goes back to the time of Han Wu Ti (1st cent. BC). It required a voyage of over twelve months.

In the Yuan-shih period (1–6 AC) the minister Wang Mang sent presents to the King of Kanchi requesting him to send an embassy with a rhinoceros. Its horns are powdered and considered most efficacious as tonic in China. A pair of its horns symbolise happiness and they are one of the eight treasures. The "tribute" of rhinoceros was repeated in 84 and 94 AC, and it continued as late as T'ang. Breathing tubes made of a rhinoceros horn are mentioned in a passage of the Pao-p'u-tzu (about 320) which enabled to breathe in water. Mêng-ch'ung or ships with their backs and roofs armoured over with rhinoceros hide were used to swoop suddenly on an unprepared enemy. Thus rhinoceros had magico-medical qualities, as well as was adapted for high mobility in strategic operations.

International marine trade remained intrinsic to the economic, cultural and technological development of India. The names of the **Gupta emperors** Śrīgupta, Candragupta and Samudragupta indicate a flourishing trans-oceanic trade. In Śrīgupta, Śrī is affluence which resulted from trade with China. I-tsing points out that Śrīgupta constructed a Cīna-vihāra for Chinese monks towards the end of the third century. The monks accompanied the ocean-going merchants to pray for a safe journey. The construction of a special monastery for Chinese monks seems to be due to the increasing sea trade with China. Śrīgupta must have realised the economic importance of Chinese trade and ensured a fruitful stay for the Buddhist monks to study Buddhism in India. Candra in Candragupta refers to the turbulence on the seas due to the rising of the moon on a full-moon day, and gupta refers to means adopted to ensure the safety of trans-oceanic merchants. The Gupta dynasty rose into prominence under Candragupta because of the expanding international commerce. His son and successor Samudragupta (r.335–375) is a clear reference to the Gupta dominance over the seas (*samudra*).

The maritime route was safer than the Central Asian Route. So monks and merchants journeyed by sea. In 424, Guṇavarman of Kashmir reached China via Champa. In the *Lives of*

Sixty Monks who pilgrimaged to India in the seventh century, I-tsing mentions that 37 of them travelled by sea.

Indonesia. The *first light-house of Asia* was erected by the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty. The yūpa-inscriptions of King Mūlavarman, dated to ca.400 on palaeographic grounds, speak of his father King Aśvavarman. The very name indicates that the father was dealing in horses, became powerful to vanquish the clan chieftains in course of time, gave rise to an organised state, and became the founder of a dynasty. The new dynasty and state was Kuṇḍuṅga, which is Kundungal in Kozhikode in Kerala. Kuṇḍuṅga became K'un-lun in Chinese transcription and came to designate the whole region of SE Asia in Chinese annals. The word K'un-lun occurs in the Chinese 'Lives of Eminent Monks' *(Kao Sêng Chuan)* written by Hui-chiao. In it monk Tao-an (312–85) is called *K'un-lun tzu* 'Little Darkie' by his antagonists, on account of his complexion. Complexion is indicative of hailing from India. As King Mūlavarman's power grew, he granted lands with economic trees, created hospitals and installed the image of his father in the form of Śiva (*Īśvara*) as the palladium of the state. He sought the blessings of the brāhmaṇas who conducted yajñas. He erected a light-house (*ākāśadīpa*) on the shoreline of his capital. It was unique in the South Seas and gave unprecedented safety to navigation. The improvement of agriculture, a prospering economy, an efficient state organisation and technological advances like the *ākāśadīpa* attracted trans-oceanic trade and firmly established Śaivism in SE Asia.

It stands to reason that the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty of merchant-princes dealing in horses under Aśvavarman became mighty kings in the third generation of Mūlavarman and great patrons of technological advances. Mūlavarman realised the economic value of the *ākāśadīpa* or high-rise tower of light (*dīpa*) touching the sky (*ākāśa*) and providing safety to large mercantile ships rowing at night. This *ākāśadīpa* was in sharp contrast to the existing systems like the Liu-ho stupa on the Ch'ien-t'ang River equipped with a permanent light from early Sung onwards to guide ships seeking anchorage. This mighty monarch—who raised a strong cavalry, constructed waterworks to promote agriculture, brought affluence and culture to the people, and erected a light-house to attract trans-oceanic trade—left the imprint of his glory in the Chinese name for the south-eastern region as K'un-lun, a transcription of his dynastic appellation Kuṇḍuṅga.

The Chinese annals of Ma Tuan-lin say that numerous brahmanas came to the kingdom of P'an-pan ruled by the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty. It sent envoys to the Sung court in 423–53, 454–56 and 457–64. Ma Tuan-lin says: "The kingdom of P'an-pan entered into relations with China during the Liang dynasty (502–57).... In the country are numerous brahmins come from India in search of wealth. They are in high favour with the king. His chief ministers are called respectively Po-lang-so-lan, K'un-lun-ti-yeh, K'un-lun-po-ho, K'un-lun-po-ti-so-kan." Three of the four principal ministers have the prefix K'un-lun. In 527, 530, and 536, the king sent to China a tooth relic of the Buddha, stupas, perfumes and other items. The king sent an envoy in the Ta-yeh period (605–17). There were regular sailings from Southeast Asia to China.

Hui-lin (7th century) in his *I-ch'ieh ching yin-i* 'Sounds and Meanings of Words in all the Sutras' has described the sea-going ships of the Southern Seas as: "These lie 6 or 7 ft deep in water. They are fast and can transport more than 1,000 men, apart from cargo. They are also called K'un-lun ships. Many of those who form the crews and technicians of these ships are K'un-lun people".

In the Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon compiled by Li-yen, a monk of Kucha in the 8th century, K'un-lun is given as the synonym of Dvīpāntara. Dvīpāntara is the name of the region of Malaysia, Indonesia and other islands. It occurs several times in Sanskrit works like the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, and the early Tamil Vaiṣṇava hagiographies.

The Old T'ang Annals say: "Living to the south of the country of Li yi (Champa) the people are black and with curly hair on their heads. All of them are called the K'un-lun".

The people of SE Asia were called K'un-lun in China which is a transcription of the place name Kuṇḍuṅga. SE Asia was the domain of Sanskrit culture in all its secular and sacred aspects, and the Chinese historical works are unanimous about the presence of Indians and Sanskritisation of the region. It was never the 'South China Sea', but 'Southern Sea'.

The 4th century Sanskrit text of the Jātakamālā sums up the sea voyage of the famous pilot Supāraga to Indonesia: "he knew the courses of the stars and could always readily orient himself. He also had a good knowledge of the signs of good and bad weather. He distinguished the regions of the ocean by the fish, by the color of the water,... by the birds, the mountains, and other indications." The Jātakamālā was translated into Chinese before 434 AC. These observations of the prevailing winds, landmarks, fauna and tides were significant in oceanic navigation.

India to China via Śrīvijaya. The famous Chinese scholar-pilgrim Fa-hsien returned to China via Sumatra in 414 by sea. He waited three times for a big merchant-ship for his return voyage:

from Tāmralipti to Srilanka
from Srilanka to Sumatra
from Sumatra to China.

Two of these ships had a capacity of 200 passengers on board. From Sumatra to Ching-chou 青州 in China, Fa-hsien reported that they loaded 50 days' supplies for 200 passengers.

Javanese chronicles relate that about 603 a king of Gujarat, forewarned of the coming destruction of his kingdom, sailed for Java with his son, five thousand cultivators, artisans, warriors, physicians and scholars, in six large and a hundred small vessels. They laid the foundations of a culture that gave rise to the sanctuaries dedicated to Lord Śiva or Lord Buddha. To this day Gujarat has a saying that one who goes to Java never returns. The merchants of Gujarat must have gone to Java in large numbers as well as over a long period of time for this saying to come down to our times as a tiny chunk of racial memory. The Candi Plaosan inscription of the 8th century states that this temple of Jina has been built by a "constant flow" of people from Gurjara (*satata-gurjara-deśa-samāgataiḥ*).

Vajrabodhi (671–741), one of the founders of Esoteric Buddhism in China, boarded a vessel at the port of Pocili that formed a part of a flotilla of thirty-five Persian ships and arrived at Śrīvijaya after a month. After a stay of five months, he sailed to China. A terrific tempest sunk thirty ships, but his ship arrived in China in 719.

Cambodia. Transportation and security of emerging kingdoms that were replacing tribal orders, were obliged to import the tall and swift steeds of Central Asian Kambuja (i.e. Ferghana). The role of these steeds has been highlighted in the Siṁhalāvadāna chapter of the Kāraṇḍavyūha. K'ang-t'ai who travelled to SE Asia around 260 says that the kings used to get horses from the Yüeh-chih. A decade earlier (c. 250 AC) the King of Cambodia got four fine Yüeh-chih horses. The Yüeh-chih horses, called *balāhaka* in Sanskrit, were a crucial factor in acculturation, political transformation and economic development of the areas that were adopting India's spiritual culture and material civilisation, under Indian kings who married locally and merged with the indigenous people in the first generation.

Champa. Because of the developing trade with China, India realised the importance of inhabiting the long coastal line of Vietnam which became the kingdom of Champa. The earliest Chinese reference dates to 190–193 AC. Around the same time the Māra dynasty was ruling Champa, as evidenced by the Vo-chanh Rock Inscription dated to the second century AC on paleographic grounds (*māra ... rājakula*, *māra ... kula-nandana*). This Māra dynasty may have been a branch of the Pandyan family. The poet Nakkirar addresses the Pandyan prince Nan-Maran as "O Māra, whose sword is ever victorious, spend thou thy days in peace and joy, drinking daily out of golden cups ... the wine brought by the Yavanas in their good ships" (Pillay, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, ch.iii). Even today the politically powerful Maran family has a vast business empire operating across India.

The long coast line of Indocentric Champa enhanced its role in international trade. In 284 Champa sent the first embassy to China, but conflict was inevitable. Naval battles took place between the Chinese and the people of Champa in 248 AC, again in 359, and in 407. In 431 more than a hundred ships of Champa, with superstructures, attacked the province of Tongking, but had to retreat due to the fleet of "castled ships." Champa was a powerful state with a large fleet of ships, and advanced technology for naval defence. The name of Samudragupta suggests domination of the sea lanes during his long reign of thirty years (335–375) and contacts with Champa may have existed. Champa's naval attack in 359 AC on Tongking falls during his rule.

A stone temple was built at Somanatha in the first century. A new stone temple was constructed by King Dharasena of the Maitraka dynasty in 649 which had steps descending to the sea. It was dedicated to Lord Śiva as the Lord (nātha) of the Moon (Soma) to guard the trans-oceanic merchants. The waxing and waning of the moon has "fatal" effects on the waves of the oceans which toss the ships in deadly turbulence. Śiva as Somanātha was to mitigate the tumult and turbulence, the *Sturm und Drang,* caused by Soma or the Moon. The large number of Śiva-temples lining the coastline of Champa were divine blessings to ensure safety across the seas. Champa enshrines the shining memories of India when she ruled the waves.

In the mid-fourth century, King Bhadravarman erected the palladium temple consecrated to Bhadreśvara Śiva. As maritime trade was the major source of the affluence of the state of Champa, Lord Śiva was invoked to bless the safety of the sea lanes.

King Śambhuvarman sent embassies to China in 568 and 572, stopped the customary tribute for some years but renewed it in 595. The Chinese invaded Champa by land and sea, defeated the Champa forces, King Śambhuvarman fled from the battlefield, and reached the capital in 605. The Chinese general took musicians to the Imperial court of China, the golden tablets of 18 Kings who ruled before Śambhuvarman and immense booty that impressed the Chinese with the fabulous wealth of Champa. But above all, he took 1350 Buddhist works.

Buddhasthira of Champa performed grand musical and dance ceremonies at the consecration of the Toji Temple of Japan on *9 April 752*. It symbolised the power of the nation state and solidarity of all tribal and family orders of Japan. He performed eight dances with music from Champa for the consecration of the Colossal Image of Rocana, the like of which did not exist even in China. The eight Champa performances were:

1. Bodhisattva dance
2. Pedu dance of killing the dragon
3. Kalaviṅka dance
4. Dance of the triumphant march of Bhairava (tāṇḍava)
5. Dance of Ambā (lāsya)
6. Joy of a Thousand Autumns
7. Dance of Nāgarāja Sagara
8. Dance of a drunken Hu (Sogdian)

The first five dances were purely Indian. The second dance represents the Ṛgvedic legend of Pedu who was a protégé of the Aśvins. They gave him a horse called Paidva who killed demons (*ahihan*). This swift, strong, white, incomparable, dragon-slaying steed, impelled by Indra, won Pedu unbounded spoils (RV.1.116.6 etc. in Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p.52). In 1874, during the Meiji Restoration, twenty musicals were fixed for court ceremonies. Three of the Champa ceremonies of Pedu (2), Kalaviṅka (3) and Nāgarāja Sagara (7) were retained. They are the only Champa ceremonies performed in our times.

Buddhasthira of Champa, along with Bodhisena of India, taught Sanskrit to the Japanese for the first time. Sanskrit words like *sara* (Skt. *śarāva*) for a plate, *osewa* (Skt. *sevā*) for an automat enshrine their memory.

By 758, Champa developed major commercial centres at Kauṭhāra (mod. Nha-trang) and Pāṇḍuraṅga (mod. Phan-rang).

Cham village women in Central Vietnam continue to recount the exploits of *Yan In* that is God Indra with his strength and weaknesses. The golden centuries of Champa, profound in *Hoch Kultur* or High Culture, can be glimpsed in the inscription of King Śrī Parameśvara where the goddess of Nha-trang is identified with Umā. How well the Chams expressed themselves in Sanskrit in 1050 AC in the subtle alliteration of the kāvyas exercises our ingenuity even to comprehend.

Champa was the efflorescence of a process of the appearance of kingdoms from tribal chieftains, by the acceptance of Indic religions, construction of Hindu-Buddhist temples and the use of Sanskrit in inscriptions. Champa lay on two major marine routes from India to China and from the Indonesian world to China. To this end Śiva sancta dotted the coastline of Champa, with Lord Śiva blessing the sea-going vessels against the turbulence of the waves that tore the hearts of voyagers, or as Āryaśūra says in the Jātakamālā (ed. Kern p.89) नौरभ्यधिकं चकम्पे विषादयन्ती हृदयानि तेषाम् । The language of the Chams is related to Indonesian and Malay.

Ancient India was the **cultural superpower** of the SE Asian world.

Sanskritisation vs. Sinification

Maritime trade between India and China was primarily along the coast-line beginning with Kanchi, traversing the shores of Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Cambodia and Champa to reach Canton. These lands on the long journey were inhabited by tribes who had no script, no state, no agriculture and led a primitive life without fabrics, gathering food and hunting for meat. The historic evolution of language, governance, architecture, art, thought and ethical fabric of the SE Asian nations are an outcome of their contacts with Indians for the last two thousand years. From the absence of garb and savage qualities of tribals they came to be endowed with a high mental culture, refinement of civilisation, moral responsibility for actions, and sustained betterment of life in their contact and marriages with Indian immigrants who became steersmen of a unity, harmony and grandeur never before imagined by the tribal orders. From helpless creatures to agricultural welfare, from skins or leaves to woven fabrics, from huts to constructing houses, appearance of larger communities with the development of trade, system of international commerce leading to choice productions, the unique social and mental attainments gave rise to astounding states like Champa, Cambodia, Laṅkāsukha (in Malaysia), Śrīvijaya, and so on. Indian princes, scholars, entrepreneurs, artisans and others developed the whole region as cultural states by the edification of all sectors of life. We shall take five of them.

(i) **Social norms.** The yakṣas or nāgas (tribals) were dressed in leaves. As Indians gave them woven fabrics, they had a different self-image. Kauṇḍinya conquered the Nāgī queen of Cambodia, dressed her in a sarong, married her and a new Cambodia was born. Numerous brahmins accompanied and followed the migrating royal princes and merchant princes. The tribals gave them their daughters who gained in elegance in Indian couture, and their feminine progeny was better equipped to bring up the future generations. In 1967 I was attending a grand ceremony at the residence of the Governor of Bali H.E. Merta. He offered me cocoanut water, which was really sweet and refreshing. I told him: "it is far better than the Indian cocoanuts". The Governor replied: "We feed the newly born infants cocoanut water as sometimes the mothers cannot offer their milk to the new born because of petite breasts." Marriage of the tribal women and Indian men resulted in eugenic changes, and future generations could be fed on mothers' milk. Ethnic enhancement brought about a constant social merger of the *bhumiputra* and the *kalana* (Old Javanese word for a wandering adventurer of noble birth from abroad). Indians merged themselves into the original population.

(ii) **Security and state.** Indians sailed with high steeds of Kambuja (Ferghana) to resist the onslaught of the tribals. The Kāraṇḍavyūha narrates that the merchant Siṁhala went to Srilanka with five hundred companions and had to flee on the magic horse Balāha when attacked by the demonesses (or aboriginal women). The security role of horses can be seen in the inscription of Mūlavarman whose father was Aśvavarman. Emperor Aśoka gifted a nandyāvarta or six-storeyed palace to the king of Srilanka when his son Mahendra went to spread Dharma in the island. A multi-storeyed palace was a symbol of the emerging imperial glory. Tribal systems became kingdoms, integrating several tribes by introducing written communications. The rise of kingdoms and nation states with specific names, like Kambujadeśa, was a political innovation leading to a higher civilization.

(iii) **Script.** Indians raised spoken dialects of the indigenous populations to written languages by introducing a script. Written communications became precision of administration, and large areas could remain in contact. The outreach and precision of the new system consolidated peoples of similar identity, and gave rise to powerful states. Literature in the local languages was written to convey the new values, and the life of the people was filled with the joy of the performing arts which were the "visual dharma".

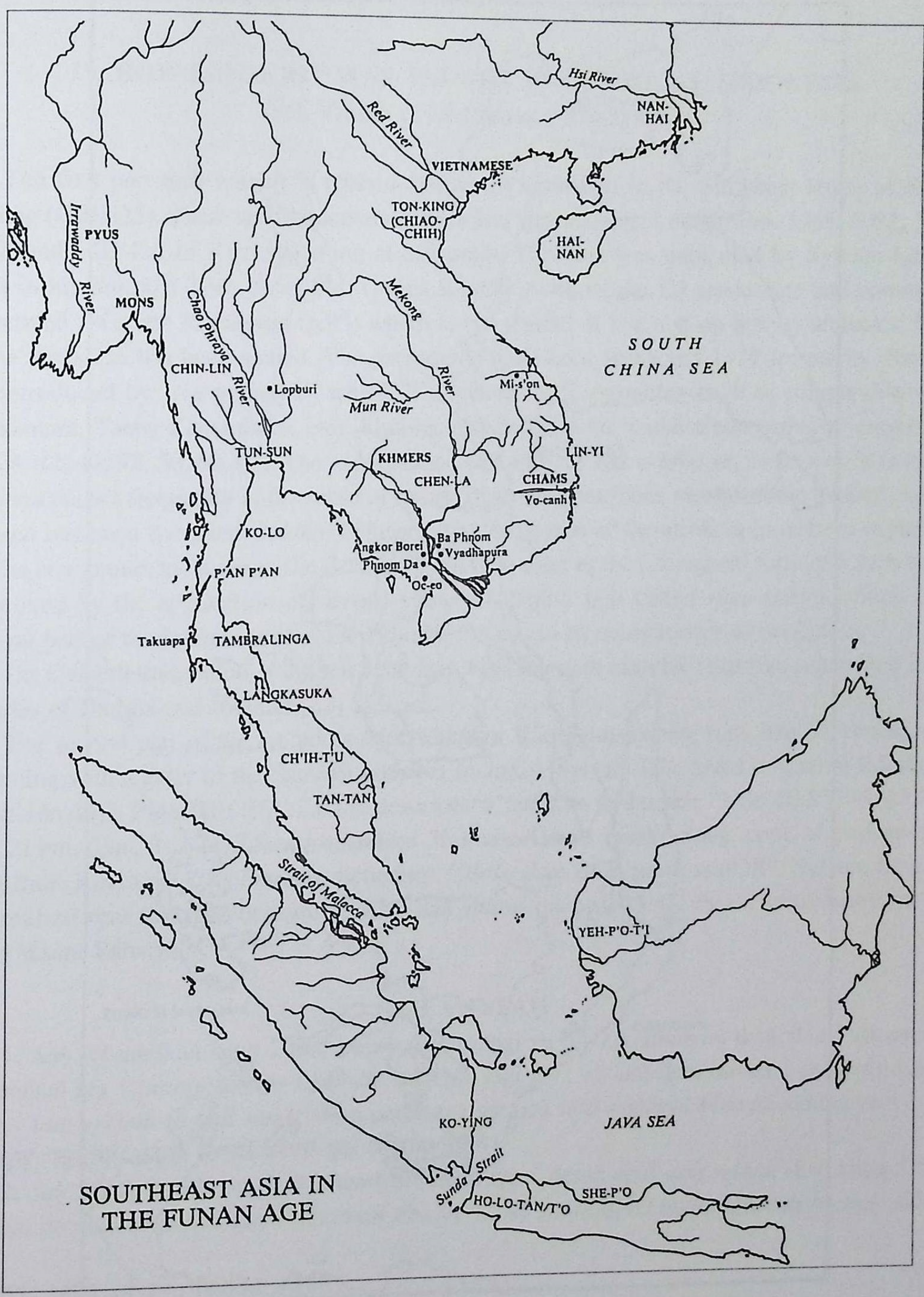
(iv) **Economy.** Agriculture was introduced on a large scale to develop an economy and to raise the living standards of the people. The inscription of Mūlavarman speaks of his victories, his donations of milch cows and *jaladhenu* (water canals) for the prosperity of the kingdom. Trans-national trade was upgraded by developing ship-building technologies. Naval power was augmented by "castled ships" which are described in the naval battles with the Chinese.

(v) **Dharma** was the value system that united peoples across the long sea-line with community of sacred texts, common forms of worship, similar script systems and similar temples which were divine assurance of safe journeys in the turbulence of waters.

The sea-lanes of SE Asia were integrated with Dharma as the Indians merged themselves with the locals in a single generation, and awakened their dormant energy. The foundation and flourishing of Champa on the major marine trade route from Kanchi to Canton, or from the SE Asian isles to Canton, was part of a new historic phenomenon of the fast emergence of cultural kingdoms from tribal orders. The new paradigm was the empowerment of the dormant energy of the non-alphabetic tribes by enriching them with a writing system and thinking patterns; establishing kingdoms with a king, ministers, nobility and state functionaries; setting up palaces and temples; the rise of an intellectual class and priestly orders. This sowing of intellectual seeds in the immensity of the regions was the rise of a new order of a spiritual culture and secular civilisation in SE Asia. The theodiversity, pluralism of life styles, alongwith an organised state, economy and strategic systems of India became the dawn of a new age in the SE Asian region. Indian savants, princes and merchants envisioned Suvarṇadvīpa in their quest of affluence of life. Suvarṇadvīpa was a general term for lands in SE Asia.

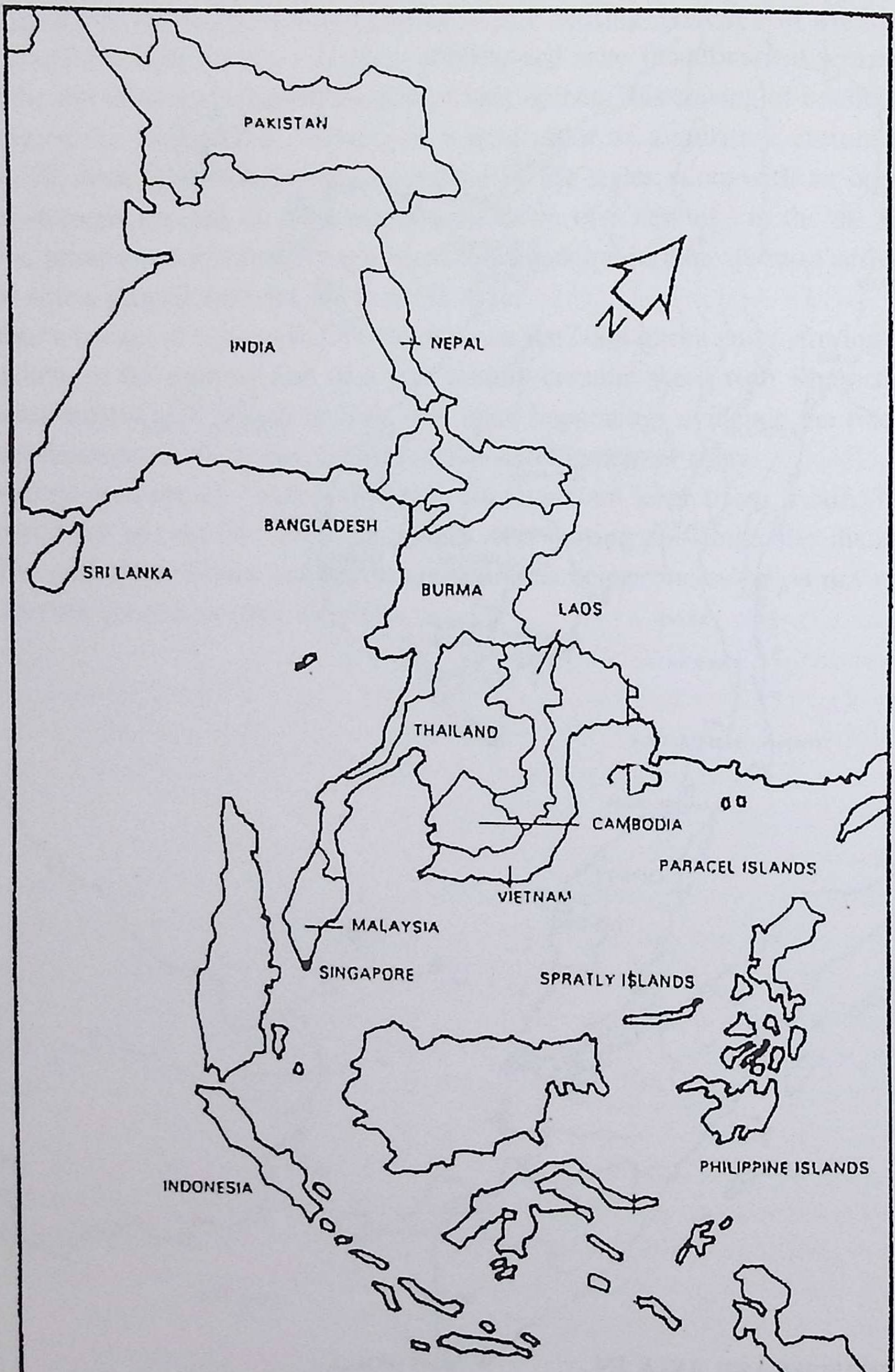
Kauṇḍinya's voyage to Cambodia, his victory over the Nāgī queen and marrying her to found the new kingdom, or the exciting find of a first century ceramic sherd with Kharosthi characters from the coastal region of Bangkah in Bali, and other happenings evidence the role of India in continuous acculturation of the region as well as the development of trade.

The Chinese concept of "barbarian" and sinocentrism kept them aloof. The Chinese ideograms could not put the SE Asian languages into writing and linguistic distance became separative. The concept of China and the Asean countries being "inclusive" is not vindicated by history, nor by their present cultural identities.



SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE FUNAN AGE

Hsi River
NAN-HAI
Red River
VIETNAMESE
TON-KING (CHIAO-CHIH)
HAI-NAN
Irrawaddy River
PYUS
MONS
Chao Phraya River
Mekong River
SOUTH CHINA SEA
CHIN-LIN
Lopburi
Mun River
Mi-s'on
TUN-SUN
KHMERS
CHEN-LA
LIN-YI
CHAMS
Vo-canh
KO-LO
Ba Phnom
Angkor Borei
Vyadhapura
Phnom Da
Oc-eo
P'AN P'AN
Takuapa
TAMBRALINGA
LANGKASUKA
CH'IH-T'U
TAN-TAN
Strait of Malacca
YEH-P'O-T'I
KO-YING
JAVA SEA
Sunda Strait
HO-LO-TAN/T'O
SHE-P'O


PAKISTAN
N
INDIA
NEPAL
BANGLADESH
SRI LANKA
BURMA
LAOS
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
PARACEL ISLANDS
VIETNAM
MALAYSIA
SINGAPORE
SPRATLY ISLANDS
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
INDONESIA

29. HOW SANSKRIT WAS TAUGHT IN CLASSICAL INDONESIA

(Saḥ Vṛkṣaḥ & Mātṛkākṣara Rāmāyaṇa)

The first part ***Saḥ vṛkṣaḥ*** is termed *lĕṅkṛta* (= *alaṅkāra*) in the Singaraja lontar at Kirtya Gedung (CIII/425). There are five lontars or palmleaf manuscripts: Leiden Cod. 3965, 5082, 5087, 5134, and CIII/425 of Kirtya Gedung at Singaraja. This text was published by Sylvain Lévi in 1933 in his *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (pages 93–103) without the OJ renderings and comments. He termed it Caritra Rāmāyaṇa (p.93) which is not correct. It is a text on literary stylistics. None of the alaṅkāras has been named. The paragraphs have been numbered 1–77 for clarity. Similies are introduced by '*iva* paḍanya', which is rendered by Zoetmulder as 'it is comparable with' (Ślokāntara, Tantri Kāmandaka, etc). Similies also begin with '*yathā* nihan paḍanya' (nos.6, 14, 18, 28, 42, 44, 52, 56, 60, 62). The explanations end with *ya, iya, siddha ya, byakta ya* 'it is clear'. *Lakṣaṇa* occurs frequently in the sense of 'mark, distinctive attribute, characteristic quality', but no *lakṣaṇa* has been specified. *Siddha ya* means that the details of the alaṅkāra have been explained. *Siddha* is a grammatical term. The declined form of a noun or the conjugated form of a verb has to be proved by the application of several sutras of Pāṇini. It is called *rūpa-siddhi*, which is an integral part of the Indian study of the Pāṇinian system in its complexities of perfection.

Dr. Dvivedi told me on 30 March 1981 that there are such exercise texts like *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* in the libraries of Baroda and Jodhpur.

The second part of the lontars is **Mātṛkākṣara Rāmāyaṇa** which runs into 51 verses, each beginning with a letter of the Sanskrit alphabet (*mātṛkā*). Sylvain Lévi titled it 'Caritra Rāmāyaṇa (Kavi Jānakī)'. Pigeaud (1970:2.645) describes it as: Kawya-Janaki: "LOr 10.553–S–45.260, 34 × 21 cm, 53p., 31.5 × 13.5 cm romanized 36 lines. Kawya Janaki, Soeg. copy of a manuscript from Bali (Kirtya no.425), Sanskrit dictionary, CB46, also: BCB portf. no.43B". Sylvain Lévi did not realize that the text beginning with *saḥ ahaṁ* on pp.103–07 is a commentary on the Mātṛkākṣara Rāmāyaṇa.

SAḤ VṚKṢAḤ

1. *Saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ tiṣṭḥati* lagi ya di| *tat kānanaṁ* ikaṅ alas | *kusumitaṁ* makambaṅ iya | *tasmin kānane kusumite* naṅkana lagi ya | *sā latā* ikaṅ udvad | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *taṁ vṛkṣaṁ sā latā saṁśritā* an parāśraya ya | *sā latā saṁśṛitā bhavati* siddha ya |

वृक्षः कुसुमिते कानने तिष्ठति। लता वृक्षं संश्रिता भवति।

2. *saḥ gajaḥ* ikaṅ liman | *abhihataḥ* sinimbat iya | deniṅ apa| *saḥ vṛkṣah* ikaṅ kayu | *tena vṛkṣeṇa* de nika sinimbati iya | *nipatitaḥ* tiba ya | *saḥ gajaḥ abhihataḥ nipātitaḥ bhavati* siddha ya|

वृक्षः गजेन अभिहतः निपतितः भवति।

3. *tat jalaṁ* ikaṅ vvai | *deyaṁ* vinehakĕn iya | de saṅ (v.l. de niṅ) apa | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* saṅ hyaṅ Indra | *tena Śakreṇa* denira vinehakĕn iya aṅken endi | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu/ *tasmai vṛkṣāya* aṅkĕneṅkana vinehakĕn iya|*tat jalaṁ deyaṁ bhavati* | siddha ya|

शक्रेण वृक्षाय जलं देयं भवति।

4. *saḥ tvaṁ* kita *samañjaraṁ* ikaṅ taṅke sakusuma ya *kusumena saha* | *kusuma* ikaṅ kĕmbaṅ| *saha* mvaṅ ika ya | *taṁ samañjaraṁ sakusumaṁ* | *saḥ tvaṁ* hana ya an halap ya | saṅka ndi | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *tasmāt vṛkṣāt* saṅke rika an halap ya | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ Kayu| *tasya vṛkṣasya sā śākhā* paninya unnata mahananya | *sā śākhā unnatā* | hyaṅ kayu ujaraṅku iri kita|

तत् समञ्जरं सकुसुमम्। वृक्षस्य शाखाः उन्नताः।

5. *saḥ tvaṁ kampase* cala kita | *kiṁ kāraṇaṁ* apa kāraṇan ta cala | tat cala kita | liṅ ta | apan uṅvankv alavas kita | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikan kayu *vāt-āvanamr-āgraḥ* ya | *vāt-āvanamr-āgraḥ agraṁ* agra tuṅtuṅ ya | *vātāvanamra* ya | *vātāvanamraḥ: vāta* ikaṅ aniṅ | de nika *avanamraṁ* tinukulakĕn ya| *vikāsāt puṣpa-rañjitaḥ* ya | *vikāsat puṣpeṇa rañjitaḥ* | *vikāsāt caitat puṣpaṁ ceti*| *puṣpa* ikaṅ kĕmbaṅ | *vikāsāt* sumkar ya denika | *rañjitaḥ* hinaturakĕn iya (v.l. maturakĕn iya) | *saḥ vṛkṣah vāt-āvanamr-āgraḥ vikāsāt puṣpa-rañjitaḥ* | *bhāti* mahalĕp ya ndi|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas | *tasmin vane* naṅkana mahalĕp ya|

सः त्वं कम्पसे। किं कारणम्। वृक्षः वात-ावनम्र-ाग्रः विकासात् पुष्परञ्जितः वने भाति।

6. *yathā* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ Kārttavīryaḥ* saṅ Arjuna *sahasra-bāhuḥ dhṛt-āyudhaḥ* sira| *dhṛtam āyudhaṁ tena* | *āyudhaṁ* ikaṅ sañjata | *dhṛtaṁ* dhināraṇa ya de nira| *saḥ Kārttavīryaḥ dhṛtāyudhaḥ bhāti* mahalĕp sira ndi | *tat yuddham* ikaṅ tĕgal palagan| *tasmin yuddhe* naṅkana mahalĕp sira |

यथा कार्त्तवीर्यः सहस्र-बाहुः धृतायुधः भाति युद्धे।

7. *te vihagāḥ* ikaṅ manuk | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *puṣpa-phal-opetaḥ* ya|*puṣpa-phalābhyām upetaḥ* | *puṣpa-phalo puṣpaṁ ca phalaṁ ca* | *puṣpa* ikaṅ kĕmbaṅ | *phala* ikaṅ vvah | denika *upetaḥ* kinalagyan iya | *gandhavān* iya | *gandhaṁ tasmin asti gandhavān* ya | *asti* hana ya | *manoharaḥ* kahyunhyunnya | *taṁ vṛkṣaṁ puṣpa-phal-opetaṁ gandhavantaṁ manoharaṁ te vihagāḥ prāpya* pinaṅguhnya pva ya | *taṁ vṛkṣaṁ te vihagāḥ prāpya śrayante* an parāśraya ya

विहगाः पुष्प-फल-ोपेतं गन्धवन्तं मनोहरं वृक्षं प्राप्य श्रयन्ते।

8. *iva* nihan paḍanya|*te puruṣāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ *dīnāḥ* duḥkha ya|*saḥ dhaneśvaraḥ* ika saṅ sugih | *taṁ dhaneśvaraṁ prāpya* pinaṅguh pva ya | *taṁ vṛkṣaṁ dhaneśvaraṁ te puruṣāḥ prāpya śrayante* an parāśraya ya|

[यथा] दीनाः पुरुषाः वृक्षं धनेश्वरं प्राप्य श्रयन्ते।

9. *te khagāḥ* ikaṅ manuk | *kaṣṭāḥ* maṅlayaṅ iya | *te khagāḥ kaṣṭāḥ ākṛṣyante* vinatĕkakĕn ya | deniṅ apa| *saḥ vṛkṣah* ikaṅ kayu *snigdha-parṇaḥ* ya| *snigdhaṁ parṇaṁ tasya*| *parṇaṁ* rvan ya| *snigdhaṁ* rahayu ya| *viṭap-occita-śākhā tasya asti*| *viṭap-occita-śākhā viṭap-occitā caitat sā śākhā ceti*| *śākhā* pannya | *viṭap-occitā* ya *viṭapena uccitā*| *viṭapaḥ* ikaṅ pāṅ vinsul (v.l. viṅkul) denika *uccitā* kinalagyan iya| *tena vṛkṣeṇa snigdha-parṇena viṭap-occita-śākhinā* denika vinatĕkakĕn iya |

कष्टाः खगाः स्निग्ध-पर्णेन विटपोच्चित-शाखिना वृक्षेण आकृष्यन्ते।

10. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *te yācakāḥ* saṅ apātra *kaṣṭāḥ* kāmāha sira | *te yācakāḥ kaṣṭāḥ ākṛṣyante* vinatĕkakĕn sira de saṅ apa | *saḥ pumān* ika saṅ mahārddhika | *dātā* sira *dātum tat śīlam*| *śīlaṁ* śīla nira bvat veveh śīla nira | *tena puṁsā dātrā* denira vinatĕkakĕn sira |

[यथा] कष्टाः याचकाः दात्रा पुंसा आकृष्यन्ते।

11. *te alayaḥ* ikaṅ tavvan ('bee') *hṛṣṭāḥ* sukha iya | *te alayaḥ hṛṣṭāḥ spṛhayanti* mahyun iya aṅkĕn ndi | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *stavakāḍhyaḥ* ya | *stavakena āḍhyaḥ* | *stavaka* ikaṅ puṣpa-saṅhyata | mataṅyan *āḍhya* viśeṣa ya | *samantāt lakṣaṇam* iṅ (v.l.ikaṅ) pūrvādi lakṣaṇanya | *gandhavati* ya *gandhaṁ vahati*|*gandhaḥ* ikaṅ vaṅ iya | *vahati* vinavanya ya | *tasmat vṛkṣāya stavak-āḍhyāya gandhavāhine* aṅkeneṅkana mahyun iya|

हृष्टाः अलयः स्तबकाढ्याय गन्ध-वाहिने वृक्षाय स्पृहयन्ति।

12. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *te janāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *hṛṣṭāḥ* sukha ya ndi | *bhūḥ* ikaṅ lmah| *tasyāṁ bhuvi* naṅkana sukha ya | *te janāḥ hṛṣṭāḥ spṛhayanti* mahyun ya aṅken di|saṅ *vidvān* saṅ paṇḍita| *tasmai viduṣe* aṅken di sira mahyun ya|

[यथा] भुवि हृष्टाः जनाः विदुषे स्पृहयन्ति।

13. *saḥ tvaṁ* kita| *samañjaraṁ* ikaṅ taṅkai | *taṁ mañjaraṁ saḥ tvaṁ* hana ya | an halap riya| saṅka ndi | *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu| *bhramara-saṅgītaḥ* ya | *bhramareṇa saṅgītaḥ* | *bhramara* ikaṅ tavvan | denika *saṅgītaḥ* kiniduṅan ya | *latāśliṣṭaḥ* ya *latayāśliṣṭaḥ*| *latā* ikaṅ udvad | denika *śliṣṭaḥ* rinaṅkapan iya | *supuṣpitaḥ* makambaṅ iya | *tasmāt vṛkṣāt bhramara-saṅgītāt latāsliṣṭāt supuṣpitāt* | saṅke rika an halap iya| *kṣipraṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇanya |

त्वं भ्रमर-संगीतात् लताश्लिष्टात् सुपुष्पितात् वृक्षात् मञ्जरम् क्षिप्रम् आनय।

14. *yathā* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ dūtaḥ* ikaṅ kinonkon sagih ikaṅ ujar *taṁ giraṁ* | *saḥ dūtaḥ* hana ya anhalap iya ndi | *saḥ nṛpaḥ* saṅ ratu | *yasmāt nṛpāt* saṅke sira anhalap ya | *kṣipraṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇanya |

[यथा] दूतः गिरं नृपात्।

15. *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *sarpa-juṣṭaḥ* ya *sarpeṇa juṣṭaḥ* | *sarpa* ikaṅ ulā | denika *juṣṭaḥ* rinaṅkĕpan iya| *hṛdyaḥ* kahyunhyun iya | apa hetu| *te anyabhṛta-svanāḥ* | *anyabhṛta* ikaṅ kuvon| *svanaḥ* śabdanya | *te anyabhṛta*[1]*-svanaiḥ* nahan hetu kahyunhyun iya | *tasya vṛkṣasya sarpa-juṣṭasya hṛdyasya* | *tāḥ śākhāḥ* pāṅnya | *puṣp-ojjvalāḥ* ya| *puṣpeṇa ujjvalāḥ* | *puṣpa* ikaṅ kambaṅ | denika *ujjvalāḥ* sateja ya | *tāḥ śākhāḥ puṣpojjvalāḥ bhānti* mahalap ya |

तस्य सर्पजुष्टस्य हृद्यस्य वृक्षस्य पुष्पोज्ज्वलाः शाखाः अन्यभृत-स्वनैः भान्ति।

16. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ rājā* saṅ ratu | *tasya rājñaḥ tāḥ nāryaḥ* vini nira| *ujjvalāḥ* sateja sira|*tāḥ nāryaḥ ujjvalāḥ bhānti* mahalĕp sira |

[यथा] राज्ञः उज्ज्वलाः नार्यः भान्ति ।

17. *saḥ aliḥ* ikaṅ tavvan | *tiṣṭhati* lagi ya ndi| *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* ikaṅ kayu | *kusumitaḥ* makambaṅ iya | *akampraḥ* tan cala ya | *tasmin vṛkṣe kusumite akampraḥ* naṅkana lagi ya|*saḥ kokilasvanaḥ*

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[1] *anyabhṛta* = *parabhṛta* 'koil'.

kokilasya svanaḥ | *kokila* ikaṅ kuvoṅ | *svanaḥ* śabdanya | *taṁ kokila-svanaṁ saḥ aliḥ śrutvā* an rĕṅo ya | rinĕṅonya pva ya | *mūrcchitaḥ* glāna ya | *saḥ aliḥ śrutvā mūrcchitaḥ bhavati* |siddha ya |

अलिः कुसुमिते अकम्प्रे वृक्षे कोकिल-स्वनं श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितः भवति।

18. *yathā* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *rāgī* ya | *rāgaḥ tasya asti* | *rāgaḥ* hyunnya| *asti* hana ya | *sā lāvuvīṇā* | *lāvunā yuktaḥ lāvu caiṣā vīṇā ceti* | *lāvu* ikaṅ vuluh / *vīṇā* ikaṅ kindĕṅ denika *yuktaḥ* sinaṁyoga ya / *tasyāḥ lāvu-vīṇāyāḥ saḥ svanaḥ* śabdanya / *taṁ svanaṁ saḥ naraḥ śrutvā* anrĕṅö ya | rinĕnön ya pva ya *mūrcchitaḥ* glāna ya | *saḥ naraḥ rāgī śrutvā mūrcchitaḥ bhavati* / siddha ya|

[यथा] रागी नरः लावु-वीणायाः स्वनं श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितः भवति।

19. *he vṛkṣa* kitaṅ kayu| ujaraṅkva ri kita | *saḥ tvaṁ tiṣṭha* lagya kita | apa lagyaṅkva hayva kita gave hunaṅku | *saḥ tvaṁ* kita | *saḥ ahaṁ* i ṅhulun| *viyogī* aku *viyoga tasya asti* | *viyoga* papasahku | *asti* hana ya | *tasya mama viyoginaḥ saḥ utkaṇṭhaḥ* unaṅku | *tat utkaṇṭhaṁ saḥ tvaṁ* akasih anvatek naya ndi | *idaṁ kāntāraṁ* | teṅah niṅ alas | *asmin kāntāre* maṅkana anvatĕk naya | apa kāraṇa | *tāni sva-kusumāni* ikaṅ kĕmbaṅ | *taiḥ sva-kusumaiḥ* | nahan kāraṇa | atvatĕkakĕn ya | majaṅan hayva kita maṅkana|

हे वृक्ष त्वं तिष्ठ। अहं वियोगी। मम वियोगिनः कान्तारे स्वकुसुमैः उत्कण्ठां [मा अकार्षीः।]

20. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ candramāḥ* saṅ hyaṅ vulan | *saḥ utkaṇṭhaḥ* unaṅ niṅ jagat| *tam utkaṇṭhaṁ saḥ candramāḥ akārṣīt* | atvatĕkakna ya ndi | *idaṁ kāntāraṁ* teṅah niṅ ākāśa | *asmin kāntāre* naṅkana atvatĕkna ya|apa kāraṇa| *te kiraṇāḥ* ikaṅ teja/ *taiḥ kiraṇaiḥ* nahan kāraṇa amvatĕkakna ya| majaṅan hayva kita maṅkana|

[यथा] चन्द्रमाः कान्तारे किरणैः उत्कण्ठं अकार्षीत्।

21. *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini| *pīna-stana-śroṇī* ya| *pīna-stana-sroṇyoḥ tayoḥ* | *stanāś ca śroṇī* ca| *stanaḥ* susunya| *śroṇi* piṅgaṅnya | pisane agöṅ iya| *rūpa-yuktā* ya | *rūpeṇa yuktā* | *rūpaṁ* ikaṅ rūpa rahayu denika yuktā | pinaṅ yuktakĕn iya| *vilāsinī* ya *vilāsaḥ tasya asti*| *vilāsaḥ* vajiknya| *asti* hana ya| *te narāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*teṣāṁ nṛṇām tat manaḥ* manahnya| *tat manaḥ sā kāntā pīna-stana-śroṇi rūpa-yuktā vilāsinī harati* hanalap iya ndi| *ayaṁ lokaḥ* ikaṅ loka| *asmin loke* kana analap iya|

अस्मिन् लोके पीन-स्तन-श्रोणी रूप-युक्ता विलासिनी कान्ता नृणां मनः हरति।

22. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *sā rambhā* ikaṅ vidyādharī śrī rambhā| *taiḥ marutaiḥ* ikaṅ hyaṅ| *teṣāṁ marutāṁ*| *tat manaḥ* manaḥ nira|*tat manaḥ sā rambhā harati* analap iya ndi| *sā dyuḥ* ikaṅ svarga | *tasyāṁ divi* kana analap iya|

[यथा] दिवि रम्भा मरुतां मनः हरति।

23. *saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini|*guṇavatī* ya | *guṇaḥ* ikaṅ guṇa *asti* hana nya| *sādhvī* ikaṅ sādhu mahārddhika ya| *śaśi-vaktrā* ya|*śaśi iva vaktraṁ tasyāḥ*| *vaktraṁ* mukha| *śaśī iva* kadi vulan iya | *manoharā* kahyunhyun iya | *tāṁ kāntāṁ guṇavatīṁ sādhvīṁ śaśi-vaktrāṁ manoharāṁ saḥ naraḥ labdhvā* an paṅguh | pinaṅguhnya pva ya| *prahṛṣṭaḥ* sukha ya|*saḥ naraḥ labdhvā prahṛṣṭaḥ bhavati*| siddha ya|

नरः गुणवतीं साध्वीं शशि-वक्त्रां मनोहरां कान्तां लब्ध्वा प्रहृष्टः भवति।

24. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ vāsavaḥ* saṅ hyaṅ Indra | *sā Ahalyā* saṅ Ahalyā | *tāṁ Ahalyāṁ saḥ Vāsavaḥ labdhvā* an paṅguh nira pva | sira *prahṛṣṭaḥ* sukha sira | *saḥ vāsavaḥ labdhvā prahṛṣṭaḥ bhavati*| siddha ya|

[यथा] वासवः अहल्यां लब्ध्वा प्रहृष्टः भवति।

25. *saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ *sevyamānaḥ* sinevita |deniṅ apa| *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini | *sābharaṇā* ya *ābharaṇena saha* | *ābharaṇaṁ* ikaṅ bhūṣaṇa| *saha* mvaṅ ika ya| *śīl-ācār-ānuyuktā* ya *śīlaś ca ācāraś ca*| śīla ikaṅ śīla rahayu|*ācāra* ikaṅ maryādā yukti| denika *anuyukta* pinayuktakĕn iya | *tayā kāntayā sābharaṇayā śīl-ācār-ānuyuktayā* denika sinevita ya| *saḥ naraḥ sevyamānaḥ bhāti* mahalĕp iya|

साभरणया शील-ाचार-ानुयुक्तया कान्तया सेव्यमानः नरः भाति।

26. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ Maheśvaraḥ* bhaṭāra Maheśvara | *sevyamānaḥ* sinevita sira | de saṅ apa|*sā Umā* bhaṭārī Umā | *tayā Umayā* denira sinevita sira | *saḥ Maheśvaraḥ sevyamānaḥ bhāti* mahalĕp sira | denira *sevyamānaḥ bhāti* |

[यथा] उमया सेव्यमानः महेश्वरः भाति।

27. *saḥ puruṣah* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *kāmī* ya *kāmaḥ tasya asti* | *kāmaḥ* hyunnya | *asti* hana ya | *tat kusumaṁ* ikaṅ kambaṅ | *taṁ kusumaṁ saḥ puruṣaḥ kāmī dadāti* an vehakĕn iya | aṅkĕn ndi | *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini | *smita-vaktrā* ya *smita-yuktaṁ vaktraṁ tasyāḥ*| *vaktraṁ* mukhanya | *smita-yuktaṁ* ya | *smitena yuktaṁ* ya| *smitaṁ* ikaṅ guyu | denika *yuktaṁ* pinayuktakĕn iya | *manohara-vapuh-śrī tasyā manohara-vapuṣaḥ śrī* | *tasyā vapuḥ* avaknya| *śrī* hayunya | *manohara* kahyunhyun iya | *tasyai kāntāyai smita-vaktrāyai manohara-vapuḥ-śriyai* aṅken ṅkana an vehakĕn iya|

कामी पुरुषः स्मित-वक्त्रायै मनोहर-वपुः-श्रियै कान्तायै कुसुमं ददाति।

28. *yathā* nihan paḍanya| *saḥ Arjunaḥ* saṅ Arjuna / *tat kusumaṁ* ikaṅ kambaṅ| *tat kusumaṁ saḥ Arjunaḥ dadāti* an vehakĕn iya| aṅkĕn endi| *sā Subhadrā*| dhayam (v.l. saṅ) Subhadrā| *tasyai Subhadrāyai* aṅkĕn ṅkana vinehakĕn ya|

[यथा] अर्जुनः सुभद्रायै कुसुमं ददाति।

29. *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *Vyāsaḥ yathā* kadi bhagavān Vyāsa ya| *rūpa-nikāma-bandhaḥ kāmaḥ bandhati* | *kāmaḥ* ikaṅ hyun ya| *bandhana* hati inikĕtnya ya| *saḥ puruṣaḥ Vyāsaḥ yathā bibheti* matakut ya| saṅka ndi | *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini| *priya-vādinī* ya *priyaṁ vacanaṁ vadati* | *vacanaṁ* ikaṅ ujar| *priyaṁ* enaka rĕnö ya| *vadati* inujarakĕn ya| *rūpaṁ tasyā asti*| *rūpaṁ* rūpanya| *asti* hana ya| *cala-bhruvaḥ calati bhrūḥ tasyāḥ*| *bhrūḥ* alisnya| *calati* cala ya | *tasyāḥ kāntāyāḥ priya-vādinyaḥ rūpavatyaḥ calabhruvaḥ* saṅka rika matakut ya| *sadā lakṣaṇaṁ* lanā lakṣaṇanya|

रूप-निकाम-बन्धः कामः बन्धति। पुरुषः प्रिय-वादिन्याः रूपवत्याः चलभ्रुवः कान्तायाः बिभेति, यथा व्यासः।

30. *saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini| *bhrū-vilāsinī* ya *bhrū-vilāsaḥ tasyāḥ asti* | *bhrū-vilāsaḥ bhruvaḥ vilāsaḥ* | *bhrū* alisnya | *vilāsaḥ* vajiknya | *asti* hana ya | *tasyāḥ kāntāyāḥ bhrū-vilāsinyāḥ dvandvatā-rahitāyāḥ dvandvatayā rahitā*| *dvandvatā dvandvaṁ tasya bhāvaḥ*| ta dadi ni paṅrvarvanya | de nira *rahitaḥ* tiningalakĕn iya| *te narāḥ dvandvatā-rahitāḥ mṛyante* māti ya|*ca* byakta ya|

द्वंद्वता-रहिताः नराः भ्रूविलासिन्या कान्तया म्रियन्ते ।

31. *iva* nihan paḍanya | *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *mīnāriḥ* ya *mīnānāṁ ariḥ*| *mīna* ikaṅ ivak| *ariḥ* musuhnya ya| *śūrpakaḥ* ya *śūrpeṇa yuktaḥ*| *śūrpaḥ* ikaṅ susug denika *yuktaḥ* pinaṅyuktah keni ya| *sā kumudavatī* ikaṅ lvaḥ (river)| *kumudavatī tasyāḥ kumudavatyaḥ dvandvatā-rahitāyāḥ*| *dvandvatā dvandvaṁ tasya bhāvaḥ* kadadi niṅ parvarvanya | denika *rahitaḥ* tiniṅgalakĕn iya | *saḥ puruṣaḥ mīnāriḥ śūrpaka-dvandvatā-rahitaḥ mriyate* mati ya|*ca* byakta ya|

[यथा] मीनारिः शूर्पकः पुरुषः द्वंद्वता-रहितः कुमुदवत्यां म्रियते।

32. *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *kāmukaḥ* darpa (passionate Z.) ya| *tasya kāmukasya tat vacaḥ* ujarnya| *tat vacaḥ tiṣṭhati* lagi ya ndi| *sā kantā* ikaṅ vini| *bahu-vākyāyā* ya *bahūni vākyāni tasyāḥ*| *vākyāni* ujarnya| *bahūni* makveh ya| *svaira* manicchā ya| *tasyāṁ kāntāyāṁ bahu-vākyāyāṁ svairāyāṁ* kana (cf. ṅkana 'there') lagi ya| *cira-lakṣaṇaṁ* alavas lakṣaṇanya| *na* tan kana ya|*ca* byakta ya|

कामुकस्य पुरुषस्य वचः बहुवाक्यायां स्वैरायां कान्तायां न चिरलक्षणम्।

33. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *saḥ Rāvaṇah* saṅ Rāvaṇa *tasya Rāvaṇasya tat vacaḥ* ujar ira | *tat vacaḥ tiṣṭhati* lagi ya ndi| *sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā | *tasyāṁ Sītāyāṁ* kana lagi ya | *cira-lakṣaṇaṁ* alavas lakṣaṇanya | *na* tan maṅkana ya|*ca* byakta ya | *he kānte* ikaṅ vini ujaraṅkva iri kita| *he lalita-lāvaṇye* kita *lalita-lāvaṇyā tvaṁ* | *tvaṁ* kita | *lalita-lāvaṇye* kita *lalitā caiṣā lāvaṇyā ceti*| *lalitā* mavajik kita mvaṅ *lāvaṇyā* masĕṅit kita| ujaraṅkva iri kita| *saḥ ahaṁ* aku *tat samāgataṁ* ikaṅ patmu| *saha* kalavan ikaṅ patmu| *sā tvaṁ* kita ta ya|*tvayā saha* lavan ika ikaṅ patmu| *tvat samāgataṁ saḥ ahaṁ labdhvā* an paṅguh ya | pinaṅguhku pva ya| *hṛṣṭaḥ* sukha aku| *saḥ ahaṁ labdhvā hṛṣṭaḥ asmi* dadi aku bahuda[1] | *lakṣaṇam api* lagi lakṣaṇaṅku|

रावणस्य वचः सीतायां न च चिरलक्षणं — हे कान्ते, हे ललित-लावण्ये त्वया सह समागतं लब्ध्वा हृष्टः अस्मि।

34. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *saḥ abhimārakaḥ* saṅ ratu| *abhimārakaḥ tat samāgataṁ* ikaṅ patmu| *saha* kalavan apa| *sā kuraṅgī* ḍayaṅ[2] kuraṅgī ta ya| *kuraṅgyā saha* kalavan ika ikaṅ patmu *tat samāgataṁ*| *saḥ abhimārakaḥ labdhvā* an paṅguh ya| pinaṅguh nira pva ya| *hṛṣṭaḥ* sukha sira| *saḥ abhimārakaḥ labdhvā hṛṣṭaḥ bhavati*| siddha ya|

[यथा] अभिमारकः कुरंग्या सह समागतं लब्ध्वा हृष्टः भवति।

35. *saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy| *vāta-cala-dhūmaḥ* ya| *vāta-cala-dhūmaḥ tasya*| *dhūmaḥ* kukusnya| *vāta-calaṁ* ya *vātena calaṁ*| *vāta* ikaṅ aṅin| denika *calaṁ* cala ya| *bhāskara* ya *bhāsaṁ karoti*| *bhāḥ* ikaṅ teja ya| *karoti* ginavenya ya| *tat timiraṁ* ikaṅ ptĕṅ| *tattimiraṁ saḥ agni-vāta-cala-dhūmaḥ bhāskaraḥ hanti* an hilaṅakĕn iya|

अग्नि-वात-चल-धूमः तत्तिमिरं भास्करः हन्ति।

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[1] having affairs with other's wife (Śl. 32.4 *dārātikrama ṅaranya vvaṅ ambahud aṅris*).

[2] *ḍayaṅ* 'female of an animal' Z.

36. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *saḥ muniḥ* sirāmpu| *jātaḥ* dadi sira|saṅka ndi| *tat mātṛ-pārśva mātuḥ pārśvaṁ*| *mātā* saṅ ibu| *pārśvaṁ* lambuṅ ira| *tasmāt mātṛ-pārśvāt* saṅke rika dadi sira|*saḥ muniḥ jātaḥ bhāti* mahalĕp sira| ri sĕḍĕṅnyan apa| *tāni manvantarāṇi manūnāṁ antarāṇi*| *manavaḥ* saṅ vatĕk Manu| *antarāṇi* pāntara nira| *teṣu manvantareṣu* ri sĕdeṅnyan maṅkana mahalĕp sira|

[यथा] मातृ-पाश्र्वात् जातः मुनिः मन्वन्तरेषु भाति।

37. *te dvijāh* saṅ brāhmaṇa *sevyāḥ yuktāḥ* sinivin sira| *saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy|*śuṣk-endhan-āsaktaḥ* ya| *śuṣk-endhanena āsaktaḥ*| *śuṣkaṁ indhanam*| *indhanaṁ* ikaṅ tahen| *śuṣkaṁ* hakiṅ iya| denika *āsaktaṁ dīptaṁ* dumilah ya|*yajña-kriy-ārpitaḥ* ya|*yajña-kriyayā arpitaḥ*| *yajña-kriyā yajñasya kriyā*| *yajña* ikaṅ pūjā| *kriyā* kagavayanya| naṅkana *arpitaḥ* katur iya| *taṁ agniṁ śuṣk-endhan-āsaktaṁ dīptaṁ yajña-kriy-ārpitaṁ te dvijāḥ sevyāḥ* pariyanti an liput iya|

शुष्केन्धनासक्तं दीप्तं अग्निं यज्ञ-क्रिय-ार्पितं सेव्याः ते द्विजाः परियन्ति।

38. *iva* nihan paḍanya|*te svakiraṇāḥ* ikaṅ teja|*saḥ raviḥ* saṅ hyaṅ Āditya| *taṁ raviṁ te svakiraṇāḥ pariyanti* an liput iya|

[यथा] रविं स्वकिरणाः परियन्ति।

39. *te mṛgāḥ* ikaṅ kidaṅ| *te mṛgāḥ pratapyante* pinanasan iya|de saṅ apa|*saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy| *ghṛtena siktaḥ*| *ghṛtaṁ* ikaṅ miñak|denika *siktaḥ* dinyusi ya| *jvalitaḥ* dumilah ya| *sphuliṅgī* ya *sphuliṅgaṁ tasya asti*|*sphuliṅga* latu-latu ya|*asti* hana ya| *tena agninā ghṛta-siktena jvalitena sphuliṅginā* denika pinanasan iya riṅ ĕṇḍi|*tat dāvaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*tasmin dāve* kana pinanasan iya|

घृत-सिक्तेन ज्वलितेन स्फुलिंगिना अग्निना मृगाः दावे प्रतप्यन्ते।

40. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *te bhaṭāḥ* ikaṅ vadva tinambar|*pratapyante* pinanasan iya| de niṅ apa|*saḥ ariḥ* ikaṅ musuh| *tena ariṇā* de nika pinanasan iya| ndi *saḥ raṇaḥ* ikaṅ tĕgal palagan| *tasmin raṇe* kana pinanasan iya|

[यथा] भटाः अरिणा रणे प्रतप्यन्ते।

41. *tat indhanaṁ* ikaṅ tahĕn|*dātavyaṁ* vinehakĕn iya| de saṅ apa|*saḥ dvijaḥ* saṅ brāhmaṇa| *tena dvijena* de nira vinehakĕn iya|aṅkĕn ĕndi|*saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy| *manda-bhāsaḥ* iya| *mandaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ bhā tasya*|*bhā* tejanya|*mandaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* alon lakṣaṇa nya|*tasmai agnaye manda-bhāsāya* aṅkara ṅkana vinehakĕn iya| *śīghraṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇanya| *tat indhanaṁ dātavyaṁ bhavati*|siddha ya|

द्विजेन मन्दभासाय अग्नये इन्धनं शीघ्रं दातव्यं भवति।

42. *yathā* nihan paḍanya|*tat toyaṁ* ikaṅ vvai *dātavyaṁ* vinehakĕn iya|de saṅ apa|*saḥ śakraḥ* saṅ hyaṅ Indra|*tena śakreṇa* denira vinehakĕn iya| aṅken endi|*saḥ udadhiḥ* ikaṅ tasik| *vaḍavāmukha* iya|*vaḍavā-mukhaṁ tasmin asti*|*vaḍavā-mukhaṁ* ikaṅ apuy|*vaḍavānala tasmin asti* hana ya iriya|*tasmai āḍhye vaḍavā-mukhe* aṅkanaṅkana vinehakĕn iya|*śīghraṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇanya| *tat toyaṁ dātavyaṁ bhavati*|siddha ya|

यथा शक्रेण उदधौ वडवामुखे आढ्ये वडवानले तोयं शीघ्रं दातव्यं भवति।

43. *te sphuliṅgāḥ* ikaṅ latulatu|*sa dyuḥ*[1] ikaṅ ākāśa| *taṁ divaṁ te sphuliṅgāḥ udgatāḥ* an halivat[2] iya|saṅk kandi *agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy|*udgīrṇāḥ dhūm-oghāḥ* ya|*udgīrṇāḥ dhūm-oghāḥ tasya dhūmānāṁ oghāḥ*|*dhūmaḥ* kukusnya|*oghaḥ* samuhanya|*udgīrṇāḥ* vṛddhi ya| *tasmāt agneḥ udgīrṇa-dhūm-aughāt* saṅke rika an kalivat iya|*te sphuliṅgāḥ udgatāḥ bhavanti*|siddha ya|

उद्गीर्ण-धूमौघात् अग्नेः स्फुलिंगाः दिवम् उद्गताः भवन्ति।

44. *yathā* nihan paḍanya|*te pakṣiṇah* ikaṅ manuk|*kāñcanaḥ* mās ya|*sa dyuḥ* ikaṅ svarga| *taṁ divaṁ te pakṣiṇaḥ udgatāḥ* an kalivat iya|saṅka ndi|*saḥ Himādriḥ* ikaṅ gunuṅ Himavān| *dīpta-śikharaḥ* ya|*dīptaṁ śikharaṁ tasya*| *śikharaṁ* puñcaknya|*dīptaṁ* sateja ya|*tasmāt Himādreḥ dīpta-śikharāt* saṅke rika an kalivat iya|*te pakṣiṇah udgatāḥ bhavanti*|siddha ya|

यथा दीप्तशिखरात् हिमाद्रेः पक्षिणः काञ्चनं दिवं उद्गताः भवन्ति।

45. *saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy| *jvālā-māl-ākula-dyutiḥ* ya| *jvālā-māl-ākulā dyutiḥ tasya*|*dyutiḥ* tejanya|*jvālā-māl-ākulā* ya| *jvālā-mālā* ya *ākula jvālāyāḥ mālā*|*jvālā* ikaṅ dilah|*mālā* samuhanya| denika *ākulā* pinĕnuhan ya| *tasya agneḥ jvālā-māl-ākula-dyuteḥ te dhūmāḥ* kukusnya|*caṇḍ-ānil-oddhūtāḥ* ya *caṇḍ-ānilaḥ caṇḍāś ceṣāḥ anilāś ceti*| *anilaḥ* ikaṅ aṅin| *caṇḍāḥ* adrēs ya|denika *uddhūtāḥ* binvaṅakĕn ya| *sā kṣitiḥ* ikaṅ lĕmah|*tasyāḥ kṣiteḥ vitānānīva* kadi vitānanya ya| *te dhūmāḥ caṇḍ-ānil-oddhūtāḥ vitānāni iva vibhānti* mahalĕp iya|ndi *tat gaganaṁ* ikaṅ ākāśa|*tasmin gagane* kana mahalĕp ya|

ज्वाला-माल-ाकुल-द्युतेः अग्नेः धूमाः चण्ड-ानिलोद्धूताः क्षितेः वितानानि इव गगने भान्ति।

46. *te śalabhāḥ* ikaṅ larularu| *rūpa-lolupāḥ*| *rūpaṁ* ikaṅ rūpa|rahayu rūpa niṅ apuy, naṅkana *lolupāḥ* mahyun ya|*te pakṣāḥ* ikaṅ hĕlar| *tān pakṣān te śalabhāḥ vitatya* anaturakĕn ya ndi|*saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy| *bhāskara-dīpt-ābha* ya *bhāskara-dīptena sahābhaḥ*|*bhāskara-dīptaṁ bhāskarasya dīptam*| *bhāskara* saṅ hyaṅ āditya|*dīptaṁ* teja-nira|*saha* kalavan ika|*ābhaḥ* paḍa ya|*tasmin agnau bhāskara-dīpte* kana an aturakĕn ya|inaturanya pva ya|*te śalabhāḥ rūpa-lolupāḥ vitatya naśyanti* mati ya|

रूप-लोलुपाः शलभाः भास्कर-दीप्त-ाभे अग्नौ पक्षान् वितत्य नश्यन्ति।

47. *iva* nihan paḍanya|*te puruṣāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *dīnāḥ* dukkha ya|*ta pakṣāḥ* ikaṅ taṅan|*tān pakṣān te puruṣāḥ vitatya* an haturakĕn ndi|*saḥ dhanapatiḥ* saṅ sugih|*tasmin dhanapatau* kāna an haturakĕn ya|*te puruṣāḥ dīnāḥ vitatya naśyanti* māti ya|

[यथा] दीनाः पुरुषाः धनपतौ पक्षान् वितत्य नश्यन्ति।

48. *saḥ agniḥ* ikaṅ apuy|*svāpitaḥ* piniduduk[3] ya|deniṅ apa|*saḥ vartakā-potakaḥ vartakāyāḥ potakaḥ*|*vartakā* ikaṅ puyuh vadvan[4]|*potakaḥ* anaknya|*tena vartakā-potakena* denika piniduduk ya|*he agniḥ* kita kamuṅ hyaṅ apuy ujaraṅkva iri kita|*saḥ tvaṁ tiṣṭha* lagya kita|apa mataṅ nyan

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[1] 'heaven' Z.

[2] pass along.

[3] "Piḍuḍukan appears to be a preparatory ceremony, which precedes the principal one (wedding, initiation, etc.) and has a purificatory and (magically) strengthening function" Z.

[4] Female quail.

lagya|apan ta ya bapaṅku|*saḥ ahaṁ* aku|*tasya me saḥ pitā* bapaṅku|*gataḥ* luṅha sira| *jaṅgamaḥ* maṅlakulaku sira|*saḥ pitā gataḥ jaṅgamaḥ asti* hana sira|*adyakāle* irikaṅ kāla maṅke ya|*na* tan maṅkana|*sthitaḥ* lagi ya|*saḥ agniḥ svāpitaḥ sthitaḥ bhavet* dadi ya|*eva* byakta ya|

वर्तका-पोतकेन अग्निः स्वापितः — हे अग्ने त्वं तिष्ठ। मे पिता जङ्गमः गतः। अद्यकाले अग्निः स्वापितः स्थितः भवेत्।

49. *sā nadī* ikaṅ lvah|*vāt-oddhata-jalā* ya *vāt-oddhataṁ jalaṁ tasyāḥ*|*jalaṁ* vvainya|*vāt-oddhataṁ* ya *vātena uddhataṁ*|*vātaḥ* ikaṅ aṅin|denika *uddhataṁ* binvaṅakĕn[1] ya|*druta-veg-ormi-saṅkulā* ya *druta-vegaś ca saḥ ūrmiś ceti*|*ūrmiḥ* ryaknya|*druta-vegaḥ* ya *drutaṁ* lakṣaṇam *vegaḥ tasyāḥ*|*vegaḥ* drĕsnya|*drutaṁ* lakṣaṇam śīghra lakṣaṇanya|denika *saṅkula* pinĕnuhanya|*saḥ udadhiḥ* ikaṅ tasik|*taṁ udadhīṁ sā nadī vāt-oddhata-jalā druta-veg-ormi-saṅkulā niścarati*|*gacchati* an halivat[2] iya|

वातोद्धत-जला द्रुत-वेगोर्मि-संकुला नदी उदधिं गच्छति।

50. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *sā nārī* ikaṅ vini|*aśrāntā* tan maṅĕli ya|*saḥ patiḥ* ikaṅ svāmī / *kuśalaḥ* vidagdha ya / *taṁ patiṁ kuśalaṁ sā nārī aśrāntā gacchati* an kalivat iya|

[यथा] नारी कुशलं पतिं अश्रान्ता गच्छति।

51. *te haṁsāḥ* ikaṅ bañak|*saṁhṛṣṭāḥ* sukha ya|*sā nadī* ikaṅ lvah|*ramya-taṭ-ābhogā* ya *ramyaḥ taṭābhogaḥ tasyāḥ ramya-taṭ-ābhogaḥ*|*taṭam* tĕpinya|*ābhogaḥ* bhinuktinya ṅkana|*ramyaḥ* konaṅunaṅ iya|*dṛśy-āntar-jala-mīnakaḥ* ya *dṛśyaḥ antar-jala-mīnaḥ tasya antar-jale mīnāḥ*|*antar-jalaṁ* teṅaḥ niṅ vvainya *mīna* ivaknya ṅkāna|*tāṁ nadīṁ ramya-taṭ-ābhogāṁ dṛśy-āntar-jala-mīnakāṁ te haṁsāḥ saṁhṛṣṭāḥ caranti* an kalivat iya|

हंसाः रम्प-तट-ाभोगां दृश्यान्तर्जल-मीनकां नदीं संहृष्टाः चरन्ति।

52. *yathā* nihan paḍanya|*te sattvamantaḥ* saṅ mahān|*saṁhṛṣṭāḥ* sukha sira|*saḥ muniḥ* sira mpu|*taṁ muniṁ te sattvamantaḥ saṁhṛṣṭāḥ caranti* an kalivat sira|

[यथा] सत्त्वमन्तः संहृष्टाः मुनिं चरन्ति।

53. *saḥ veṇuḥ* ikaṅ ho|*saḥ veṇuḥ ākṣipyate* binvaṅakĕn ya|deniṅ apa|*sā nadī* ikaṅ lvah| *ambud-odara-jala-pūrṇā* ya *ambud-odara-jalena pūrṇā*|*ambud-odara-jalaṁ ambud-odarasya jalaṁ*|*ambudodaraṁ ambudasya udaraṁ*|*ambudaḥ* ikaṅ megha|*udaraṁ* vĕtĕṅ nya|*jalaṁ* vvainya|denika *pūrṇaḥ* pinĕnuhan ya|*sita-phena* ya *sitaḥ phenaḥ tasyāḥ*|*phenaḥ* vṛhnya|*sitaḥ* aputih ya|*tayā nadyā ambud-odara-jala-pūrṇayā sita-phenayā* denika binvaṅakĕn ya|*te vegāḥ* ikaṅ drĕs|*taiḥ vegaiḥ* nahan kāraṇa binvaṅakĕn ya|

नद्यः अम्बुद-ोदर-जल-पूर्णायाः सित-फेनायाः वेगैः वेणुः आक्षिप्यते।

54. *iva* nihan paḍanya|*saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*kāmukaḥ* darpa ya|*saḥ puruṣaḥ kāmukaḥ ākṣipyate* binvaṅakĕn ya|deniṅ apa|*sā dūtī* ikaṅ kinonkon|*tayā dūtyā* denika binvaṅakĕn ya|apa kāraṇa|*tāni vākyāni* ikaṅ ujar|*taiḥ vākyaiḥ* nahan kāraṇa binvaṅakĕn ya|

[यथा] कामुकः पुरुषः दूत्याः वाक्यैः आक्षिप्यते।

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[1] *bvaṅ* 'fling away, carry off (wind), rout' Z.

[2] *halivat, livat* 'to pass by, travel along' Z.

55. *saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*śuciḥ* haradin[1] iya|*saḥ naraḥ śuciḥ rocate* mahyun ya|aṅkĕn ĕndi|*sā nadī* ikaṅ lvah| *pulina-sañcadi* ya *pulinaṁ sañcayati*|*pulinaṁ* ikaṅ nuṣa|*sañcayati* tinutupan iya| *toyoghā* ya *toyānāṁ oghāḥ*| *toyaṁ* ikaṅ vvai| *oghaḥ* samūhanya| *tasyāḥ nadyaḥ pulina-sañcayaiḥ toyoghaiḥ* aṅkĕneṅ kana mahyun iya| *atyarthaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* atiśaya lakṣaṇa nya| *nityaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* lanā lakṣaṇanya|

तस्याः नद्यः पुलिन-संचयैः तोयोघैः शुचिः नरः रोचते।

56. *yathā* nihan paḍanya| *saḥ kaviḥ* saṅ viku| *saḥ kaviḥ rocate* (manuscript *rocyante*) mahyun sira aṅkĕn ĕndi| *sā Sarasvatī* bhaṭārī Sarasvatī| *tasyai Sarasvatyai* aṅkĕnĕn kana mahyun iya| *atyarthaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* atiśaya lakṣaṇanya| *nityaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* lanā lakṣaṇanya|

[यथा] कविः सरस्वत्यै रोचते।

57. *te janāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *te janāḥ viramanti* surud iya| saṅka ndi| *sā nadī* ikaṅ lvah| *calan-mahāvīci* ya *calan-mahāvīci tasyāḥ vīci* ryak nya| *calamahati* ya *calaś caiṣā mahatī ceti*| *cala* ya mvaṅ mahātīra ya vastu ya| *gambhīra* ajro ya| *samanta-lakṣaṇaṁ*| ikaṅ pūrvādi lakṣaṇanya| *tasyāḥ nadyaḥ calan-mahāvīcyāḥ gambhīrāyāḥ* saṅke rikan surud iya| *śīghraṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇanya|

जनाः चलन्महावीच्याः गम्भीरायाः नद्यः विरमन्ति।

58. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *tāpasāḥ* saṅ tāpa|*viramanti* surud iya|saṅka ndi|*sā taruṇī* saṅ tapi| *tasyāḥ taruṇyāḥ*|saṅke rika surud sira|*śīghraṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇanya|

[यथा] तापसाः तरुण्याः विरमन्ति।

59. *sā nadā* ikaṅ lvah| *salila-pūrṇā* ya *salilena pūrṇā*|*salila* ikaṅ vvai|denika *pūrṇā* pinĕnuhan iya| *tasyāḥ nadyaḥ salila-pūrṇāyāḥ tat tīra-dvayaṁ*| *tīrayoḥ dvayaṁ tīre tīraṁ ca tīraṁ ca* tambinnya kalih| *dvayaṁ* marvanya| *śubhaṁ* rahayunya| *dṛṣṭam* katon iya| deniṅ apa| *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *kāmī* ya *kāmaḥ tasya asti*| *kāmaḥ* hyunnya| *asti* hana ya| *tena puruṣeṇa kāminā* denika katon iya| *paścāt lakṣaṇam*| *tat tīra-dvayaṁ śubham dṛṣṭaṁ bhāti* mahalĕp iya| *paścāt lakṣaṇaṁ* saṅke sor lakṣaṇanya|

सलिल-पूर्णायाः नद्यः शुभं तीरद्वयं कामिना पुरुषेण दृष्टं भाति।

60. *yathā* nihan paḍanya| *sā kāntā* ikaṅ vini| *tasyāḥ kāntāyāḥ tat ūru-dvayaṁ*| *ūru-dvayaṁ ūruś ca ūruś ca* pupūnya kalih| *dvayaṁ* parvanya|*śubham* rahayu ya|*dṛṣṭaṁ* katon iya|deniṅ apa|*saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*kāmī* ya *kāmaḥ tasya asti*| *asti* hana ya| *tena puruṣeṇa kāminā* denika katon iya| *tat ūru-dvayaṁ śubhaṁ dṛṣṭaṁ bhāti* mahalĕp iya| *paścāt lakṣaṇaṁ* saṅke vuri lakṣaṇanya|

यथा कामिना पुरुषेण कान्तायाः शुभं ऊरुद्वयं दृष्टं भाति।

61. *saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *patan* tibā yādi| *sā nadī* ikaṅ lvah| *tvarita-vegā* ya *tvaritaḥ vegaḥ tasyāḥ*|*vegaḥ* drĕsnya|*tvaritaḥ* magya ya|*sambhrama* maputran[2] iya| *tasyāṁ nadyāṁ tvarita-vegāyāṁ sambhramāyāṁ* naṅkana tiba ya| *dṛṣṭaḥ* katon iya| deniṅ apa| *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|

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[1] *radin* 'clean, cleansed of all impurities'.

[2] *putĕr* 'turning, gyrating'.

kaścit asiṅ avakanya| *tena puruṣeṇa kenacit* denika katon iya| *mṛtaḥ* mati ya| *na* tan maṅkana| *saḥ naraḥ patan dṛṣṭaḥ mṛtaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|

केनचित् पुरुषेण त्वरित-वेगायां संभ्रमायां नद्यां पतन् नरः मृतः दृष्टः।

62. *yathā* nihan paḍanya|*saḥ bakaḥ* manuk si baka| *patan* tiba ya di| *sā bhāgīrathī* ikaṅ Gaṅgā| *tasyāṁ bhāgīrathyāṁ* kana tiba ya| *dṛṣṭa* katon iya| de saṅ apa| *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *kaścit* asiṅ avakanya| *tena puruṣeṇa kenacit* denika katon iya| *mṛtaḥ* mati ya| *na* tan maṅkana ya|*saḥ bakaḥ patan dṛṣṭaḥ mṛtaḥ bhavati*| siddha ya|

यथा केनचित् पुरुषेण भागीरथ्यां पतन् बकः दृष्टः मृतः भवति।

63. *he nadi* ikaṅ lvah ujaraṅkva iri kita|*he śīt-ācchа-toy-āḍhye śītāccha-toyāḍhyā* kita| *śītāccha-toyena āḍhyā*|*śīt-āccha-toyaṁ śītācchaṁ toyaṁ*|*toyaṁ* ikaṅ vvai|*śītācchaṁ* ya *śītaṁ cetat śītaṁ ceti*|*śītaṁ* atis ya| mvaṅ *acchaṁ* ahniṅ iya|matańyan hadyā (v.l. adva) viśeṣa kita ujaraṅkva iri kita| *sā tvam* kita| *he kumud-otpala-maṇḍite*|*kumud-otpala-maṇḍitā tvaṁ*|*tvaṁ* kita|*kumud-otpala-maṇḍitā* kita *kumud-otpalābhyāṁ maṇḍitā*| *kumud-otpale kumudañ ca utpalañ ca*| *kumudaṁ* ikaṅ kumuda|*utpalaṁ* ikaṅ nīlotpala| denika *maṇḍitā* bhinuṣaṇan kita| ujaraṅkva iri kita|*sā tvaṁ* kita| *te sattvoghāḥ*|*sattvāḥ* ikaṅ sarva sattva|*oghaḥ* samuhanya|*tat sattvaughān satvān prahlādayasi* yat[1] paharṣuka ya|

हे नदि, शीत-ाच्छ-तोय-ाढ्ये, हे कुमुदोत्पल-मण्डिते त्वं सत्त्वौघान् प्रह्लादयसि।

64. *iva* nihan paḍanya| *sā Draupadī* saṅ Dropadī| *te Pāṇḍavāḥ* saṅ Pāṇḍava| *tān Pāṇḍavān sā Draupadī prahlādayati* an paharṣuka[2] sira|

[यथा] पाण्डवान् द्रौपदी प्रह्लादयति।

65. *te haya-gaja-rathāḥ hayaś ca gajaś ca rathaś ca*| *hayaḥ* ikaṅ kuda| *gaja* ikaṅ liman| *rathaḥ* ikaṅ giliṅan|*saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ | *taṁ puruṣaṁ te haya-gaja-rathāḥ nivartayanti* an surudakĕn iya| saṅka ndi| *saḥ mṛtyuḥ* ikaṅ pati| *tasmāt mṛtyoḥ* saṅke rika an surudakĕn iya di| *saḥ lokaḥ* ikaṅ rāt kabeh *iha loke* kāna an surudakĕn iya| *na* tan maṅkana| *ca* nihan vaneh| *te mantri-mukhyāḥ, mantrī* saṅ apatih, *mukhyāḥ* viśeṣanya sira| *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *taṁ puruṣam*| te *mantri-mukhyāḥ nivartayanti* an surudakĕn iya| saṅka ndi| *saḥ mṛtyuḥ* ikaṅ pati| *tasmāt mṛtyoḥ* saṅke rika an surudakĕn iya| di *saḥ lokaḥ* ikaṅ rat kabeh|*iha loke* kana an surudakĕn iya| *na* tan maṅkana|*ca* nihan vaneh| *tāḥ hiraṇya-koṭyah hiraṇyānāṁ koṭyaḥ*| *hiraṇyāni* ikaṅ mās| *koṭyaḥ* pakoṭi-koṭinya| *Himavat-pratimāḥ Himavān eva pratimāḥ*| *Himavān* ikaṅ gunuṅ Himavān|*eva pratimāḥ* ya paḍanya| *saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *taṁ puruṣaṁ tāḥ hiraṇya-koṭyaḥ himavat-pratimāḥ nivartayanti* an surudakĕn iya| saṅka ndi| *saḥ mṛtyuḥ* ikaṅ pati|*tasmāt mṛtyoḥ* saṅke rika an surudakĕn iya di| *saḥ lokaḥ* ikaṅ rāt kabeh| *iha loke* kana an surudakĕn iya| *na* tan maṅkana ya| ya ta matańyan| maṅke liṅaṅkv-eri kita|

हय-गज-रथाः पुरुषं मृत्योः [न] निवर्तयन्ति। इह लोके न च मन्त्रिमुख्याः पुरुषं मृत्योः निवर्तयन्ति। इह लोके न च हिरण्य-कोट्यः हिमवत्-प्रतिमाः पुरुषं मृत्योः निवर्तयन्ति।

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[1] *yat* = *yan*.

[2] *harṣuka* ‘gladdening’ Z.

66. *he kamala-dalākṣa*| kita bhagavān *kamaladalākṣaḥ tvaṁ*|*tvaṁ* kita|*kamala-dalākṣa* kita *kamalaṁ iva akṣi tasya akṣimān* ta|*kamala-dalaṁ iva* ya|*kamalasya dalaṁ*, *kamalaṁ* ikaṅ padma|*dalaṁ* lavolavonya|*iva* kadi|kaya ujaraṅkva iri kita| *saḥ tvaṁ* kita|*saḥ ātmā* ikaṅ avak| *tasya ātmanaḥ tāni priyāṇi*|*saḥ tvaṁ* kahyunta|*tāni priyāṇi saḥ tvaṁ cara* an kalivat iya|

हे कमलदलाक्ष त्वम् आत्मनः प्रियाणि चर।

67. *te narāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *teṣāṁ narāṇāṁ tat bhayaṁ* takutnya|*iti* liṅnya matakut|*tat maraṇaṁ* ikaṅ pati|*tat maraṇaṁ bhavati*|siddha ya|*mahātrāsa-vastu* ya|*tat bhayaṁ mahat bhavati*|siddha ya|

नराणां भयं मरणं भवति महात्रास-वस्तु। भयं महत् भवति।

68. *yadyapi* yan maṅkana| *api ca* maṅke juga ya| *tat maraṇāni* ikaṅ pati|*sevitavyaṁ* sinevita ya|deniṅ apa|*saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*tena puruṣeṇa* denika sinevita ya|apa hetu|*saḥ kāla-vaśaḥ kāla* ta ya niṅ pati|*tat maraṇaṁ asti* hana ya di|*saḥ jīva-lokaḥ* ikaṅ rāt kabeh|*tasmin jīvaloke jīvaḥ* ikaṅ urip|kana hana ya|*na* tan maṅkana ya| maṅkana pva ya ta|*he kamala-dalākṣa*|*tat śarīraṁ* ikaṅ avak| *pavana-capala-cañcalaṁ* ya|*pavana-capalaṁ iva cañcalaṁ*|*cañcalaṁ* cala ya|*pavana-capalaṁ pavanasya capalaṁ*|*pavanaḥ* ikaṅ aṅin|*capalaṁ* calanya|*iva* kadi kaya|*tat śarīraṁ pavana-capala-cañcalaṁ bhavati*|siddha ya|

यद्यपि पुरुषेण मरणं सेवितव्यम्। सः कालवशः। मरणमस्ति जीवलोके। हे कमलदलाक्ष शरीरं पवन-चपल-चञ्चलमिव।

69. *ca* nihan vaneh|*tat śarīraṁ* ikaṅ avak|*tat śarīraṁ dhāryate* dhinārāṇa ya|deniṅ apa| *saḥ pavana-vaśaḥ pavanasya vaśaḥ*|*pavana* ikaṅ aṅin|*pañca-vāyu-vaśaḥ pavanasya tena pavana-vaśena*|denika dhinārāṇa ya|*ca* nihan vaneh|*saḥ pavanaḥ* ikaṅ aṅin|*pañca-vāyu tat śarīraṁ* ikaṅ avak|*mṛtaṁ* mati ya|*tat śarīraṁ mṛtaṁ saḥ pavanaḥ tyajati* an tiṅgalakĕn ya|maṅkana pva ya|*he kamala-dalākṣa*|

शरीरं च पञ्च-वायु-वशं पवन-वशेन धार्यते। मृतं पञ्च-वायु-शरीरं पवनः त्यजति हे कमलदलाक्ष।

70. *saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ* saṅ Rāvaṇa|*Daśaratha-suta-viprayoga-kartā* sira|*Daśaratha-suta-viprayogasya kartā*|*Daśaratha-suta-viprayogaḥ*|*Daśaratha-sutaḥ Daśarathasya sutaḥ*| *Daśarathaḥ* saṅ Daśaratha|*suta* anaknira|saṅ Rāma|*viprayogaḥ* papasah nira|mvaṅ saṅ Sītā|*kartā* kagavayanya sira|*Daśa-śira-dhṛk* sira| *daśa-śira-dhṛtavān* ya| *daśa-śiraḥ* | *śiraḥ* ikaṅ hulu|*daśa* sapulu ya| ya *dhṛtavān* dhinārāṇa sira ya|*mahātmā* sira *mahān ātmā tasya*|*ātmā* nira *mahān* raya|vastu[1] ya| *lavaṇa-jala-parigrahaḥ*[2] sira| *lavaṇa-jala eva parigrahaḥ*| *lavaṇa-jalaṁ* ikaṅ tasik asin[3] | *eva parigrahaḥ* ya pagöṅira| *vinaṣṭaḥ* mati sira | *saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ Daśaratha-suta-viprayoga-kartā daśa-śira-dhṛk mahātmā lavaṇa-jala-parigrahaḥ vinaṣṭaḥ bhavati*| siddha ya|

रावणः दशरथसुत-विप्रयोग-कर्ता दश-शिर-धृक् महात्मा लवणजल-परिग्रहः विनष्टः।

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[1] *vastu ya* ‘it is a veritable fact’.

[2] master of oceans.

[3] *asin* ‘salt’.

71. *ete nṛpāḥ Nahuṣa-Yayāti-Dhundhumārāḥ*|*nṛpaś ca, Nahuṣaś ca, Yayātiś ca, Dhundhumāraś ca*|*nṛpāḥ* saṅ ratu|*nṛpa-Nahuṣaḥ* saṅ ratu Nahuṣa|*Yayātiḥ* saṅ ratu Yayāti|*Dhundhumāraḥ* saṅ ratu Dhundhumāra|*te nṛpa-Nahuṣa-Yayāti-Dhundhumārāḥ bhavanti*| siddha ya| *ca* nihan vaneh| *te Sagara-Dilīpa-Kṛśāśva-Yauvanāśvāḥ Sagaraś ca, Dilīpaś ca, Kṛśāśvaś ca, Yauvanāśvaś ca*|*Sagaraḥ* saṅ ratu Sagara|*Dilīpaḥ* saṅ ratu Dilīpa / *Kṛśāśvaḥ* saṅ ratu Kṛśāśva|*Yauvanāśvaḥ* saṅ ratu Yauvanāśva|*te Sagara-Dīlipa-Kṛśāśva-Yauvanāśvāḥ bhavanti*|siddha ya| *nātanaṁ* ika kabeh|*te sarve* ika kabeh|*sa-haya-gaja-rathāḥ* ya|*haya-gaja-rathāḥ hayaś ca, gajaś ca, rathāś ca*|*hayaḥ* ikaṅ kuda|*gajah* ikaṅ liman|*rathaḥ* ikaṅ ratha|*saha* mvaṅ ika ya|*saḥ raṇaḥ* ikaṅ tĕgal palagan|*tasmin raṇe* kana mvaṅ ika ya|*vipannāḥ* mati ya|*te sarve sa-haya-gaja-rathāḥ vipannāḥ bhavanti*|siddha ya|*ete pārthivāḥ* saṅ ratu|*amita-bala-parākrama-dyutayaḥ* sira| *amita-bala-parākrama-dyutayaḥ teśāṁ*|*balaṁ ca, parākramaś ca, dyutiś ca*|*balaṁ* vadvanya|*te nara-varāḥ, nara-varaḥ tvaṁ*|*tvaṁ* kita|*nara-varaḥ* kita *narāṇāṁ varaḥ*|*naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*varaḥ* viśeṣa nya kita|ujaraṅkva iri kita|*te pārthivāḥ* saṅ ratu|*sa-sainyāḥ saha sainyāni* ikaṅ vadva| *saha* mvaṅ ika ya|*tat nidhanaṁ* ikaṅ pati|*tat nidhanaṁ te pārthivāḥ gatāḥ* an kalivat iya|*te pārthivāḥ sa-sainyāḥ gatāḥ bhavanti*|siddha ya|

एते नृपाः नहुष-ययाति-धुन्धुमाराः, एते सगर-दिलीप-कृशाश्व-यौवनाश्वाः सर्वे सहय-गज-रथाः रणे विपन्नाः। एते पार्थिवाः अमित-बल-पराक्रम-द्युतयः नर-वराः। एते पार्थिवाः ससैन्याः निधनं गताः।

72. *ete sattvamantaḥ* saṅ mahān|*saḥ udadhiḥ* ikaṅ tasik|*api* ikaṅ tasik| *apāram* (ms. sapara) tan anantāsana ya| *na* tan maṅkana| *tam udadhiṁ*| *te sattvamantaḥ caranti* an kalivat iya|*api* nihan vaneh| *te puruṣāḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *dhīrāḥ* vani ya| *tāni giri-śikharāṇi girīṇāṁ śikharāṇi*| *girayaḥ* ikaṅ gunuṅ|*śikharāṇi* puñcaknya|*tāni giriśikharāṇi te puruṣāḥ laṅghayanti* an laṅghaneya|*tāni vastūni* ikaṅ vastu|*duṣkarāṇi* meveh ya|*vyavasita-sulabhāni* ya|*vyavasitaḥ puruṣaḥ*|*puruṣeṇa vyavasitena sulabhāni*|*puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*vyavasitaḥ* utsāha ya|denika *sulabhāni* pinakeman iya|*tāni vastūni duṣkarāṇi vyavasita-sulabhāni bhavanti*|siddha ya| maṅkana pva ya | matannyan he|

सत्त्वमन्तः अपारं उदधिं अपि चरन्ति। धीराः गिरि-शिखराणि लंघयन्ति। दुष्कराणि वस्तूनि व्यवसित-सुलभानि।

73. *asau* (manuscript asĕm, aso) *divākaraḥ* saṅ hyaṅ āditya|*bhagavān* sira *bhagaṁ tasya asti*|aṣṭa-guṇa nira|*asti* hana ya|*kanaka-mayūkha* iva sira, *kanakasya mayūkhaḥ*|*kanakaṁ* ikaṅ mās|*mayūkhaḥ* tejanya|*iva* kadi sira|*rūpa* niṅ *pradīptaḥ* sateja sira|*asau* (v.l. teṣām) *divākaraḥ bhagavān kanakamayūkha iva udayati* umtu sira ndi|*tat ambaraṁ* ikaṅ ākāśa|*tasmin ambare* kana umtu sira|umtu pvaṅ āditya an hilaṅakĕn vĕṅi|*iyaṁ niśā* ikaṅ vĕṅi|*ravi-kiraṇa-hatā* ya *ravi-kiraṇena hatā bhavati*|siddha ya he|

असौ भगवान् दिवाकरः कनकमयूख इव प्रदीप्तः अम्बरे उदयति। निशा रवि-किरण-हता भवति।

74. *te arthāḥ* ikaṅ mās|*saḥ puruṣaḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*mṛtaḥ* mati ya|*taṁ puruṣaṁ mṛtaṁ te arthāḥ anucaranti* anhut ya di|*tat pṛṣṭhaṁ* ikaṅ valakaṅ|*tasmin pṛṣṭhataḥ* kana anhut ya|*na* tan maṅkana ya|*ca* nihan vaneh|*tat yauvanaṁ* ikaṅ kalituhayvan|*prabhraṣṭaṁ* ilaṅ ya|*tat yauvanaṁ prabhraṣṭaṁ vinivartati* maluy ya|*na* tan maṅkana ya|*ca* nihan vaneh|*tat manaḥ* ikaṅ manaḥ|

prahṛṣṭaṁ sukha ya|*tat manaḥ prahṛṣṭaṁ bhavati*|siddha ya|*sadā-lakṣaṇaṁ* lana lakṣaṇanya|*na* tan maṅkana ya he|

अर्थाः मृतं पुरुषं पृष्ठतः [न] अनुचरन्ति। न च प्रभ्रष्टं यौवनं विनिवर्तति। न च मनः प्रहृष्टं भवति।

75. *ṣaḥ lokaḥ* ikaṅ loka|*saḥ vanataruḥ vane taruḥ*|*vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*taruḥ* ikaṅ kayu|kana *taṁ vana-taruṁ saḥ lokaḥ rujati* an simbat ya|apa hetu|*tat phalaṁ* ikaṅ vvaḥ|*tena phalena* nahan hetu an sinambat iya|*ca* nihan vaneh|*te puruṣāh* ikaṅ vvaṅ / *mūrkhāḥ* mūrkha ya|*te budhāh* saṅ paṇḍita|*tān* (ms. tat) *budhān te puruṣāḥ mūrkhāḥ rujanti* an simbat iya|apa hetu|*saḥ guṇa-nicayaḥ guṇānāṁ nicayaḥ*|*guṇaḥ* ikaṅ guṇa|*nicayaḥ* samūhanya|*tena guṇa-nicayena* nihan hetu sinimbat iya|*ca* nihan vaneh|*te rogāḥ* ikaṅ lara roga|*saḥ naraḥ* ikaṅ vvaṅ|*balī* ya *balaṁ tasya asti*|*balaṁ* śaktinya|*asti* hana ya|*taṁ naraṁ balinaṁ te rogāḥ rujanti* an simbat iya he|

लोकः वनतरुं फलेन रुजति। मूर्खाः च पुरुषाः बुधान् गुण-निचयेन रुजन्ति। बलिनं नरं रोगाः रुजन्ति।

76. *saḥ Haladharaḥ* saṅ Baladeva| *saḥ Haladharaḥ vipadi*[1] maṅinum sira| *ca* nihan vaneh| *te nāgāḥ* ikaṅ ula| *te nāgāḥ vipadi* maṅinum sira| *ca* nihan vaneh| *saḥ Vaiśravaṇah* saṅ Vaiśravaṇa| *saḥ Vaiśravaṇaḥ vipadi* maṅinum sira| *ca* nihan vaneh| *saḥ Yamaḥ* saṅ Yama| *saḥ Yamaḥ vipadi* maṅinum sira| *ca* nihan vaneh| *saḥ rājā* saṅ ratu| *saḥ rājā vipadi* maṅinum sira| *ca* nahan vaneh| *saḥ Vararucih* saṅ

samāpta-Vedaḥ sira|*samāptaṁ Vedaṁ tasya*| *Vedaḥ* hajinira *samāptaḥ* vuvus nira| *saḥ Vararuciḥ samāpta-Vedaḥ vipadi* maṅinum sira| *he bhagavan* Kamaladalākṣa|

हलधरः विपदि, नागाः च विपदि, वैश्रवणः च विपदि, यमः च विपदि, राजा च विपदि, वररुचिः समाप्त-वेदः विपदि, हे भगवन् कमलदलाक्ष।

77. *tāḥ gāvaḥ* ikaṅ lĕmbu| *tat kṣititalaṁ*| *kṣitiḥ* ikaṅ lĕmah| *talaṁ* rataratanya| *atṛṇaṁ* tan padukut iya| *tat kṣiṭitalaṁ atṛṇaṁ tāḥ gāvaḥ tyajanti* aniṅgalakĕn iya| nihan vaneh| *sā kurarī* ikaṅ burvak| *tat saraḥ* ikaṅ talaga| *vinaṣṭa-toyaṁ* ya *vinaṣṭaṁ toyaṁ tasya*| *toyaṁ* vvainya| *vinaṣṭaṁ* asat iya| *tat saraḥ vinaṣṭa-toyaṁ sā kurarī tyajati* tiniṅgalakĕn iya| *ca* nihan vaneh| *te bhṛtyāḥ* ikaṅ vadva| *saḥ nṛpatiḥ* saṅ ratu| *aghṛṇaṁ* tan masih sira| *taṁ nṛpatiṁ aghṛṇaṁ te bhṛtyāḥ tyajanti* an tiṅgalakĕn sira| *ca* nihan vaneh| *tāḥ nāryaḥ* ikaṅ vini| *saḥ puruṣah* ikaṅ vvaṅ| *dhana-rahitaḥ* ya *dhanena rahitaḥ*| *dhanaṁ* ikaṅ mās| denika *rahitaḥ* tiniṅgalakĕn iya| *taṁ puruṣam dhana-rahitaṁ tāḥ nāryaḥ tyajanti* an tiṅgalakĕn iya|

गावः अतृणं क्षितितलं त्यजन्ति। कुररी विनष्ट-तोयं सरः त्यजति। भृत्याः अघृणं च नरपतिं त्यजन्ति। नार्यः धन-रहितं पुरुषं त्यजन्ति।

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[1] The manuscripts have the reading *vipati* in all the six contexts. It has been consistently translated as *maṅinum* 'he drinks' in all of them. I have preferred to restore *vipati* of the mss as *vipadi*, i.e. all of them are in some misfortune. Zoetmulder p.2288 gives the following note in *vidhi vipati*: <It refers to the gods' preparations for drinking the amṛta. This could be Indonesian Sanskrit for 'enforcement of the ritual prescriptions", but it is also possible that *vipati* means "to drink" (from Sanskrit *pibati*?) in accordance with later Balinese usage (see KBW s.v.) so that it would mean "the rules for drinking".>

(b) MĀTṚKĀKṢARA RĀMĀYAṆA

1. *Saḥ ahaṁ* aku| *tau Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau Rāmaś ca Lakṣmaṇaś ca*| *Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma| *Lakṣmaṇaḥ* saṅ Lakṣmaṇa| *sit-āsitau* sira *sitaṁ ca asitaṁ ca* | *sitaḥ* aputih saṅ Lakṣamaṇa mvaṅ | *asitaḥ* ahirĕṅ saṅ Rāma mvaṅ| *bhrātarau* sanak sira| *vicarantau* mamet sira di|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas| *tasmin vane* kana mamet sira| *yathā* kadyaṅgan saṅ Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa| *yathā* maṅkana ta saṅ Sītā| *sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā| *Janakātmajā* sira *Janakasya ātmajā*| *Janakaḥ* mahārāja Janaka| *ātmajā* anak nira sira| *tau Rāma-lakṣmaṇau sit-āsitau bhrātarau vicarantau tām Sītāṁ Janakātmajāṁ namaskṛtvā* an sambah sira| *saḥ ahaṁ namaskṛtvā asmi* dadi aku|

राम-लक्ष्मणौ भ्रातरौ नमस्कृत्वा सितासितौ।
वने तस्मिन् विचरन्तौ सीतां च जनकात्मजाम् ॥ १ ॥

2. *ca* byakta ya| *saḥ ahaṁ* aku| *tat Rāmāyaṇaṁ Rāmasya ayanaṁ*| *Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma| *ayanaṁ* kacarita nira| *dhanya-māṅgalyaṁ* ya *dhanyaṁ caitat, māṅgalyaṁ ceti*| *dhanyaṁ dhana-bhavaṁ*| *dhanaṁ* ikaṅ mās| kāna *bhavaṁ* dadi ya| mvaṅ *māṅgalyaṁ maṅgale bhavaṁ*| *maṅgalaṁ* ikaṅ maṅgala| kāna *bhavaṁ* dadi ya| *āyuṣyaṁ* ya *āyuṣaṁ bhavaṁ*| *āyuḥ* ikaṅ hurip| kana *bhavaṁ* dadi ya| *alakṣmī-kali-nāśanaṁ* ya| *alakṣmīḥ kaliḥ*| *alakṣmīś ca kaliś ca*| *alakṣmīḥ* tayan i śrī| kalih ikaṅ pāpa| *nāśanaṁ* kahilaṅnya ya| *mātṛkākṣara-yojitaṁ mātṛkākṣaraiḥ suyojitaṁ*| *mātṛkākṣarāḥ* ikaṅ takyatakyan svara-vyañjana| *tat Rāmāyaṇaṁ āyuṣyaṇ alakṣmī-kali-nāśanaṁ mātṛkākṣara-yojitaṃ*| *saḥ ahaṁ pravakṣyāmi* an hajarakĕn ya|

धन्यं माङ्गल्यं आयुष्यं अलक्ष्मी-कलि-नाशनम्।
रामायणं प्रवक्ष्यामि मातृकाक्षर-योजितम् ॥ २ ॥

3. *saḥ Ayodhyādhipatiḥ ayodhyāyāḥ adhipatiḥ*| *ayodhyāyām* ikaṅ kaḍatvan riṅ Ayodhyā| *adhipatiḥ* ratunya saṅ Daśaratha| *tasya Ayodhyādhipateḥ te putrāḥ* anak nira|*catvāraḥ* pāt sira| *sūrya-varcasaḥ* sira *sūryasya varcasaḥ iva*|*sūrya* saṅ hyaṅ Āditya| *varcasaḥ* teja nira|*iva* kadika sira|*Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Śatrughnāś ca*|*Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma ṅaran ika|*Lakṣmaṇaḥ* saṅ Lakṣmaṇa ṅaran ira|*Śatrughnaḥ* saṅ Śatrughna ṅaran ira|*te putrāḥ catvāraḥ sūrya-varcasaḥ Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Śatrughnāḥ bhavanti*|siddha ya|*ca* nihan vaneh|*saḥ Bharataḥ* saṅ Bharata| *mahābalaḥ* sira *mahān balaṁ tasya*|*balaṁ* śakti nira|*mahān* raya vastu ya|*saḥ Bharataḥ mahābalaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|

अयोध्य-ाधिपतेः पुत्राश् चत्वारः सूर्य-वर्चसः।
राम-लक्ष्मण-शत्रुघ्ना भरतश् च महाबलः ॥ ३ ॥

4. *te Daśarath-ātmajāḥ Daśarathasya ātmajāḥ*|*Daśarathaḥ* saṅ Daśaratha|*ātmajaḥ* anak nira|*sarve* kabeh sira|*ācāra-vinay-opetāḥ* sira *ācāra-vinayābhyām upetāḥ*|*ācāra-vinayau ācāraś ca vinayaś ca*|*ācāraḥ* ikaṅ maryādā yukti|*vinayaḥ* ika satyaṁ|denika *upetāḥ* kinalagyan ya| *satya-sandhāḥ* sira|*sandhāyām satyaṁ*|*sandhyā* ri kālanika|*satyaṁ* satya sira|*dṛḍha-vratāḥ* sira *dṛḍhaṁ vrataṁ teśām*|*vrataṁ* brata nira|*dṛḍhaṁ* atĕguh ya|*śūrāḥ* vani sira|*satya-pratijñāḥ* sira

satyā pratijñā teṣāṁ|*pratijñā* punagi nira|*satya* tuhu ya| *ca* byakta sirān maṅkana|*te Daśarathātmajāḥ sarve ācāra-vinay-opetāḥ satya-sandhāḥ dṛdha-vratāḥ śūrāḥ satya-pratijñāḥ bhavanti*| siddha ya|

आचार-विनय-ोपेताः सत्यसन्धा दृढव्रताः।
शूराश् च सत्य-प्रतिज्ञाः सर्वे दशरथ-ात्मजाः॥ ४॥

5. *saḥ Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma|*dṛḍha-vrataḥ* sira *dṛḍhaṁ vrataṁ tasya*|*vrataṁ* brata nira|*dṛḍhaṁ* atĕguh ya|*saḥ rājā* saṅ Daśaratha|*tasya rājñaḥ iṣṭaḥ* kahyunira ratvanira|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*tat vanaṁ saḥ Rāmaḥ saṁprasthitaḥ* an kalivat iya|apa hetu|*yā Kekayiḥ* saṅ Kekayī|*saḥ putraḥ* ikaṅ anak saṅ Bharata|*tasya putrasya hita-kāmya* sira *hita-kāmyaḥ*|*hitaṁ* sukhanya|*kāmya* kahyun sira|*tayā Kekayyā hita-kāmyayā* nahan hetu an kalivat iya|*tūrṇaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ* śīghra lakṣaṇa nira| *saḥ Rāmaḥ dṛḍha-vrataḥ iṣṭaḥ saṁprasthitaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|

इुत-काम्यया केकय्या स्व-पुत्र-हित-काम्यायाः।
दृढ-व्रतो राज्ञ इष्टो रामः संप्रस्थितो वनम्॥ ५॥

6. *saḥ Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma| *tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*tat vanaṁ saḥ Rāmaḥ saṁprasthitaḥ* an kalivat iya|apa hetu|*saḥ abhiṣekaḥ* dyus niṅ ratu|*īhitaḥ* kaglar ya|*tena abhiṣekena īhitena* nahan hetu an kalivat iya|*saḥ Rāmaḥ saṁprasthitaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|*cāpi* nihan vaneh|*sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā| *anugatā* tutut sira|*sādhvī* mahārddhika sira|*sā Sītā anugatā sādhvī bhavati*|siddha sira|*ca* nihan vaneh|*saḥ Lakṣmaṇaḥ* saṅ Lakṣmaṇa|*mahābalaḥ* sira *mahat balaṁ tasya*|*balaṁ* śakti nira| *mahat* raya vastu ya|*saḥ lakṣmaṇaḥ mahābalaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|

ईहितेन-ाभिषेकेन रामः संप्रस्थितो वनम्।
सीता चानुगता साध्वी लक्ष्मणश्च महाबलः॥ ६॥

7. *saḥ_Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma|*upavāsa-paraḥ* sira *upavāse paraḥ*|*upavāsaḥ* ikaṅ brata|kana *paraḥ* sakta sira|*tapasvī* sira *tapaḥ tasya asti*|*tapaḥ* tapa nira|*asti* hana ya|*saḥ Rāmaḥ upavāsaḥ tapasvī nyavasat* uṅguh sira|*saha* kalavan|apa *sabhāryayā* nira saṅ Sītā|ya ta *bhāryā* ya|*saha* kalavan ika umuṅguh sira|*saha* kalavan|apa vaneh|*saḥ bhrātā* ikaṅ vvaṅ sānak|*Lakṣmaṇaḥ* ṅaran ira saṅ Lakṣmaṇa|*tena bhrātrā Lakṣmaṇena saha* kalavan ika umuṅguh sira di|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*Daṇḍakaṁ nāma* ya ṅaranya riṅ Daṇḍaka|*tasmin vane Daṇḍake* kana umuṅguh sira|

उपवासपरो रामस् तपस्वी दण्डके वने।
न्यवसत् भार्यया सह भ्रात्रा लक्ष्मणेन सह॥ ७॥

8. *ṣaḥ rākṣasaḥ* ikaṅ rākṣasa|*Rāvaṇaḥ nāma* ya ṅaranira saṅ Rāvaṇa|*ūnaḥ* sor sira|deniṅ apa|*tat Rāma-vīryaṁ Rāmasya vīryaṁ*|*Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma|*vīryaṁ* vīrya nira|*tena Rāma-vīryeṇa* denika sor ya|*saḥ Rākṣasaḥ Rāvaṇaḥ nāma ūnaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|sor pva ya|

ऊनस् तु राम-वीर्येण रावणो नाम राक्षसः।
तत्र पराभव-कालो राक्षसानां उपस्थितः॥ ८॥

9, 10. *sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā|*apahṛtā* inalap sira|deniṅ apa|*saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ* saṅ Rāvaṇa|*duṣṭātmā* sira *duṣṭaḥ ātmā tasya*|*ātmā* buddhinya|*duṣṭah* mahala ya|*tena Rāvaṇena duṣṭātmanā* denika inalap sira|ndi *tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*tasmin vane* kāna inalap sira|apa lakṣaṇa|*tat chalaṁ* ikaṅ bañcana| *tena chalena* nahan kāraṇa inalap ya|*sā Sītā apahṛtā bhavati*|siddha ya|

saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ saṅ Rāvaṇa|*tat kṛtaṁ* ikaṅ gave|*dharma-samāyuktaṁ* ya *dharmeṇa samāyuktaṁ* ya|*dharmaḥ* ikaṅ dharma|denika *samāyuktaṁ* pinayuktakĕn ya|*tat ṛtaṁ dharma-samāyuktaṁ tyaktvā* an tiṅgalakĕn ya|apa hetu|*tat dharma* ikaṅ dharma|*pāpaṁ* ahala ya|*tenādharmeṇa pāpena* nahan hetu an tingalakĕn ya|*tataḥ paścāt* ri vĕkasan pva ya|*saḥ mātulaḥ* pamanya|saṅkeṅ ibu nāsi| *Mārīcaṁ nāma taṁ mātulaṁ saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ āgamya* an pare ya|*tat vākyaṁ* ikaṅ ujar lam nyan pojar|*tat vākyaṁ saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ tyaktvā āgamya abravīt* an ujarakĕn ya|*saḥ Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma|*Daśarathātmajaḥ* sira *Daśarathasya ātmajaḥ*|*Daśarathaḥ* saṅ Daśaratha|*ātmajaḥ* anaknya|*saḥ ahaṁ* aku|*tasya me tat ṝkāram* laraṅku|*mahat* raya vastu ya|*tat ṝkāram* mahā kāna umuṅgu ya|*saḥ Rāmaḥ Daśarathātmajaḥ hṛtvānumoda[te]* sukha ya|*saha* kalavan ika sukha ya|

ऋतं धर्म-समायुक्तं त्यक्त्वाधर्मेण पापेन।
तेन दुष्टात्मना सीता छलेनापहृता वने॥ ९॥
मारीचं मातुलं गत्वा रावणः वाक्यमब्रवीत्।
ॠकारां हृत्वा रामः दशरथात्मजः मोदते॥ १०॥

The long ṝ means 'heaven' and is also the name of Aditi, (MW). Rāvaṇa refers to Sītā as *Ṝ* or heaven. The OJ says that she is *laraṅ* 'inaccessible, withdrawn' (Z) to Rāvaṇa. Aditi is the mother of Ādityas and gods.

11. *saḥ Mārīcaḥ* si *Mārīca*|*lṛptaḥ* bhinūṣaṇan|deniṅ apa| *tat loma* ikaṅ vulu|*kāñcana-rūpaṁ* ya *kāñcanasya rūpam iva*|*kāñcanaṁ* ikaṅ mās|*rūpaṁ* rūpanya|*iva* kadi kāya|*lomnā kāñcana-rūpeṇa* denika bhinūṣaṇan ya|*bhūtvā* dadi ya|*mṛgaḥ* kidaṅ ya|*tadākāle* irikaṅ kāla|*sā Vaidehī* saṅ Sītā|*tāṁ Vaidehīṁ saḥ Mārīcaḥ lobhayitvā* an giraṅ-giraṅ ya|*saḥ Mārīcaḥ lṛptaḥ bhūtvā lobhayitvā vyāharat* mamet ya di|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*Daṇḍakaṁ nāma* ya ṅaranya|riṅ *Daṇḍaka*|*tasmin vane Daṇḍake* kanan mamet ya|

लृप्तो मृगो भूत्वा तदा, लोम्ना काञ्चन-रूपेण।
लोभयित्वा तां वैदेहीं, व्याहरद् दण्डके वने॥ ११॥

12. *saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ* saṅ Rāvaṇa|*sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā|*tat āsanam* ikaṅ palaṅka|*ḹkāram* hvi[1] ya|*tat āsanaṁ ḹkāraṁ sā Sītā upāsīnā* an kalagyan[2] iya| *kamalapatrākṣī* sira|*kamala-patram iva akṣī tasyāḥ*|*akṣi* mata nira|*kamala-patram iva* ya *kamalasya patraṁ*|*kamalaṁ* ikaṅ padma|padmaṁ lavolavonya|*iva* kadi ka sira|*tāṁ Sītāṁ upāsīnāṁ kamala-patrākṣīṁ saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ hṛtvā* analapnya|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*tasmin vane* kana analap ya|*tadākāle* irikaṅ kāla ya|*tat nabhas-talaṁ*|*nabhaḥ* ikaṅ ākāśa|*talaṁ* rataratanya|*tat nabhas-talaṁ saḥ Rāvaṇah hṛtvā upāgamat* an kalivat iya|

ॡकारां हृत्वा रावणः उपागमन्-नभस्तलम्।
सीतां कमलपत्राक्षीं उपासीनां वने तदा॥ १२॥

ḹ (long *ḹ*) means 'divine female' (MW)

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[1] *hvi* 'rattan'.

[2] *kalagyan* 'a religious establishment, prob. a permanent dwelling place for religious persons who occupy themselves with religious observances' Z.

13. *saḥ gṛdhraḥ* ikaṅ manuk|ri sĕḍĕṅ niṅ apa|ika manuk|*vitatāntaraṁ* hana si Rāvaṇa riṅ ākāśa|*etasmin antare* ri sĕḍĕṅnyan maṅkana|ikaṅ manuk *Jaṭāyuḥ nāma* ya ṅaranya saṅ Jaṭāyu|*dhārmikaḥ dharmeṇa yuktaḥ*|*dharma* ikaṅ dharma|kana *niyuktaḥ* kapasaṅ ya|*saḥ gṛdhraḥ Jaṭāyuḥ nāma dhārmikaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|ika ta saṅ *Jaṭāyuḥ*|*saḥ Jaṭāyuḥ* saṅ Jaṭāyu|*tena Jaṭāyunā samākhyātaṁ bhavaḥ*|mavarahvarah sira aṅkĕn ndi|*tau Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau Rāmaś ca Lakṣmaṇaś ca*|*Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma|*Lakṣmaṇaḥ* saṅ Lakṣmaṇa|*tābhyāṁ Rāma-Lakṣmaṇābhyāṁ* aṅkĕneṅ kana mavarahvarah sira|ri sĕdĕṅ nyan apa|*sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā|*tasyāḥ Sītāyāḥ tat parimārgaṇaṁ* kapĕtanira|*tasmin parimārgaṇe* ri sĕḍĕṅ nyan maṅkana mavarahvarah sira|

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे गृध्रो जटायुर् नाम धार्मिकः।
ताभ्यां भवं समाख्यातः सीतायाः परिमार्गणे॥ १३॥

14. *sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā|*praveśitā* tinamakĕn sira|deniṅ apa|*saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ* saṅ Rāvaṇa|*aiśvarya-mada-mattaḥ* ya *aiśvarya-madena mattaḥ*|*aiśvarya-madaḥ aiśvaryāt madaḥ*|*aiśvaryaṁ* ikaṅ karatun|*madaḥ* darpa ya|nahan hetu|*mattaḥ* darpa ya|*saḥ gṛdhraḥ* ikaṅ manuk|*khagādhipaḥ* ya *khagānāṁ adhipaḥ*|*khagaḥ* ikaṅ manuk|*adhipaḥ* ratunya|*taṁ gṛdhraṁ khagādhipaṁ saḥ Rāvaṇaḥ hatvā* an pati ya ndi|*tat vanaṁ* ikaṅ alas|*tasmin vane* kana an pati ya|*tena Rāvaṇena aiśvarya-mada-mattena hatvā* tinamakĕn sira|*apāśrayā sā Laṅkā* ikaṅ deśa Laṅkā|*tāṁ Laṅkāṁ prati* kana tinamakĕn sira|*sā Sītā praveśitā bhavati*|siddha ya|

ऐश्वर्य-मद-मत्तेन रावणेन खगाधिपम्।
हत्वा अपाश्रया सीता लङ्कां प्रति प्रवेशिता॥ १४॥

15. *saḥ Sītā-vatsalaḥ Rāghavaḥ*|*Rāghavaḥ* saṅ Rama|*Sītā-vatsalaḥ* sira *Sītāyāṁ vatsalaḥ*|*Sītā* saṅ Sītā|*vatsalaḥ* masih sira|*ogha-śoka-nimagnaḥ* sira *ogha-śoke nimagnaḥ*|*ogha-śokaḥ ogha iva śokaḥ*|*śokaḥ* ikaṅ kiṅkiṅ|*ogha iva* kadi vah|nikana *nimagnaḥ* tumanĕm sira|*samāgataḥ* matĕmu ya|*saha* kalavan apa|*saḥ kapiḥ* ikaṅ vre|*rājya-hīnaḥ* ya *rājyena hīnaḥ*|*rājyaṁ* ikaṅ kaḍatvan|denika *hīnaḥ* tiniṅgalakĕn ya|*Sugrīvaḥ nāma* ya ṅaranya saṅ Sugrīva|*tena kapinā rājya-hīnena Sugrīveṇa saha* kalavan ika matĕmu sira|*saḥ Sītā-vatsalaḥ Rāghavaḥ ogha-śoka-nimagnaḥ samāgataḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|

ओघ-शोक-निमग्नः स सीता-वत्सलः राघवः।
कपिना हीन-राज्येन सुग्रीवेण समागतः॥ १५॥

16. *saḥ Sugrīvaḥ* saṅ Sugrīva|*tat auṣadhaṁ* ikaṅ tamba|*paramaṁ* raya vastu ya|*tat auṣadhaṁ paramaṁ saḥ Sugrīvaḥ prāptaḥ* an paṅguh ya|apa hetu|*tat Rāma-darśanaṁ Rāmasya darśanaṁ*|*Rāmaḥ* saṅ Rāma|*darśanaṁ* tona ira|*tasmāt Rāma-darśanāt* nahan hetu an paṅguh ya|*saḥ Sugrīvaḥ prāptaḥ bhavati*|siddha ya|*ca* vuvus ta vaneh|*saḥ Rāmaḥ* saṅ *Rāma*|*saḥ Bāli* saṅ Bāli|*taṁ Bālinaṁ saḥ Rāmaḥ hatvā* an pati ya|*saḥ Sugrīvaḥ* saṅ Sugrīva|*taṁ Sugrīvaṁ abhiṣecayat*[1] an abhiṣeka sira|

औषधं परमं प्राप्तः सुग्रीवो राम-दर्शनात्।
हत्वा च बालिनं रामः सुग्रीवमभ्यषेचयत्॥ १६॥

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[1] Corrected to *abhyaṣecayat*.

17. *saḥ Sugrīvaḥ* saṅ Sugrīva|*saḥ Hanumān* saṅ Hanumān|*mahākapiḥ* sira *mahān caiṣaḥ kapiś ceti*|*mahān* raya vastu sira|mvaṅ *kapiḥ* vre sira|*idaṁ antarikṣaṁ* (v.l. antaraṁ)|tĕṅah niṅ ākāśa|*idaṁ antarikṣaṁ saḥ Hanumān prāptaḥ* an paṅguh ya|*taṁ Hanumantaṁ mahākapiṁ prāptaṁ saḥ Sugrīvaḥ preṣayāmāsa* an ton sira|ri sĕḍĕṅnyan apa|*sā Sītā* saṅ Sītā|*tasyāḥ Sītāyāḥ tat parimārgaṇaṁ* kapetanira|

अंतरिक्षमिदं प्राप्तं हनुमन्तं महाकपिम्।
सुग्रीवः प्रेषयामास सीतायाः परिमार्गणे॥ १७॥

18. *tasmin parimārgaṇe* ri sĕdĕṅnyan maṅkana an ton sira|*ayaṁ Hanumān* saṅ Hanumān|apraṅa sira|*te rākṣasāḥ* ikaṅ rākṣasa|*teṣāṁ rākṣasānāṁ parābhava-kālaḥ* sira *parābhavasya* kālaḥ|*parābhavaḥ* kalahanya|*kālaḥ* kālaḥ nya sira|*upasthitaḥ* kalivat sira|*vānara-śreṣṭhaḥ* sira *vānarasya śreṣṭhaḥ*|*vānaraḥ* ikaṅ vre|*śreṣṭhaḥ* viśeṣanya sira|*kṛta-niścayaḥ* sira *kṛtaḥ niścayaḥ tasya*|*niścayaḥ* kaniścaya nira|*kṛtaḥ* ginave ya|deniṅ apa|*tena vānaraḥ* ikaṅ vre|*te vānaraiḥ* denika ginave ya|*ayaṁ Hanumān aḥ parābhava-kālaḥ upasthitaḥ kṛta-niścayaḥ*|

हनुमान् वानरश्रेष्ठः वानरः कृत-निश्चयः। (ह stands for अः)
सत्य-सन्धं दृढ-व्रतं रामं तत्रकरं स्थितः॥ १८॥

कपयः कपिभिः सार्धं भ्रमाणा दक्षिणां दिशम्।
अलभन्तश्च वैदेहीं चक्रुः प्रायोपवेशनम्॥ १९॥
खगस्तु सिद्ध-कार्यवान् सम्पातो नाम धार्मिकः।
तेन तेषां समाख्यातं सीतायाः परिमार्गणम्॥ २०॥
गत्वा पारं समुद्रस्य वेगेन गरुडो यथा।
दृष्ट्वा नगरीं च लङ्कां सीतां च जनकात्मजाम्॥ २१॥
घने ऽशोक-वने देशे समागम्य स मैथिलीम्।
हनुमान् लब्ध-संदेशो राक्षसान् विन्यसूदयत्॥ २२॥
ङ्कार-सदृशीं कृत्वा ललाटे भ्रुकुटीं तथा।
क्रुद्धेनेन्द्रजिता धीरो गृहीतो हनुमान् कपिः॥ २३॥
चन्द्र-मण्डल-संकाशं लाङ्गूलं तस्य राक्षसः।
शुक्लैरावेष्टितं वस्त्रैस् तैलाभ्यङ्गम् अदीपयत्॥ २४॥
छलयित्वा ततः सर्वान् राक्षसान् विपुलो हरिः।
लाङ्गूलेन प्रदीप्तेन लङ्कामदीपयत् पुरीम्॥ २५॥
जल-मध्ये स निर्वाप्य लाङ्गूलं प्लवगेश्वरः।
कृत-भयं पुरं दग्ध्वा पुनरागमनोत्सुकः॥ २६॥
झषालयं प्लुत्योपेत्य हरिरुत्तम आगतः।
सिद्ध-कार्यो ऽतित्वरितं प्रदेशं यत्र राघवः॥ २७॥
ञकार-वदनो भूत्वा हनुमान् स हरीश्वरः।
न्यवेदयद् अशेषेन राघवाय महात्मने॥ २८॥
टकार-सदृशं धनुर् अधिगत-ज्यं उद्यम्य।
रघुनन्दनः गृहीत्वा प्रस्थितस् तूर्णं सीतायाः॥ २९॥

ठकार-ढकार-नेत्राणां हरीणां अयुत-व्रताः।
सुग्रीवस्याग्रतो यान्ति प्रीताः कर्तव्य-लालसाः॥ ३०॥
डयन्त इव वेगेन गत्वा पारं महोदधेः।
राघवः शरम् उद्यम्य पश्चात्तवोमयाचक॥ ३१॥
ढकार-सदृशीं कृत्वा ललाटे भ्रुकुटीं तदा।
हनुमान् अग्रतो याति राघवस्य हितेरितः॥ ३२॥
णकार-सदृशैः पद्मैः प्राञ्जलिः प्रत्युपस्थितः।
उवाच सागरो रामं सेतुं मम जले कुरु॥ ३३॥
तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा सुग्रीवो नलम् अब्रवीत्।
नल त्वं भद्र कुरुष्व सेतुं तत्र महार्णवे॥ ३४॥
थूतं मृष्टोपमं दिव्यं विश्वकर्म-सुतो नलः।
चकार सेतुं धर्मात्मा सागरे मकरालये॥ ३५॥
दश-योजन-विस्तीणम् आयतं शत-योजनम्।
येन सा वानर-चमू पारतीर्णा महोदधेः॥ ३६॥
धनुर्वीर्यं समाश्रित्य राघवः सह वानरैः।
राक्षसान् योधयामास क्रोध-संरक्त-लोचनः॥ ३७॥
नगर्याम् अतः रुद्धायां रावणः सह राक्षसैः।
ततो द्वाराद् विनिष्क्रम्य चकार योधनं महत्॥ ३८॥
पनसः शरभो महेन्द्रो नीलो मारुतिर् अङ्गदः।
नाना-वृक्षैः शिलाभिश् च राक्षसान् विन्यसूदयन्॥ ३९॥
फलितैः पादपैः शूलैः रोषिभिः शक्ति-तोमरैः।
राक्षसाः खण्डनं चक्रुर् वानराणां चमू-मुखे॥ ४०॥
बलवान् राघवः श्रीमान् दशग्रीवं जघान सः।
निहतं रावणं दृष्ट्वा विभीषणम् अथाब्रवीत्॥ ४१॥
भक्तोऽसि मयि राक्षसेन्द्र धार्मिकश्चापि सुव्रतः।
अराक्षसमिदं कर्म कृतं तुष्टोऽस्मि ते विभो॥ ४२॥
मया दत्तमिदं राज्यं तुभ्यं पुलस्त्य-नन्दन।
स-पुत्र-भृत्य-ानुचरः भुंक्ष्व राज्यमकण्टकम्॥ ४३॥
यदर्थमयमारम्भः कृतो मे राक्षसेश्वर।
तां सीतां द्रष्टुमिच्छामि गच्छ त्वं सहलक्ष्मणः॥ ४४॥
रक्तः प्रियहिते युक्तः लक्ष्मणो च विभीषणः।
प्रविश्य नगरीं लङ्कां ददर्श जनकात्मजाम्॥ ४५॥
लक्ष्मणः स तु वैदेहीं काकुत्स्थाय महात्मने।
कृशां विवर्णां मलिनां दर्शयामास सुप्रियाम्॥ ४६॥
वरारोहां तदा दृष्ट्वा रामश् चिन्ता-समन्वितः।
अग्नौ विशुद्धिम् आदाय पुष्पकेन ययौ ततः॥ ४७॥
शत्रून् हत्वा ऽतिवेगेन यानेनागम्य राघवः।
नन्दिग्रामे समागच्छत् भरतं मित्र-वत्सलम्॥ ४८॥

षड् रात्रौ समित्रः श्रीमान् राघवः सह सीतया।
संगतो भ्रातृभिः सदा मातृभिश् च समागतः॥ ४९॥
समेत्य हृष्ट-हृदयः पौर-जानपदैः सह।
गवां शत-सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रदत्तवान्॥ ५०॥
हतशत्रुर् महेन्द्रभीः शतक्रतुर् इवापरः।
शतं वर्ष-सहस्राणां रामो राज्यम् अवासयत्॥ ५१॥

Mātṛkākṣara Rāmāyaṇa

1. *Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau bhrātarau namaskṛtvā sitāsitau*|
   vane tasmin vicarantau Sītām ca janakātmajām||
2. *Dhanyaṁ māṅgalyam āyuṣyam alakṣmīkalināśanam*|
   rāmāyaṇam pravakṣyāmi mātṛkākṣarayojitam||
3. **A**_yodhyādhipateh putrāś catvāraḥ sūrya-varcasaḥ_|
   Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa-Śatrughnāḥ, Bharataś ca mahābalaḥ||
4. **Ā**_cāravinayopetāḥ, satyasandhā dṛḍhavratāḥ_|
   śūrāś ca satyapratijñāḥ, sarve Daśarathātmajāḥ||
5. **I**_takāmyayā kekayyāḥ, svaputrahitakāmyāyāḥ_|
   ḍṛḍhavrato rājña iṣṭo, Rāmaḥ saṁprasthito vanam||
6. **Ī**_hitenābhiṣekena Rāmaḥ samprasthito vanam_|
   Sītā cānugatā sādhvī, Lakṣmaṇaś ca mahābalaḥ||
7. **U**_pavāsaparo rāmas tapasvī daṇḍake vane_|
   nyavasat bhāryayā saha, bhrātrā Lakṣmaṇena saha||
8. **Ū**_nas tu Rāma-vīryeṇa, Rāvaṇo nāma rākṣasaḥ_|
   tatra parābhava-kālo rākṣasānām upasthitaḥ||
9. **Ṛ**_taṁ dharma-samāyuktaṁ tvaktvā dharmeṇa pāpena_|
   tena duṣṭātmanā Sītā chalen-āpahṛtā vane||
10. M*ārīcaṁ mātulaṁ gatvā Rāvaṇaḥ vākyam abravīt*|
    Ṝ_kārāṁ hṛtvā Rāmaḥ Daśarathātmajaḥ modate_||
11. **Ḷ**_pto mṛgo bhūtvā tadā, lomnā kāñcana-rūpeṇa_|
    lobhayitvā tāṁ Vaidehīṁ, vyāharad daṇḍake vane||
12. **Ḹ**_kārāṁ hṛtvā Rāvaṇah, upāgaman nabhastalam_|
    Sītām kamalapatrākṣīm upāsīnāṁ vane tadā||
13. **E**_tasminn antare gṛdhro, Jaṭāyur nāma dhārmikaḥ_|
    tābhyāṁ bhavaṁ samākhyātaḥ Sītāyāḥ parimārgaṇe||
14. **Ai**_śvarya-mada-mattena, Rāvaṇena khagādhipam_|
    hatvā apāśrayā Sītā Laṅkāṁ prati praveśitā||
15. **O**_gha-śoka-nimagnaḥ sa Sītāvatsalaḥ Rāghavaḥ_|
    kapinā hīnarājyena Sugrīveṇa samāgataḥ||

16. ***Au**ṣadhaṁ paramaṁ prāptaḥ Sugrīvo Rāma-darśanāt|*
hatvā ca Bālinaṁ Rāmaḥ Sugrīvam abhyaṣecayat||
17. ***An**tarikṣam idaṁ prāptaṁ Hanumantaṁ mahākapiṁ|*
Sugrīvaḥ preṣayāmāsa Sītāyāḥ parimārgaṇe||
18. ***H**anumān vānaraśreṣṭhaḥ vānaraḥ kṛta-niścayaḥ|*
satyasandhaṁ dṛḍhavrataṁ Rāmaṁ tatrakaraṁ sthitaḥ||
19. ***Ka**payaḥ kapibhiḥ sārdhaṁ bhramāṇā dakṣiṇām diśaṁ|*
alabhantaś ca Vaidehīṁ cakruḥ prāyopaveśanam||
20. ***KHa**gas tu siddhakāryavān Sampāto nāma dhārmikaḥ|*
tena teṣāṁ samākhyātaṁ Sītāyāḥ parimārgaṇaṁ||
21. ***Ga**tvā pāraṁ samudrasya vegena garuḍo yathā|*
dṛṣṭvā nagarīṁ ca Laṅkām Sītām ca janakātmajām||
22. ***GHa**ne 'śokavane deśe samāgamya sa Maithilīm|*
Hanumān labdha-saṁdeśo rākṣasān vinyasūdayat||
23. ***Ṅa**kārasadṛśīṁ kṛtvā lalāṭe bhrukuṭim tathā|*
kruddhenendrajitā dhīro gṛhīto hanumān kapiḥ||
24. ***Ca**ndramaṇḍala-saṅkāśaṁ lāṅgūlaṁ tasya rākṣasaḥ|*
śuklair āveṣṭitaṁ vastrais tailābhyaṅgam adīpayat||
25. ***CHa**layitvā tataḥ sarvān rākṣasān vipulo hariḥ|*
lāṅgūlena pradīptena Laṅkām adīpayat purīm||
26. ***Ja**lamadhye sa nirvāpya lāṅgūlaṁ plavageśvaraḥ|*
kṛta-bhayaṁ puraṁ dagdhvā punarāgaman-otsukaḥ||
27. ***JHa**ṣālayaṁ plutyāpetya harir uttama āgataḥ|*
siddhakāryo 'titvaritaṁ pradeśaṁ yatra Rāghavaḥ||
28. ***Ña**kāravadano bhūtvā Hanumān sa harīśvaraḥ|*
nyavedayad aśeṣeṇa rāghavāya mahātmane||
29. ***Ṭa**kāra-sadṛśaṁ dhanur adhigatajyam udyamya|*
Raghunandanaḥ gṛhītvā prasthitas tūrṇaṁ Sītāyāḥ||
30. ***ṬHa**kārākāra-netrāṇāṁ harīṇām ayutavratāh|*
Sugrīvasyāgrato yānti prītāḥ kartavya-lālasāḥ||
31. ***Ḍa**yanta iva vegena gatvā pāraṁ mahodadheḥ|*
Rāghavaḥ śaram udyamya paścāttavomayācaka||
32. ***ḌHa**kāra-sadṛśīm kṛtvā lalāṭe bhrukuṭīṁ tadā|*
Hanumān agrato yāti Rāghavasya hiteritaḥ||
33. ***Ṇa**kāra-sadṛśaiḥ padmaiḥ prāñjaliḥ pratyupasthitaḥ|*
uvāca Sāgaro Rāmaṁ setuṁ mama jale kuru||
34. ***Ta**sya tad vacanaṁ śrutvā Sugrīvo Nalam abravīt|*
Nala tvaṁ bhadra kuruṣva setuṁ tatra mahārṇave||

35. ***TH**ūlaṁ mṛṣṭopamaṁ divyaṁ viśvakarma-suto Nalaḥ|*
cakāra setuṁ dharmātmā sāgare makarālaye||
36. ***Da**śayojana-vistīrṇam āyataṁ śata-yojanaṁ|*
yena sā vānara-camū pāratīrṇā mahodadheḥ||
37. ***DHa**nurvīryam samāśritya Rāghavaḥ saha vānaraiḥ|*
rākṣasān yodhayāmāsa krodha-saṁrakta-locanaḥ||
38. ***Na**garyām ataḥ ruddhāyāṁ Rāvaṇah saha rākṣasaiḥ|*
tato dvārād viniṣkramya cakāra yodhanaṁ mahat||
39. ***Pa**nasaḥ Śarabho Mahendro Nīlo Mārutir Aṅgadaḥ|*
nānā-vṛkṣaiḥ śilābhiś ca rākṣasān vinyasūdayan||
40. ***PHa**litaiḥ pādapaiḥ śūlaiḥ roṣibhiḥ śakti-tomaraiḥ|*
rākṣasāḥ khaṇḍanaṁ cakrur vanarāṇāṁ camū-mukhe||
41. ***Ba**lavān Rāghavaḥ śrīmān Daśagrīvaṁ jaghāna saḥ|*
nihataṁ Rāvaṇaṁ dṛṣṭvā Vibhīṣaṇam athābravīt||
42. ***BHa**kto'si mayi rākṣasendra dhārmikaś cāpi suvrataḥ|*
arākṣasam idaṁ karma kṛtaṁ tuṣṭosmi te vibho||
43. ***Ma**yā datam rājyam idaṁ tubhyam Pulastya-nandana|*
sa-putra-bhṛty-ānucaraiḥ bhuṅkṣva rājyam akaṇṭakam||
44. ***Ya**dartham ayam ārambhaḥ kṛto me rākṣaseśvara|*
tāṁ Sītām draṣṭum icchāmi gaccha tvaṁ sahalakṣmaṇaḥ||
45. ***Ra**ktaḥ priyahite yuktaḥ Lakṣmaṇo ca Vibhīṣaṇaḥ|*
praviśya nagarīṁ Laṅkāṁ dadarśa Janakātmajām||
46. ***La**kṣmaṇaḥ sa tu Vaidehīm Kākutsthāya mahātmane|*
kṛśāṁ vivarṇāṁ malināṁ darśayāmāsa supriyām||
47. ***Va**rārohām tadā dṛṣṭvā Rāmaś cintāsamanvitaḥ|*
agnau viśuddhim ādāya puṣpakena yayau tataḥ||
48. ***Śa**trūn hatvā 'tivegena yanenāgamya Rāghavaḥ|*
Nandigrāme samāgacchat Bharataṁ mitra-vatsalam||
49. ***Ṣa**ḍrātrau samitraḥ śrīmān Rāghavaḥ saha Sītayā|*
saṅgato bhrātṛbhiḥ sadā mātṛbhiś ca samāgataḥ||
50. ***Sa**metya hṛṣṭa-hṛdayaḥ paura-jānapadaiḥ saha|*
gavām śatasahasrāṇi brāhmaṇebhyaḥ pradattavān||
51. ***Ha**ta-śatrur mahendrabhīḥ śatakratur ivāparaḥ|*
śatam varṣa-sahasrāṇāṁ Rāmo rājyam avāsayat||

30. OLD JAVANESE POṢYACARITA OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Ayodhyā-viṣayāśramaḥ Dhaumya-brāhmaṇa-saṁsthitaḥ[1] | *hana*[2] *sira*[3] *brāhmaṇa* |
was mr. brāhmaṇa
bhagavān Dhomya[4] *ṅaran ira*[5] | *patapan*[6] *ira* | *ryy*[7] *Ayodhyā-viṣaya* |
lord Dhaumya name his hermitage his in Ayodhyā prefecture
hana ta[8] *śiṣya nira*[9] *tigaṅ*[10] *siki*[11] | *ṅaran ira saṅ*[12] *Uttamanyu* |
were then disciples his three names their mr. Upamanyu
saṅ Āruṇika | *saṅ Veda* |
mr. Āruṇika mr. Veda

[1] It is in prose in the MBh, but a verse in the OJ. [2] *hana* 'to exist, to be'. It is not an auxiliary. [3] *sira* (i) 3 pl. pron. 'they', often used to indicate the 3 sg. It is pluralis majestatis (**आदरार्थे बहुवचनम्**). (ii) It is a common OJ honorific personal article used before the names of deities, kings and honored persons. Corresponds to Skt. śrī. [4] Skt. *au* > OJ *o*. [5] *ira* 'his' possessive pronoun corresponding to *sira*. It follows the word to which it refers. [6] *pa-tap-an* from *tapas* (°*s* of stems is dropped). The prefix *pa*° with suffix °*an* (*pa- -an*) often indicates the place where we find the object donated by the stem (**सप्तम्यर्थे**): 'the place where *tapas* is performed' = **आश्रम** in Skt.). No long vowels in OJ except in loan words. [7] *ryy* = *ri* (*yy* due to sandhi). A preposition of vague meaning. It means 'in, on, at, to' in general. [8] *ta* 'now' (Skt. *ha*). [9] *nira* = *ira* (as a rule *nira* occurs after a vowel). [10] *tiga* 'three' + *ṅ* a binding element usually used after numerals followed by nouns. [11] *siki* 'pieces' Cf. **ठो** in **तीन ठो** (in Hindi). [12] *saṅ*: an article before the names of respected persons.

kapva[1] *pinarīkṣa*[2] *nira* | *yan*[3] *tuhu*[4] *guru-śuśrūṣa/ guru-bhakti* |
all of them examined he if true service to guru dedication to guru
kramanya[5] *de*[6] *nirāmarīkṣa*[7] | *saṅ Āruṇika kinon ira yāsavaha*[8]
in the following way he tested them mr. Āruṇika ordered he should work in the field
rumuhun[9] | *kamĕnā*[10] *nira vehana*[11] *ri*[12] *saṅ hyaṅ*[13] *dharmmaśāstra* |
at first before he is given divine dharmaśāstra

[1] *kapva* adv. 'together, by all of them, without difference'. [2] *p-in-arīkṣa*: *parīkṣā* with the verbal infix *–in–*. It denotes that there is an object and subject. The subject is never put immediately before a verbal form containing the infix *–in–*. If expressed, the subject follows. If the subject is a 3 sg or pl pronoun it is placed immediately after the verb with *–in–*. [3] *yan* 'if, whether'. [4] *tuhu* 'true, exact' (no gender, case or number). [5] *krama-nya*: *–nya* has a possessive meaning 'belongs to', 3rd person pronoun. It is the common pronoun, not particularly polite. The polite form is *nira*. [6] *de* 'work'. [7] *amarīkṣa*: the prefix *a–* + nasalisation of the first letter *pa*. Nasalisation is a very common device in all Indonesian languages. It expresses a durative action in OJ as a rule. There

are bases (i) where only *a–* is added, and (ii) where *a–* is added along with nasalisation. The sentence means: he tested them in the following way. [8] *ya* (i) resumptive pronoun, (ii) then, now. *sawah* 'field'. The prefix *a–* denotes the idea 'in being in a certain relation to'. The suffix *–a* at the end indicates that the idea or action denoted by the base will take place in the future, or a wish, or uncertainty. [9] *rumuhun* 'at first'. [10] *kamĕnā* 'before'. [11] *vehana*: *veh* 'to give' (a monosyllabic verbal base). The suffix *–an* may be interchanged with *–i*. It indicates the place, a special relation, the person towards whom the action is directed. We never find *–i* when the suffix *–a* is added. [12] *ri* 'with respect to, concerning' is almost always preceded by *saṅ*. [13] *hyaṅ* mostly precedes the names of divine beings. It may be translated by 'divine': *saṅ hyaṅ dharmmaśāstra* 'the divine dh°'.

yatna[1] *ta* *saṅ* *Āruṇika* *aṅulahakĕn*[2] *sakrama*[3] *niṅ*[4] *savah* | *ginavayakĕn*[5] *ira* |
strove then mr. Āruṇika to work all the needs of field worked he
sĕḍĕṅ *ahayu*[6] *tuvuh*[7] *nikaṅ*[8] *vīja* | *tĕka* *taṅ*[9] *vāh*[10] *saha* *vṛṣṭipāta* | *hudan* *adrĕs* |
while well growing of the seeds come then flood with rains rains violent
alaha[11] *ta* *galĕṅ* *nikaṅ* *savah* |
broke down dyke of the field

[1] Any Skt. word can be used as any part of speech. *Yatna* is used here as a verb. [2] *a-ṅ-ulah-akĕn* from *ulah* 'to work, to exert'. The prefix *a–* denotes a relation between the person and the action. *–ṅ–* is nasalisation due to the following *u* in *ulah*. The suffix *–akĕn* (i) emphasises the relation between the verb and the object, and (ii) sometimes it is the causative. [3] *sa* 'all'. [4] *niṅ* expresses a relation between the preceding and following word. It can be expressed in English by 'of'. [5] *ginavayakĕn: gavay* when a vowel follows, and *gave* when a consonant follows. [6] *ahayu hayu* ' nice, beautiful'. [7] *tuvuh* 'growing, increasing'. [8] *ika* 'that', *nika* is the oblique form. Only pronouns have oblique forms. The suffix *–ṅ* serves the purpose of the definite article 'the'. [9] *taṅ* definite article. [10] *vāh* 'sudden flood, inundation'. [11] *alah* 'to break down'.

saka *ri*[1] *vĕde* *nirān*[2] *kahibĕkana*[3] *toya* *ikaṅ*[4] *pari*[5] | *tinambak*[6] *nira* *ta* *ya*[7] *tapvan*[8]
because of fear his lest it inundates water the paddy put a dike he then without
asove[9] *ikaṅ* *ve* | *alah* *tekā*[10] *tambak* *nikā*[11] | *muvah*[12] *tinambak* *nira* | *tan*[13] *vriṅ*[14]
delay the water broke that dam its again put a dike he not knew
deya[15] *nira* |
work his

[1] *saka ri* 'because of, as a result of'. [2] *nirān*: *nira* 'his' + *an* a legative particle nearly agreeing with Skt. *yat*, English 'whilst, when'. [3] *hibĕk* 'full'. *ka–* indicates perfective action. It indicates that the action denoted by the base has been completed. *–an* denotes spatial relation, and *–a* denotes future, wish or uncertainty. [4] *ikaṅ*: *ika* 'that' + *–ṅ* 'the'. [5] *pari* 'rice on the field, paddy' (from Malay). Rice when cut is *gabah*, *pantun* (in polite language i.e. krȃmȃ). Rice when peeled is *beras*, *bros* (in krȃmȃ). Rice when boiled is *sega*, *sekul* (in krȃmȃ). [6] *tambak* 'dike'. The infix *–in–*

denotes that the subject follows. [7] demonstrative pronoun: (the water). [8] *tapvan* 'not', a rather strong word, emphatic like 'he did not do it'. There are many words for 'not'. [9] *sove* 'long', *a–* to be in a certain relation. [10] *tekā* = *ta* + *ikā* (the mss often have a long vowel at the end of words). *ta* 'then' + *ikā* 'that'. [11] *nikā* 'of that', oblique form of *ikā*. It can be used instead of *nira*, then it is a possessive pronoun. We might have expected the sentence to be *tekaṅ tambak nikā*, but the *–ṅ* of *tekā* is dropped because *tambak* is followed by *nikā* which defines its (i.e. of *tambak*) syntactic relation. [12] *muvah*: *uvah* 'to change' + (*u*)*m–* (the *u* is often dropped). *muvah* means 'once again' पुनः. Here we see the predilection of the Javanese to use verbal forms for what would be adverbs in IE. [13] *tan* 'not' (the most common word). [14] *vriṅ* = *vruh* 'to know' + *iṅ* (a contraction). *iṅ* indicates that there is a certain relation with the following word. The relation is usually that of an object. [15] *deya* = *de* 'work' + *–a* denotes uncertain future. *–a* is also added to nouns. *–y–* is the glide.

i věkasan[1] *tinambakakěn*[2] *tāvak*[3] *nireṅ*[4] *ve* *maṅlěṇḍö*[5] | *tarmolah*[6] *irikaṅ*[7]
in the end dammed up body his water lying full length without moving
rahina věṅi | *katon*[8] *tāvak*[9] *nira ṅkāneṅ*[10] *savah de saṅ guru* |
day night saw body his there in the field by mr. guru

[1] *i věkasan* 'in the end, finally, eventually'. [2] *tinambakakěn*: *tambak* 'dam' + *–in* + *–akěn*. The infix *–in–* indicates that the water is present in the mind of the reader and it should not be left out in the Javanisation of the Skt. Mahābhārata. The suffix *–akěn* has an instrumental meaning like *saha* 'with'. The word means 'he dammed up *with* his body'. [3] *ta* 'then' + *avak* 'body'. [4] *nireṅ* = *nira* 'his' + *–iṅ* 'by it' (*i* + *ṅ* = *iṅ* 'in that'). [5] *maṅlěṇḍö*. *lěṇḍö* 'to lie in full length.' *ma*, often followed by the nasalisation *–ṅ–*, indicates duration, an action being performed. *ma–*/*maṅ*-forms are often intransitive. [6] *tar* = *tan* 'without', *molah* 'moving'. *molah* = *ma* + *ulah* 'to move', *ma–* is a durative prefix. [7] *irikaṅ*: *rika* 'on that, at that' (*ri–* means 'in, on'), *rika* is a sort of locative to *ika*. *i–* + *ṅ* have no particular meaning. [8] *katon*: *ton* 'to see'. *ka–* denotes that the process has come to an end and that there is an object. [9] *ta* + *avak*. [10] *ṅkāneṅ* = *ṅkana* 'there'+ *iṅ* 'on that, in that' (*–i–* 'at, on, in', *–ṅ* may be compared to the definite article).

mojar[1] *bhagavān Dhomya ri sira* | *kinon*[2] *ta ya*[3] *sira*[4] *avuṅva*[5] |
spoke lord Dhaumya to him ordered him get up
yasmāt kedāra-khaṇḍena dhāraṇena saṁsthitaḥ |
tasmād uddhārako bhūtvā Uddālakas tvam Āruṇiḥ ||
anaku[6] *saṅ Āruṇika* | *atyanta riṅ*[7] *dhāraka*[8] | *pavuṅva*[9] *tānaku*[10] |
saṅ Uddālaka ṅarananta[11] | *apan manambakakěn avak ta riṅ ve*[12] |
will be your name because made dyke body your in water
makanimitta[13] *bhaktinta*[14] *riṅ guru.*

[1] *ujar* 'to speak', *ma–* to be in a certain relation. *mojar* 'he spoke'. [2] *kon* 'to order'. The infix *–in–* indicates that the agent is very important. *–in–* is usually used in the narrative past. [3] *ya* may

(i) refer to Dhaumya, or (ii) it may mean 'then'. [4] Refers to Āruṇi. [5] *vuṅu* 'to get up', *a–* = *ma–*, *–a* indicates future, order, uncertainty. [6] *anak* 'child' + *ku* 1sg, after a noun it has a possessive meaning 'my, mine'. [7] *ri* + *iṅ*, *ri* 'in, on'. [8] *dhāraka* 'the being a support'. [9] *pavuṅva: vuṅu* 'to get up'. *pa–* often expresses an order. *pa–* with a verbal form is often equal to an imperative. *–a* puts more emphasis, but has no meaning. [10] *ta* 'then', *anaku* 'my child'. [11] *ṅaran-a-n-ta*: *–a* future, *–n–* is a glide, *–ta* possessive suffix of the 2nd sg. In Indonesian languages, when the subject has been expressed once, it remains the subject in the following sentences without being mentioned. [12] *avak ta riṅ ve* 'your(*ta*) body in the water'. Because you made your body a dam. [13] *makanimitta* 'by reason of, on account of', *maka–* 'having as' it is nearly equal to Skt. words in*–vat/-mat*. [14] *bhaktinta*: *–n–* is a glide, *–ta* 'your'.

śreyo 'vāpsyasi siddhir astu | *kitānĕmva*[1] *sukha*[2] | *siddhi mantra* |
you will find happiness empowerment of mantras
vāk-vajra kita | *nāhan*[3] *ta pamarīkṣa bhagavān Dhomya ri saṅ Āruṇika* |
powerful oratory thus tried lord Dhaumya mr. Āruṇika

[1] *kita* 'you' (originally 2 pl., polite = Skt. *bhavān*). *anĕmva* 'you will find', from *tĕmu* 'to meet, find'. Nasalised forms are often indicative of duration. [2] In modern Javanese, aspirates are used for their corresponding non-aspirates as capitals. Sometimes this is done in the whole word. But it is not used always, only for politeness. OJ. retains *ch* (very often), *bh* and *dh* (but not *kh*, *jh*). [3] *nahan* 'thus, in that way'. Javanese has nominal sentences, like *pitā vṛddhaḥ* in Skt.

tumūt[1] *saṅ Utamanyu pinarīkṣa*[2] *nira* | *ya*[3] *tan kinon maṅhvana*[4] *ṅ lĕmbu*[5] |
then mr. Upamanyu him not ordered look after the cows
yatna tiṅkah[6] *nirānpahvan*[7] *irikaṅ goh*[8] | *hāraka*[9] *saṅ Utamanyu mahvan* |
way graze the cattle took out mr. Upamanyu to graze
ulih[10] *nirānasi*[11] | *ndatan*[12] *pavvat*[13] *nasi tasyan*[14] *ira*[15] *ri ḍaṅ*[16] *hyaṅ guru* |
beg alms not offer rice alms

[1] *tumūt*: *–um–* often denotes that there is a change into another state of being. *tūt* 'to be behind'. *tumūt* 'to follow' (said of persons who did not move at all at first). The infix *–um–* is added mostly to intransitive verbs. *lampah* (said of persons who did not move at all) 'to start going, to start, to set off, to go'. [2] *pinarīkṣa nira*: the subject is expressed by the oblique form of the pronoun in forms with *–in–*. [3] = Uttamanyu. [4] *maṅhvana* (*ma–* + *ṅ* nasalisation + *hvan* + *–a*). *hvan* 'to look after' (mostly said of cows). [5] No difference between sg or pl. [6] way, manner. [7] *anpahvan*: *an* = Skt. *yat* to introduce a subordinate clause. *pa–* is always found in a word that immediately follows *an*. In OJ. the predicate is often put at the beginning of the sentence. In this way it is more or less emphasized. [8] *goh* 'cow, animal'. [9] *hāraka* 'took out'. [10] *ulih* 'output, yield'. [11] *anasi*, *a–* and nasalisation denote durative action. *tasi* 'to beg alms'. [12] *ndatan* 'not, but not, however'. Compare *tan*, *tapvan*. [13] *pavvat* from *vvat* 'to offer, to bring to (a person)'. After *–n* of

ndatan we find *pa–* instead of *ma–*. [14] *tasyan* 'alms' (Skt. *bhaikṣa*). *tasi* 'to beg alms' + *an* (which denotes the result of an action): that which had been got by begging. [15] *ira* = *nira*, after the *–n* of *tasyan* we find *ira*. [16] *ḍaṅ* is an honorific particle before the names of gurus, brahmins and priests. It can be translated into English by venerable. It is often found with *hyaṅ: ḍaṅ hyaṅ*. Balinese commentary on Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin 1.5, 21.205 translates *ḍaṅ hyaṅ* by *paṇḍita*, and by *ĕmpu* in 1.34. Cf. Bijd.1899:107.

ojar[1] *ta saṅ guru* | *anaku saṅ Utamanyu* | *krama niṅ śiṣya* | *yan guru-bhakti*[2] |
spoke mr. guru my son mr. Upamanyu right way of disciple if devoted to guru
mavvat nasi solih[3] *nirānasi* | *krama nika*[4] | *svayaṅ āśrama ya makopajīvana* |
offer rice all that he begged way his himself hermitage he subsistence
solihtānasi[5] *tan yogya bhuktinta* | *maṅkana liṅ nira mpu*[6] *guru* |
all your alms not proper to be enjoyed by you such words of the revered guru

[1] *ojar* = *a* + *ujar* 'to say'. [2] Skt. *guru-bhakta* (bahuvrīhi compound). [3] *solih: sa-* 'all, the whole of' + *ulih* 'yield'. [4] of that (person). [5] *solihta*: *sa–* 'all' + *ulih* 'yield' + *ta* 'your' + *anasi* 'alms' [6] *mpu* = bhagavān.

manĕmbah[1] *ta saṅ Utamanyu* | *umupakṣamākĕn*[2] *i śīla nirān*[3] *salah* |
saluted mr. Upamanyu begged pardon for conduct his wrong
ikaṅ saka tambay[4] *eñjiṅ*[5] | *lumāmpah*[6] *ta sirāhvan*[7] | *sumĕlaṅ*[8] *manasi*[9] *muvah* |
he from early in the morning set out he to herd cattle replace alms again
solih nirānasi | *ya ta pavvat nire ḍaṅ hyaṅ guru* |
all his alms these offering his to revered guru

[1] *manĕmbah: sĕmbah* 'añjali'. [2] *um-* is prefixed to a word that begins with a vowel. It is infixed if the word begins with a consonant. *Upakṣamā* is not found in MW. [3] *an* 'which, because, यत्', or left untranslated. [4] *tambe* 'first, original'. If a vowel follows, it becomes *tambay* by sandhi. [5] *enjiṅ* 'morning'. [6] *lampah* 'to go', *lumampah* 'to start'. [7] *ahvan, hvan* 'to look after, herd (cattle)'. [8] *sĕlaṅ* 'to replace, alternate'. [9] *manasi*: *ma* + nasalisation, *tasi* 'to beg alms'.

Toba Batak and Karo Batak dialects are quite close to Old Javanese.

huvus[1] *nirāvvat tasyan* | *manasi ta sira muvah* | *pinakopajīva*[2] *nirāhvan*
after he had offered alms begged then he again subsistence his tending
ikaṅ lĕmbu | *katiṅhalan*[3] *ta sirānasi piṅ rva* | *inuhutan*[4] *ta sira de saṅ guru* |
the cattle saw him begging second time prevented him by mr. guru
apan lobha ṅaranya[5] *maṅkana* | *ndatan panasi piṅ rva pinakopajīvana*
because greed called such an act do not (मा) beg alms a second time as subsistence
nira | *liṅ niṅ guru*[6] |
his words of the guru

[1] *huvus* indicates that the process has reached its end: after he had offered the alms to the guru. [2] *pinaka-* denotes 'serving as something, doing duty for'. It may be translated by 'as'. [3] *tiṅhal* 'to tend, look after', *ka–* and *–an* together usually denote that a person has been or is effected by the action. *katiṅhalan* 'seen'. [4] *uhut* 'to prevent'. *in-*☐*-an* denote that the process effects that person. *ka–* and *in–* differ in that *ka–* denotes an action that has been completed and *in–* is a narrative prefix. [5] Between two nouns *iṅ* means 'of the'. [6] *liṅ niṅ guru* 'the guru said'. The Javanese prefer nominal constructions.

dadi[1] *sira minum*[2] *irikaṅ*[3] *kṣīra tatśeṣa niṅ lĕmbu anusu*[4] |
it happened he drank the milk remainder of calves sucked
tinakvanan[5] *ta ya*[6] *ta de*[7] *niṅ guru* | *mājar*[8] *sira yar*[9] *pamöh*[10] *tatśeṣa niṅ lĕmbu anusu* |
asked he by his guru told him milked remainder of calves sucked
liṅ saṅ guru | *"uḍū*[11] *maṅkin tan yogya ulah teku*[12] |
words of the guru were ah! more and more not correct conduct your
apan mālap[13] *guru-dṛvya* | *tan dadi ri śiṣya maṅan*[14]
because taken the guru's property unbecoming of disciple to take
dṛvya niṅ guru" | *maṅkana*[15] *liṅ nira mpu* |
the property of the guru. such were words of guru

[1] *dadi* 'to become' भवति. At the beginning of a sentence it often has the meaning: 'it happened that, so that'. [2] *minum: inum* 'to drink'. *m–* is an abbreviation of *um*. *um* is often abbreviated to *m–* as a prefix. [3] *irika* 'that' + *ṅ* (definite article). *irikaṅ* indicates the relation between the verb and the object. [4] *susu* 'udder, milk, breast'. *a–* + nasalisation may be translated as a *ktānta*. [5] *takvan* 'to ask'. Together *–in–* + *–an* indicate that there is an object and subject. As a rule it is a historical narrative form. The process has not reached its end. [6] object (the disciple). [7] *de* introduces the subject. [8] *ma+ajar* 'to inform'. [9] *yar* = *yan* 'that'. Originally it was *ya–* with the suffixes *–r* and *–n*. It seems that the original *–r* referred to 3 pl. and *–n* referred to 3 sg. Actually *–r* often refers to the sg. (pluralis majestatis). [10] *pa–* + *pöh* 'to press (juice), milk', nasalised (*p* >*m*). [11] exclamation indicating sorrow and astonishment. [12] *ulah* 'behaviour' + *ta* 'your'+ *iku* 'that'. [13] *alap* 'to take, to appropriate'. [14] *pagan* 'to eat'. *–um–* is abbreviated to *m–* as a prefix and here it coalesces with the nasalized *p*. [15] It is the predicate placed at the beginning of the sentence.

māri[1] *ta sira minum susu* | *hana ta vĕrĕh niṅ vatsa mĕtu*[2] *sakeṅ*[3] *tutuknya*[4]
stopped he drink milk was foam of calves coming out from the mouth
yan panusu[5] *varĕg sinusvan*[6] *iṅ iduṅnya* | *ya-tikā*[7] *dinilat*[8] *nira* | *pinakopajīva*
when fed satisfied sucking their mother then that licked he as his food
nirārakṣekaṅ[9] *lĕmbu* | *muvah ta sira tinañan*[10] *de ḍaṅ ācārya guru ry āhāra*
while protecting cows again he asked by revered ācārya teacher about food
nira |
his

[1] *māri: ari* 'to stop (doing)', *um–* abbreviated to *m–*. [2] *mĕtu: vĕtu* 'to come out, to appear'. *um–*abbreviated to *m–*. When a word begins with *v–* the *m–* of *um* replaces *v–*. [3] *saka+iṅ*: *saka* 'from'+*iṅ* 'the'. [4] *tutuk* 'mouth', *nya* 'his, their' (3sg or pl). [5] *susu* 'milk'. *ma– > pa–* after *k*. [6] *sinusvan. susu+ –in–* and *–an* 'to give a sucking'. [7] *ya-tikā: ya* 'that', *tikā* 'that'. Cf. Skt. *so 'yaṁ.* [8] *dilat* 'to lick'. The oblique form *nira* is used for the subject afer the infix *–in–*. [9] *nira+ arakṣa+ ikaṅ*. [10] *taña* 'to ask'.

mājar ta sira yan paṅdilati[1] *vĕrĕh niṅ vatsān*[2] *tumibeṅ*[3] *lĕmah* | *pinakāhāra*[4] *nira* |
informed he that took foam of the calves dropped to ground as food his
mājar ta saṅ guru | *ai anaku saṅ Utamanyu* | *tan-yogya ike*[5] *āhāranta* |
said mr. guru o my son mr. Upamanyu not proper this your food
ikaṅ[6] *vatsa vruh ika ri lapāntānaku*[7] |
those calves know that your hunger, my child

[1] *pa-ṅ- dilat* 'to lick'-*i*. When a word begins with *d* the nasalisation is sometimes *ṅ* and sometimes *n*. [2] *an* 'when'. [3] *tiba* 'to fall, *iṅ* 'on the'. [4] *pinaka* 'as'. [5] *ike, iki* 'this'; *ika, iku* 'that'. *ikeṅ* has not been used because of *-n-ta*. [6] *ika* 'that' + *ṅ* definite article. [7] *lapa* 'hunger', *nta* 'your', *anaku* 'my child'.

saka ri[1] *vĕlas*[2] *ny ambĕknye*[3] *kita* | *hetunyāṅutahakĕn*[4] *ulihnyānusu*[5] |
on account of compassion mind you reason spit out output after sucking
tuhun[6] *ya*[7] *vĕrĕh ṅaranya*[8] | *tan dadi ṅvaṅ*[9] *kadi kita*[10] *maṅĕpeki*[11] *paṅan iṅ vatsa* |
granting it foam it is called not proper man like you appropriate food of calves
saṁkṣepanya[12] | *maṅko rati bhukti niṅ len* | *hayva*[13] *pinakāhāra ikaṅ tan-yogya*
in short in that way enjoyment of others don't as food that is improper
upajīvana | *apan agyā r akuru*[14] *ikaṅ*[15] *vatsa yan maṅkana*[16] |
food because quick lean those calves if so

[1] *saka ri* 'on account of'. [2] *vĕlas* 'pity, compassion'. [3] *nya* 'their' + *i* 'concerning'. [4] *aṅ-utah* 'to spit out'-*akĕn*. *a–* + nasalisation + *akĕn*. *akĕn* indicates that the object follows. [5] *ulih nya anusu* 'their output sucking' तेषां पिबतां is the exact translation. [6] *tuhun* 'true, it is true, granting it is so'. [7] *ya* 'that'. [8] *ṅaran-nya* 'its name' नामतः, granting that it is foam by name. [9] *ṅ* definite article, *vaṅ* 'man'. [10] *ṅvaṅ kadi kita* 'a man like you' (like your standing, age, class). [11] *ĕpek* 'to take, appropriate'. A rather strong word. *–i* denotes that the process of taking is directed towards an object. [12] The possessive element *–nya* is used to form words which correspond to our adverbs: संक्षेपतः. [13] *hayva* 'don't'. Don't take to an unbecoming livelihood for the sake of your food. [14] *kuru* 'lean, thin'. *kuru* can be a noun or an adjective, but *akuru* can only be a verb or adjective. [15] *ṅ* 'the'. The calves will be *the* lean ones if the disciple drinks. [16] *yan maṅkana* 'in that case, if you do that'. A frequent phrase.

nahan liṅ nira mpu| *manĕmbah*[1] *ta saṅ Utamanyu*| *ri sakatambay eñjiṅ*|
thus words of guru saluted mr. Upamanyu from tomorrow morning
mahvan ta sira muvah| *tātan pamaṅan*[2] *sira*| *saka ri lapā nira*|
tended he again not eat he because of hunger his
amaṅan ta sira gĕtih iṅ rvan iṅ vaduri| *arddhāpanas*[3] *pveka*[4] *gĕtih iṅ rvan iṅ vaduri*|
drank he sap of leaves of arka plant rather stinging sap of leaves of arka plant.

[1] *sĕmbah* ‘añjali’. [2] *paṅan* ‘to eat’. [3] *arddha* ‘rather, very’, cf . Hindi आधापचाधा. *apanas* ‘hot, smarting, stinging’ (*a*– is predicative, adjective). [4] *pva* ‘you must know’. It corresponds to Skt *vai*.

sumök[1] *ta ya*[2] *tĕkeṅ*[3] *mata*| *andhībhūta*| *dadi ta sira vuta*| *tar panon*[4] *deśa*[5]|
penetrated upto eyes became blind became he blind not see area
harohara ta sirāmet[6] *ikaṅ lĕmbu*| *hana ta-ya sumur mati*|
disturbed he looked after those cows was then well dried up
ṅkana ta sirān[7] *tibā kalĕbv*[8] *iṅ sumur*| *apan tanpanon iṅ mārga nira*|
there he fell drowned in well because did not see way his

[1] *sök* ‘close upon, one upon another’. *sumök* ‘to penetrate’. [2] *ta ya* corresponds to Skt. *tad vai* or *tan nu*. [3] *tĕka* ‘to come, to go’, *tĕkeṅ* ‘into’. Javanese has a verbal form where we have a preposition or adverb. [4] *tar* ‘not’, *pa*– for *ma*–, *ton* ‘to see’. [5] *deśa* ‘terrain, area, part of land’. In modern Javanese it means a ‘village’. [6] *amet*: *pet* ‘to look for’. [7] *an* emphasizes the idea of falling. We might say in English, there it was *that* he fell. Without *an* the translation would be ‘there he fell’. [8] *lĕbu* ‘enter’. *kalĕbu* ‘got into, drowned into’ (by accident, without his fault).

sore pvekaṅ[1] *kāla*| *mulih*[2] *tekaṅ vṛṣabha*[3] *tan hanāñiriṅ*[4] *mareṅ*[5] *kaṇḍaṅnya*[6]|
evening then the time returned those cows not escort came to their cowsheds
ndatan katon[7] *siromulih*[8] *de nira mpu*| *harohara ta sirāmeti*[9] *śiṣya nira*|
but not see him return by his guru puzzled he find disciple his
irika sakatambesuk[10]| *inulatan*[11] *de saṅ guru*| *kapaṅgihi ta sireṅ jĕro*
early next morning found by mr. guru found him in deep inside
sumur mati|
well dry.

[1] *pva* ‘then’, *ikaṅ* ‘the’. [2] *ulih* ‘to return’, *m*– is the abbreviation of *um*–. [3] OJ makes no difference in male and female gender. [4] *aṅ* + *iriṅ* ‘to accompany’. [5] *mara* from *para* ‘to go’+ *iṅ* ‘to, towards’. [6] *kaṇḍaṅ* ‘cowshed’. [7] *ton* ‘to see’. [8] *sira* refers to the disciple. *ulih* ‘to return’. [9] *pet* ‘to look for’ + nasalisation + *i*. –*i* denotes that there is an object. [10] *sakatambe* ‘next morning’, *esuk* ‘early’. [11] *ulat* ‘to find, see’.

tinañan[1] *pva sira*[2] *kāraṇa niṅ kalĕbv*[3] *iṅ sumur mati* |
asked him cause of falling in well dry
mājar ta saṅ Utamanyu yan vuta | *amaṅan gĕtih iṅ vaduri* |
explained mr. Upamanyu as blind drank sap of arka plant
sake ri lapa nirān inuhutan[4] *de ḍaṅ hyaṅ guru* | *maṅdilati*[5] *vĕrĕh niṅ vatsa* |
out of hunger his as prohibited by divine guru | lick foam of cows
saka ri kāruṇya bhagavān Dhomya | *vineh*[6] *ta ya saṅ Utamanyu mantra* |
out of sympathy divine Dhaumya gave him mr. Upamanyu mantra

[1] *taña* ‘to ask’. [2] Refers to the disciple. [3] *lĕbu* ‘to get into (by accident)’. [4] *uhut* ‘to prevent.’ [5] *dilat* ‘lick’. [6] *veh* ‘to give’.

Aśvinau deva-bhiṣak uccāraṇākna[1] *nira* |
Aśvins the divine physicians should pray he
mataṅyan[2] *mārya*[3] *vuta* | *apan saṅ hyaṅ Aśvinau deva-bhiṣak sira* |
so that ends blind as divine Aśvins physicians of gods they
pinaka-valyan iṅ devatā | *an panĕmu*[4] *vyādhi*[5] | *niyata hetu niṅ svastha*[6] |
as physicians of gods if find ill person surely cause of health
mary an[7] *hiḍĕp*[8] *lara ikaṅ vvaṅ bhakti ri sira* |
ends feeling of illness man devoted to them

[1] *uccāraṇa* + *–akĕn* + *–a* (future, command): he should praise the Aśvins. [2] The following word *mārya* has *–a*, it means ‘in order that’, corresponds to Skt. *yathā* with optative. [3] *ari* ‘to stop, end’. [4] *an–* ‘when, if’, *tĕmu* ‘to find’. [5] ill person. [6] नियतं तस्य स्वास्थ्य-हेतवः। [7] *an* is emphatic (*no longer* is the person ill who is a devotee of the Aśvins). [8] *hiḍĕp* ‘to feel, think’.

nahan[1] *mataṅ*[2] *yan*[3] *vineh*[4] *aśvinau deva-mantra de saṅ guru* | *ndatan madva*[5] *saṅ hyaṅ Aśvinau deva maveh*[6] *anugraha* | *tumpihaṅin*[7] *kinonakĕn*[8] *vuruṅan*[9] *vuta* | *ya ta panonĕn*[10] *ira*[11] *pinakoṣadhā ni*[12] *laranya*[13] | *niyata varasa*[14] | *pinaṅan ira pva ya ta* |

[1] thus. [2] cause, reason. [3] that. [4] A form containing *–in–* always indicates the object. Here it is to be translated by ‘him’ (i.e. the disciple). [5] *dva* ‘to fail’. [6] *veh* ‘to give’. [7] A kind of cake of sago (Skt. text has *apūpa*). [8] *kon* ‘to order’. *kon+akĕn* usually means ‘to prescribe (a medicine)’. [9] *vuruṅ* ‘to end, fail’. *–an* denotes means or an instrument. [10] *paṅan* ‘to eat’. *–ĕn* expresses an order or the future. It is an exact parallel to *–e*, but it always refers to the object. [11] they. [12] of. [13] his illness. [14] healthy, restored.

The guru gave the mantra of the Aśvinau. The Aśvinau gods never fail to give blessings. They gave him a sago cake to cure blindness. He was to eat it as a medicine for his illness. He was surely to be cured when he ate it.

Cakṣur ārogyaṁ bhavati | muvah ta sira paripūrṇa indra[1] *niṅ mata*[2] *nira | tan hana ṅ kavikāra*[3] *niṅ akṣi vĕkasan*[4] *| sukha ta bhagavān Dhomya / tumon*[5] *i saṅ Utamanyu | siddhi śāstr-ānugrahomi | maṅanugrahani*[6] *ta sira śāstra-siddhi | "lavan*[7] *tatan*[8] *kĕneṅ*[9] *tuhātah*[10] *rūpanyānaku*[11]*" | nahan ta liṅ bhagavān Dhomya, maṅanugrahe*[12] *sira |*

[1] *indra* ‘pupil of the eye’. In certain yoga texts, the pupil of the right eye is *indra*, and the pupil of the left eye is *indrāṇī*. [2] eye. [3] *ka- vikāra*: *ka-* forms nouns. *vikāra* can be a noun or verb or adjective. [4] finally. [5] *ton* ‘to see’. [6] *ma-ṅ-anugraha-an-i*: when a base ends in *a* vowel, then-*i* is suffixed after the addition of *–an–*. Bases ending in *–i* have *–yani* in OJ, and the contracted form *–eni* in Middle and New Javanese. [7] and, and also. [8] ‘not’ (reduplicated word). [9] *kĕna* ‘hit’ + *iṅ* ‘by’. [10] *tuha* ‘old age’. *atah* ‘ever, indeed’. [11] *nya* refers to the third person, but we expect *nyu* referring to the second person.[12] *i* is the preposition ‘to’.

The eyes became healthy. The pupils of his eyes became perfect. There was no defect in the eyes finally. Bhagavān Dhaumya was very happy to see Upamanyu: "I will bless you with perfect knowledge of the scriptures. And your charm will never be struck by old age". Bhagavān Dhaumya blessed him in these words.

tumūt[1] *saṅ Veda pinarīkṣa nira | kinon*[2] *ira tāmolaheṅ*[3] *paḍaṅan*[4] *| kumavvatakna*[5] *taḍah*[6] *nira | sari-sari*[7] *bhakti nira saṅ Veda riṅ*[8] *guru | tumūtākĕn*[9] *ika*[10] *panastīs*[11] *nira mpu ḍaṅ hyaṅ | yatna*[12] *ri sapakon*[13] *ira | inanugrahan*[14] *ta sira sarva-vidyā | saha Veda-mantra mvaṅ kasarva-jñānan*[15] *| muvah kasiddhyan iṅ mantra paveh*[16] *nira | ri huvus*[17] *saṅ Veda kṛtānugraha | mulih*[18] *ta sire*[19] *patapan ira*[20] *|*

[1] *tūt* ‘to follow’, *tumūt* (adv.) ‘after, next’. [2] *kon* ‘to order’. [3] *tāmolah* + *–a*+*iṅ*: *tāmolah* ‘to live, dwell’, *–a* denotes future, uncertainty, *iṅ* ‘in the’. [4] *ḍaṅ* ‘hot, cooked’, *pa–* + *–an* denote place, *paḍaṅan* ‘kitchen’. [5] *kuma-vvat-akĕn-a*: *vat* ‘to offer (food)’. [6] food. [7] to do one’s best. It is the predicate. OJ has many double words. [8] concerning. [9] *tūt* ‘to follow’ [10] *ika* refers to Veda. *i* ‘in’. [11] *panas* ‘hot’, *tīs* ‘cold’. [12] *yatna* (vb.) he exerted himself. [13] *sa-* ‘all’ + *pakon* ‘order’. [14] *inanugrahan*: *in-* *-an* express that there is a person who is favoured and there is a subject who favours, and the verb is a historical narrative. [15] *ka-* *-an* denote that the word is a noun. [16] *paveh* is a noun from *veh* ‘to give’. *pa–* forms nouns. Moreover mantra-siddhi was his gift. [17] *ri huvus* ‘after’ is a conjunction. [18] returned. [19] *sira+i*. [20] *ira* = *nira* ‘his’.

Thereafter, he tested Veda. He was ordered to take care of the kitchen and prepare food. Veda was utmost loyal to the guru. He followed him in hot and cold. He tried to carry out all his orders. He was granted all kinds of knowledge alongwith Veda-mantras and omniscience. He was also blessed with supernatural power (siddhi). Finally having received all kinds of blessings he returned to his hermitage.

> *vruh*[1] *pva*[2] *sire*[3] *duḥkha niṅ sevaka* | *māṅĕn-aṅĕn*[4] *ta sira* | *"yan*[5] *hanā śiṣyaṅku*[6] *dlāha*[7] | *vehăṅku*[8] *juga*[9] *saṅ hyaṅ mantra hayva pinalakvan*[10] *guruyāga*[11] | *ṅūniveh*[12] *pamarīkṣa ni*[13] *guru-śuśrūṣanya*[14] | *maṅkan*[15] *-aṅĕnaṅĕn*[16] *ira* | *tadanantara hana ta śiṣya nira hañar*[17] *ḍateṅ*[18] | *saṅ Uttaṅka nāma nira* | *tumuluy*[19] *vineh saṅ hyaṅ Veda* | *tan pamalakva*[20] *guruyāga* | *salvir*[21] *niṅ āgama tĕlas*[22] *kahaji*[23] *de saṅ Uttaṅka* |

[1] to know. [2] then. [3] *sira* + *i* (introduces the object). [4] *ma* + *aṅĕn* + *anĕn* 'to think'. [5] if, when. [6] *ṅku* 'my' after vowels, and only *–ku* after consonants. [7] later on, in the future. [8] *vehan* 'gift' + *ku* 'my' (*vehan* becomes *vehaṅ* by sandhi). *veh* 'to give'. I will give. [9] only. [10] *laku* 'to go'. The base word has been extended by the addition of *pa-*: *palaku* 'to go for, ask for, request'. [11] gift to the guru. [12] and also. After a narrative sentence it means 'not to mention, to say nothing of'. [13] of. [14] of their, of the disciples. [15] in this way, such. [16] thought. [17] new, just. [18] come. [19] *tuluy* 'to go on'. *tumuluy* (adv.) soon thereafter, immediately. [20] *tan* 'not' + *pa* + nasalisation of *palaku* 'to request' + *–a.*: without asking. [21] *sa-lvir* 'all, all kinds of': *sa–* 'all' + *lvir* 'kind, sort, manner, way, behaviour'. *salvir* is followed by the oblique form of *iṅ* i.e. *niṅ*. [22] an index word to indicate completion. [23] learnt. *haji* as a noun 'mantra', and as a verb 'to learn or recite religious texts'.

He realised the difficulties of service. He thought: if I have a disciple in the future I will bestow on him the [lore of] mantras without asking for gifts or testing his obedience. Such were his ideas. Just then came a disciple. His name was Uttaṅka. He was imparted the knowledge of Vedas immediately, without any demand of the guru. Uttaṅka learnt all the sacred texts.

> *kasyacit tvatha kālasya* | *pira*[1] *ta kunaṅ*[2] *lavas*[3] *nira makaśiṣya ri*[4] *saṅ Uttaṅka* | *piniṅan*[5] *ta sira milva*[6] *riṅ yajña de mahārāja Janamejaya* | *parĕṅ*[7] *lavan*[8] *paminaṅ*[9] *Mahārāja Poṣya* | *saṅ ratu riṅ*[10] *Ayodhyā* | *lumampah*[11] *ta sira*[12] | *saṅ Uttaṅka ta sira kinon*[13] *an*[14] *atuṅgva*[15] *patapan* | *mvaṅ*[16] *akĕmita*[17] *ri saṅ guru-patnī* | *tarvihaṅ*[18] *ta saṅ Uttaṅka* | *yatna riṅ rahina vĕṅi ri*[19] *karakṣan*[20] *ikaṅ patapan* |

[1] some. [2] however, but, further. [3] *n.* duration, *adj.* long. [4] *maka-* introduces the object. He had Uttaṅka as a disciple for some time. [5] *pinaṅ* 'to invite'. [6] *milu* + *–a*. *m–* is an abbreviation of *um–*, *ilu* 'to take part in, to go with'. [7] together with. [8] *n.* companion, *prep.* along with. [9] invitation. [10] in. [11] *lampah* 'to go', *lumampah* 'to set out'. [12] *sira* is a resumptive pronoun for Uttaṅka. [13] *sira kinon* refers to Uttaṅka. Had it referred to the guru it would have been placed after *kinon*. The agent is never put before a form containing *–in–*. [14] *an* 'that, to' (with the infinitive form of the verb. It emphasizes the following verb). [15] *tuṅgu* 'to watch over, to take care of'. [16] and. [17] *a–* + *kĕmit* 'to take care of' + *–a*. [18] *tar* 'not', *vihaṅ* 'to resist'. *tarvihaṅ* 'willingly'. [19] *ri* 'concerning'. [20] *ka-rakṣ-an* (*ka–* + *–an* form nouns).

Long time after Uttaṅka had been the disciple, [bhagavān Veda] was invited to take part in a sacrifice of Mahārāja Janamejaya. At the same time Mahārāja Poṣya, king of Ayodhyā, also invited him. While departing, he asked Uttaṅka to watch over the hermitage and look after his wife. Uttaṅka willingly looked after the hermitage day and night.

> *kahaḍaṅ*[1] *pva saṅ guru-patnī rajasvalā* | *kinon ira*[2] *ta saṅ Uttaṅka magavaya*[3] *putrotpādana* | “*yatanyan*[4] *tatan*[5] *vuruṅa*[6] *paṅṛtu*[7]” *liṅ nira* | *ndatan aṅgā*[8] *saṅ Uttaṅka* | *kevalya*[9] *guru-śuśrūṣā juga*[10] *sira gumavayakĕn*[11] *karakṣān*[12] *iṅ āśrama saṅ guru* | *ya tānuvuhakĕn*[13] *krodha saṅ guru-patnī* | *ḍatĕn*[14] *bhagavān Veda* | *katon ta halĕp*[15] *nikaṅ*[16] *patapan* | *mvaṅ vṛddhi nikaṅ puṣpa de saṅ Uttaṅka*[17] | *apan*[18] *vinĕkas-vĕkas*[19] |

[1] it happened. *haḍaṅ* ‘to be ready’. [2] *guru-patnī.* [3] *ma* + *gavay* ‘work’ + *–a* ‘to bring about’. [4] lest, *vuruṅ* ‘to fail’ + *–a* for future. [5] not. [7] *pa–* indicates that *paṅṛtu* is a noun. [8] *ndātan* ‘but not’, *aṅgā* ‘to wish, want, like’. *ndātan aṅgā* ‘he refused, he declined’. [9] *kevalya* = *kevala*. *y* creeps in after consonants in Mid Javanese and in the poetic language of New Javanese. It can also be the noun *kaivalya* (Skt. *ai* becomes *e* in OJ). Skt. nouns can be used as adjectives or verbs in OJ. [10] only. [11] to bring about, *gavay* ‘work’. [12] *ka–* + *–an* form a noun. [13] *a–* + nasalisation of *tuvuh* + *akĕn* (expresses a causative idea). *tuvuh* ‘to grow’. [14] came. [15] beauty. [16] of the. [17] *de saṅ Uttaṅka* means ‘the work of Uttaṅka’. Later on, *de* developed into denoting the agent. It is in apposition to *vṛddhi nikaṅ puṣpa*. [18] because. [19] *vĕkas* ‘order’, *vĕkas-vĕkas*: the doubling is for emphasis.

It happened that the wife of the guru had her menstrual period. She ordered Uttaṅka to put a son in her, so that her menstrual period does not go in vain. Uttaṅka refused. My duty is only to serve the guru by maintaining his hermitage. This made the wife of the guru furious. Bhagavān Veda returned. He saw the beauty of the hermitage and the flowers blooming all around by the work of Uttaṅka as per his instructions.

> *harṣa tāmbĕk*[1] *nira* | *mataṅ yan*[2] *maṅanugrahi saṅ Uttaṅka kasiddhyan iṅ mantra* | *kinon ira ta muliha*[3] | *ameta*[4] *ṅgvan*[5] *gavay*[6] *iṅ tamuy*[7] *riṅ āśrama* | *nahan hiḍĕp*[8] *nira* | *aminta*[9] *sira*[10] *pinalakvan*[11] *guruyāga* | *sakiṅ*[12] *sir*[13] *nirān paveha guru-yāga* | *agĕlĕṅ*[14] *ta bhagavān Veda* | *mataṅ yan sira makon*[15] *malakva*[16] *ri saṅ gurupatnī* | *sakahyun*[17] *saṅ gurupatnī yeka*[18] *gavayanyu*[19] | *aṅ maṅkana*[20] *liṅ nira mpu* |

[1] mind. [2] for which reason. [3] *ulih* ‘return’. [4] *pet* ‘to look for’. [5] place, room, spot. [6] serving as. [7] guest. The guru wanted room for the guests and hence he asked Uttaṅka to go home. [8] intention. [9] *pinta* ‘to ask’. [10] disciple. [11] *palaku* ‘to desire, require’. [12] because of. [13] insistence. [14] *agĕlĕṅ* (adj.) ‘angry’. *gĕlĕṅ* ‘anger’. [15] ordered. [16] to ask. *malakva: um–* shortened to *m–* and coalesced with the base *palaku.* [17] all that she desires. *sa–*‘all’ *kahyun* ‘desire’ (noun) from *hyun* ‘to wish’. [18] *ya* + *ika*. *ya* refers to the preceding word, compare *so ’ham, sa tvaṁ*. [19] *gavay-a-nyu* ‘will be your work’, *–a–* denotes future. [20] *aṅ maṅkana* ‘like this’, *aṅ* at the beginning of a sentence.

He was very pleased. For this reason, he taught Uttaṅka the siddhi of mantras. He asked him to return [home], so that he could make arrangements for guests coming to the hermitage. The intention [of Uttaṅka] was to ask if he could offer guruyāga. Because of his insistence to give guruyāga Bhagavān Veda was furious. He ordered him to ask his wife: you can fulfill all her desires. These were the instructions of the guru.

maṅabhivāda[1] *ta saṅ Uttaṅka i saṅ guru-patnī | upādhyāyen-anujñātaḥ | pinaka-ṅhulun*[2] *kinon ira mpu | maveha guru-yāga | ndān*[3] *sakahyun rahadyan*[4] *saṅhulun rakva*[5] *paveha*[6] *| aparan*[7] *ta kahyun*[8] *rahadyan saṅhulun | anuṅ*[9] *hanākna*[10] *pinakaṅhulun | an maṅkana liṅ saṅ Uttaṅka | sumahur*[11] *saṅ guru-patnī | rahayu yan maṅkana*[12] *| matutur*[13] *i salahāśa*[14] *nirān*[15] *pamaluyakĕn*[16] *śabda tanaṅgā*[17] *kinonkon*[18] *de nirānpalaku*[19] *putrotpādana ṅūni*[20] *| dadi ta*[21] *sirāmalaku*[22] *vastu mevĕh*[23] *|*

[1] addressed in a respectful way. [2] often used for 'I'. *ṅhulun* 'slave'. [3] but (*ndātan* 'but not'). [4] *ra* is an honorific prefix+ *hadyan* 'lord, lady'. *rahadyan* 'your ladyship'. *sa* serves as an article in *sa-ṅhulun. rahadyan saṅhulun* 'madame, mylady'. [5] of course. [6] *paveha* 'will be the gift' (*pa-* denotes that the word is a noun, *–a* is the future suffix). [7] what. [8] wish. [9] *anuṅ* 'whatever' (relative pronoun). [10] I will procure. [11] *sahur* 'to answer'. [12] A frequent phrase for expressing approval. *ra–* (honorific prefix) + *hayu* 'beauty': splendid. *yan maṅkana* 'if so'. [13] she remembered. *tutur* 'to remember'. [14] *salahāśa* 'disappointment' is half-Javanese and half-Skt. *salah* 'wrong, faulty'. [15] *an* 'in order to, so that'. [16] 'to do something in return, to reciprocate, to revenge', *valuy* 'again, back, return'. [17] refusal, words of refusal. [18] *konkon* 'to send a messenger, to ask a person by means of a messenger'. [19] *anpalaku* 'ask'. [20] formerly, once. [21] *dadi ta* 'so it happened'. [22] *amalaku* 'asked'. [23] *ivĕh* 'difficult', *mevĕh* is an adjective.

Uttaṅka reverentially saluted the wife of the guru. I have been ordered by the guru to offer guruyāga. Whatever you desire I will surely procure it. What is your desire that I have to procure. The wife of the guru responded: it is fine. She remembered her disappointment when he had refused to give her a son in former times. It occurred to her to ask for something hard to acquire.

anaku saṅ Uttaṅka | hana sira ratu[1] *mahārāja Poṣya ṅaran ira | saṅ prabhu riṅ Ayodhyā-nagarī | hana ta strī nira saṅ Sāvitrī*[2] *ṅaran ira | sira ta mabhūsaṇa*[3] *āditya- kuṇḍala | maṇi-kottama*[4] *niṅ*[5] *sarva-ratna | ikaṅ kuṇḍala sarika*[6] *ta kahyun*[7] *i ṅhulun* [8] *| apan*[9] *śuci-maṇ-īkaṅ*[10] *ratna | hiṅananta*[11] *tĕka*[12] *ṅke*[13] *irikaṅ*[14] *catur-divasa | pataṅ*[15] *vĕṅi*[16] *kavĕkas*[17] *| ya tika*[18] *kahyunku*[19] *pavehanta*[20] *yan tuhu*[21] *guru-bhakti | maṅkana liṅ saṅ guru-patnī |*

[1] king. [2] This name is not found in any Sanskrit text containing this story. [3] 'having as ornament' *ma–* 'to have, to be with, to be connected with'. It denotes a relation with the conception denoted by the base word. [4] *ka-uttama*. [5] 'among'. [6] resumptive pronoun: 'those, they'. [7] 'desire', *hyun* 'to wish'. [8] 'mine', *i* 'of'. [9] because. [10] Kern emends *śuci-[rū]pa nikaṅ*, *pa* and *ma* are very similar: *[rū]pa<ma*. [11] *hiṅan* 'time, term'+ *nta* 'your' + *–a* for future tense. [12] 'to come'. [13] here. [14] often found before words indicating time. Cf. French *il ya*, English *ago*. *°ṅ* is the definite article. There is no hard and fast line between the definite article and the demonstrative pronoun in many languages, e.g. German *das.* [15] *pat* 'four', *pataṅ* if it is connected with a noun. [16] 'nights'. The days are counted by nights, e.g. English *fortnight* (abbreviation of fourteen nights), Sanskrit *daśarātra*. [17] *vĕkas* 'and', *kavĕkas* 'at the most'. [18] those then (*ya tika* is stronger than *ya ta*). [19] *kahyun* 'wish'+ *ku* 'mine'. [20] 'to be your gift'. *paveh* 'gift' + *–a-* (future) +

–nta (your). [21] 'really'. Here it is an adverb. If it had been an adj. it would have been put after *guru-bhakti*.

My child Uttaṅka, there is king Mahārāja Pauṣya by name. He is the lord of the Ayodhyā state. His wife is Sāvitrī by name. She wears the Āditya-kuṇḍala ear-rings. They are the best among jewels. I wish to have those ear-rings, because they are purest among jewels. They will have to be brought here within four days. Four nights at the most. You have to fulfill this wish of mine if you are really devoted to the guru. Thus said the wife of the guru.

> *prihatin*[1] *ta saṅ Uttaṅka* | *māṅenaṅĕn i kadurlabhan*[2] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala* | *ṅūniveh*[3] *ḍatĕṅa*[4] *nirery*[5] *Ayodhyā ri pataṅ vĕṅi* | *apan atiśaya teka*[6] *dohnya*[7] | *kunaṅ pva tan kapalaṅĕn*[8] *bhakti nira riṅ guru* | *mataṅ yan*[9] *paṅlalu*[10] *lumampah*[11] *amet*[12] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala* | *ri lampah*[13] *nira mamaṅgih*[14] *ta sira vvaṅ anuṅgaṅ*[15] *ri vṛṣabha* | *ya tojar*[16] *i sira: bhoḥ Uttaṅka* | *yan mahyun kita*[17] *ḍatĕṅery*[18] *Ayodhyā* | *mĕne*[19] *gĕlĕk*[20] | *mūtra-purīṣaṁ bhakṣayasva* | *paṅan*[21] *tahi*[22] *ni lĕmbuṅku*[23] | *inum*[24] *uyuh*[25]*nya* | *sakṣaṇa*[26] *kita ḍatĕṅ ry Ayodhyā denya*[27] |

[1] 'disheartened, discouraged'. *prih* 'grief, sorrow+ *ati* 'heart'+ *ĕn* 'effected by (esp. illness, sorrow, trouble, pain'). [2] 'rarily', *ka- -an* form nouns like Skt. *–tā, –tva.* [3] 'and also, not to speak of'. [4] 'to come' (in the future). [5] *nira + iri* 'in'. [6] *ta+ika,* we do not have *tekaṅ* because *doh* is defined by *nya*. [7] 'its distance' (*doh* 'distance' *nya* 'its'). [8] 'wavering' (this is the meaning after *tan*). *palaṅ, alaṅ* 'to resist'. *tan kapalaṅĕn* 'not wavering, unshakeable'. [9] 'for which reason'. [10] *paṅlalu* 'to pass, to proceed' (after *–n* of *yan* we find *paṅlalu*). *maṅlalu* (vb.) 'conforming (to the wishes of another)'. [11] 'went'. [12] *pet* 'to look for'. [13] *ri lampah* 'on the way'. [14] *paṅgih* 'to meet, find'. [15] *tuṅgaṅ* 'to ride (on horse back, etc)' The two *a–* + nasalisation express a continuing action. [16] *ta+ujar* 'to speak' [17] 'you'. [18] *ḍatĕṅa* 'to go'+*iri* 'to, towards'. [19] 'now'. [20] 'quickly'. [21] The base word denotes an order. It can be translated as an imperative. [22] dung [23] *lĕmbu* 'cow' + *ṅ* (glide) + *ku* 'my'. [24] 'drink' [25] urine, *nya* 'its'. [26] *sa–* 'as soon as', 'all'. [27] 'by that'. Same as *de* 'that' which denotes an agent (subject of the sentence). With an intransitive verb it can be translated as 'by means of'.

Uttaṅka was disheartened, thinking how difficult it is to get those ear-rings. Moreover he had to return from Ayodhyā in four nights (i.e. days). It is very far off. Still in his unshakeable devotion to the guru, he proceeded to procure the ear-rings. On the way, he met a person riding an ox. He called him: Hey Uttaṅka, if you want to reach Ayodhyā at once, eat the dung of my ox and drink its urine. Thereby you will reach Ayodhyā that very moment.

> *maṅkana liṅ niṅ vvaṅ manuṅgaṅi lĕmbu ri sira* | *pinaṅan ira ta purīṣa nikaṅ vṛṣabha* | *ininum nira mūtranya* | *laghuḥ deho 'taḥ* | *maḍaṅan tāvak nira* | *ḍatĕṅ ta sirery*[1] *Ayodhyā* | *saḍatĕṅ*[2] *nira tumameṅ*[3] *kaḍatvan*[4] *mahārāja Poṣya* | *maṅāśīrvāda ta sira ri śrī mahārāja* | *umaritrāṇekaṅ*[5] *kuṇḍala* | *atyanta sādara mahārāja Poṣya* | *kinon ta sira tumameṅ kabinihajyan*[6] | *umalakva*[7] *ṅ kuṇḍala ri saṅ Sāvitrī* |

[1] *sira* is usually (not always) the subject. The oblique forms *nira* and *ira* are dependent on nouns, certain conjunctions and on prepositions. We mostly find *nira* if the preceding word ends in a vowel. They are always placed after the word when they denote the agent. [2] *sa–* 'as soon as'. It is equal to Skt absolutive followed by *eva*: *āgatyaiva* (*saḍatĕṅ*). [3] *tama* 'to enter, to go into'. [4] 'the royal residence'. *ḍatu* = *ratu* (*ḍ* and *r* interchange, it may be a dialectical variation). Besides *kaḍatvan* we also find *karatvan*> Modern Javanese *kraton*. *Ka- -an* indicate the place like *pa–* + *–an* in *patapan*. [5] *paritrāṇa* 'to help, deliver'. [6] 'royal harem'. *bini* 'wife' + *haji* 'prince': a royal wife. [7] *palaku* 'to ask, to go for', *laku* 'to go'.

Thus said the person riding on the ox to him. He [Uttaṅka] ate the dung of the ox and drank his urine. His body became light. He reached Ayodhyā. On arrival, he entered the palace of mahārāja Pauṣya. He blessed the mahārāja who was to lay hold on the ear-rings. Mahārāja Pauṣya was very polite and requested him to go to the ladies apartment and ask Sāvitrī for the ear-rings.

> *tumama ta sireṅ dalĕm*[1] | *ndatan katon saṅ Sāvitrī de nira* | *apan amaṅan purīṣa nikaṅ vṛṣabha* | *saṅ Sāvitrī ṅaran ira*[2]*strī patibratā* | *tan dadi*[3] *katon deniṅ vvaṅ campur*[4] | *muvah ta sira mareṅ*[5] *mahārāja Poṣya* | *mājar i*[6] *tan hana*[7] *saṅ Sāvitrī* | *kinon ta sirācamanā*[8] *rumuhum* | *kamĕnā nirān*[9] *tumame dalĕm* | *maśoca ta sira* | *huvus*[10] *nirācamana*[11] | *tumama ta sira tĕke dalĕm muvah* | *katon teka*[12] *saṅ Sāvitrī de nira makabhūṣaṇa ikaṅ*[13] *kuṇḍala* |

[1] 'the private apartment'. [2] *ṅaran ira* is for the sake of emphasis. [3] *tan dadi* 'it was not possible'. She could not be seen. [4] impure. [5] *para* 'to go'. *um–* at the beginning becomes *m–*. [6] concerning. [7] absence, not being there. [8] *ācamana+–a* (future). The suffix *–a* is found along with *kon* and its derivatives. [9] *an* is to emphasize the connection between the preceding and following words. [10] 'after'. [11] *ācamana* is a verb here. [12] *ta+ika* 'that'. It is not *ikaṅ* because it is followed by *saṅ*. [13] 'those'.

He entered the inner apartments but did not see Sāvitrī, because he had eaten the dung of the ox. Sāvitrī is the name of a devoted wife. She cannot be seen by an impure person. He again went to mahārāja Pauṣya and told him about the absence of Sāvitrī. He was asked to clean his mouth first and then enter the inner apartments. He became pure after rinsing his mouth. He again went into the inner apartments. He saw Sāvitrī wearing those very ear-rings.

> *mapakĕna*[1] *guruyāga* | *liṅ saṅ Uttaṅka mapinta*[2] *kuṇḍala* | *mojar ta saṅ Sāvitrī* | *sojar*[3] *ampu,*[4] *mahābhāra*[5] *ikuṅ*[6] *kuṇḍala* | *apan viśeṣa niṅ sarva-ratna ike*[7] | *hana ta nāga Takṣaka ṅaranya* | *lagi*[8] *mrārthanākĕn ikaṅ kuṇḍala teja* | *hayva ta mpu tan-prayatnā rika* | *maṅkana pavĕkas saṅ Sāvitrī ri sira* | *vinehakĕn ira tekaṅ kuṇḍala* | *agiraṅ ta saṅ Uttaṅka* |

[1] *kĕna* 'struck, hit', *pakĕna n.* 'the goal'. *mapakĕna* 'intended, desired, meant'. [2] *pinta* 'ask'. *mapinta* 'asking'. [3] *sa+ujar* 'according to your words'. A usual phrase in polite speech, like *yathājñāpayati devaḥ* in Sanskrit. [4] *ampu* = *mpu*. The prothetic *a–* makes the word dissyllabic. [5] 'very costly'. [6] *ikuṅ* 'these' (refers to things present, or to things belonging to the person

speaking). [7] *ike* ‘these’ is the subject of this sentence and it emphasizes the kuṇḍalas. [8] ‘again and again’.

Uttaṅka requested for the ear-rings which he had to give as an offering to his guru. Sāvitrī said: I will fulfill your desire. These ear-rings are very valuable (*mahābhāra*) and excel all other jewels. There is a nāga Takṣaka by name. He has been asking for these brilliant ear-rings again and again. You will have to be very careful about them. Such were the instructions of Sāvitrī on his departure. She handed over the ear-rings to him. Uttaṅka was in high spirits.

> *mājar ta sira riṅ mahārāja Poṣya | atĕhĕr*[1] *amvit*[2] *muliha*[3] *| sinayutan*[4] *ta sira | vineh bhojana rumuhun*[5] *| i sĕḍĕn*[6] *niṅ bhojana inarpaṇākĕn ri sira | katon taṅ*[7] *sĕkul*[8] *atis*[9] *| tatan yogya paṇanĕn*[10] *iṅ brāhmaṇa | liṅ nira: “yasmād aśuciṁ tvaṁ dadāsi | atiśayāśraddhānta mahārāja Poṣya | apan aveh*[11] *bhojana tanśuci | mataṅ yan*[12] *vutā*[13] *ta kita” | maṅkana liṅ saṅ Uttaṅka |*

[1] *tĕhĕr* ‘further, next’, *atĕhĕr* ‘doing next’. [2] *vvit* ‘to take leave’: *a* + nasalization. [3] *mulih* ‘to return’ + –*a*. [4] *sayut* ‘to hold back, to restrain’. He held him back. –*in*– denotes that there is an agent who is acting intentionally. [5] ‘first’. [6] ‘while’, *sĕḍĕn niṅ* ‘while its’. *in*– refers to an agent who acts intentionally. [7] ‘that’. [8] ‘rice’. [9] ‘cold’ He noticed that the rice were cold. [10] –*ĕn* always refers to the object, and –*a* refers to the agent. Both can be translated in Skt by a –*tavya* form. [11] ‘you give’. [12] if this is the reason that. [13] ‘you will become blind’ (–*a* ‘will become’)

He went to mahārāja Pauṣya to take leave to return. He was held back to take meals at first. In the food served to him he saw that the rice were cold, not fit to be eaten by a brāhmaṇa. He said: your devotion was exceptional, mahārāja Pauṣya. But you have offered me impure food and hence you will become blind.

> *sumahur mahārāja Poṣya | ika bhojana tanśuci kabeh*[1] *| apan*[2] *saka ri*[3] *gyā nira ri pamvīt*[4] *saṅ Uttaṅka muliha*[5] *tumuluy*[6] *| mataṅ yan aṅdadak*[7] *pinaṅlivĕtakĕn*[8] *| malĕs*[9] *ta sirānapatha: yasmād annaṁ dūṣayasi tasmād anapatyo bhaviṣyasi | ikiṅ sĕkul paveh*[10] *ni ṅhulun bhojana ri kita | sinaṅguh*[11] *ta tanśuci | tantuhu pva lviṅta*[12] *| jvah tasmāt anapatyā ta kita | an maṅkana panāpa mahārāja Poṣya ri saṅ Uttaṅka | huvus nirānāpa maṅupakṣamā ta sira |*

[1] altogether, whole. [2] ‘because of’, in Skt. it might be translated by an ablative. [3] it is a conjunction like Skt. *hi*. [4] ‘in taking leave’. [5] ‘to return’ (–*a* is also used in the sense of an infinitive, esp. when followed by another word). [6] *tuluy* ‘to pass on’, *tumuluy* ‘immediately, forthwith’. [7] *dadak* ‘to improvise’. [8] *pinaṅ-livĕt-akĕn: livĕt* ‘to cook rice in a pan’ (various words for cooking). *paṅ*– + –*in*– + *akĕn*: *paṅ*– + –*akĕn* ‘to have something done or made on behalf of a person’. –*in*– always refers to an object and a subject. The king had the rice cooked for himself in an improvisatory way and not for the brāhmaṇa. [9] *valĕs* ‘to return’. *malĕs* ‘in his turn’. [10] *paveh* ‘gift’ a noun in apposition to *sĕkul* ‘rice’. [11] *saṅguh* ‘to assert, to contend’. [12] *lviṅ* = *liṅ*. It is a pedantic form due to the tendency of later Javanese scribes to insert *y* or *v* between consonants as vocabulary of courtesy.

Mahārāja Pauṣya replied. The altogether impure food was served because you were in a hurry to return immediately. It had to be improvised and to be cooked in a pan. In return the curse is that you have called the rice served by me impure, your words are not true. Therefore you will have no children. Thus mahārāja Pauṣya cursed Uttaṅka. Having cursed him he pleaded for forgiveness.

> *mojar ta saṅ Uttaṅka | tan dadi*[1] *kadi kami*[2] *mithyāśāpa*[3] *| andha ta pva kita | na cirāt śapathaṁ mama | ndatĕn masove*[4] *kita vuta*[5] *| kadyaṅgan*[6] *mamin*[7] *vatĕk*[8] *śāpa ri kita | maṅkana ta kitān vatĕk śāpanta ri kami | nahan liṅ saṅ Uttaṅka | sumahur mahārāja Poṣya | liṅ ṅira: brāhmaṇasya vāci kṣuro niśitas tīkṣṇa-vāk-śaraḥ | krama*[9] *niṅ kadi kita brāhmaṇa kita vāk vajra | kadi laṇḍĕp*[10] *niṅ sañjata*[11] *laṇḍĕp in tutukta*[12] *| tuhun*[13] *hatinta*[14] *nirmala-svabhāva | kadi arṇava kita*[15] *| mataṅ yan sapaṅanugraha*[16] *sāmarthya kadi kita brāhmaṇa |*

[1] ‘cannot be’. [2] *kadi kami* ‘a man like me’, *kami* ‘we’ often used to denote the 1 pl. [3] a bahuvrīhi compound. [4] *sove* ‘long’, *masove* ‘to be long’. [5] *vutā* (-*a* for future). You will not be blind for long. [6] ‘just as’. [7] *mami* is the oblique form of the first person sg. [8] *vatĕk* ‘to reduce’. Cf. *an vatĕk* ‘you should (*an*) reduce’ in the next clause. [9] ‘manner, behaviour’. [10] *laṇḍĕp* ‘sharpness’. [11] *sañjata* <Skt. *saṁyata* ‘arms, weapons’. [12] *tutuk* ‘mouth’. [13] ‘however’. [14] *hati* ‘heart’. [15] Not in the Sanskrit text. [16] *sa-paṅ-anugraha* ‘all favours’. *sa*– expresses totality.

Uttaṅka said: it is impossible that the curse of one like me be ineffective (*mithyā*). You will be blind, but not for a long time. Thus said Uttaṅka. Mahārāja Pauṣya replied: the words of a brāhmaṇa like you are a vajra. Your speech is sharp like a weapon. However, your heart is of a pure nature. You are like the ocean. So all favours lie within the powers of a brāhmaṇa like you.

> *viparīta kṣatriya | kṣatriya viparīta ya | ri tutuk juga*[1] *nirmala | ri hati tīkṣṇa svabhāvanya | mahyun*[2] *yadyapi*[3] *| mataṅ yan gĕlĕṅ*[4] *ni ṅhulun maṅke*[5] *ri kita | yaya*[6] *galakta*[7] *ri ṅhulun | na śakto'haṁ śāpam anyathā kartum | ya ta mataṅ yan tar-vĕnaṅ*[8] *humilaṅākna*[9] *śāpa ni ṅhulun ri kita | maṅkana liṅ mahārāja Pauṣya |*
>
> *luṅhā*[10] *ta saṅ Uttaṅka | makolih*[11] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala | sĕḍĕṅ*[12] *hana riṅ havan*[13] *saṅ Uttaṅka | matĕmahan*[14] *agnīkaṅ śāpa*[15] *| meṅgĕp*[16] *vītarāgī veṣanya | vinorakĕn*[17] *iṅ teja saṅ hyaṅ āditya | kapanasan*[18] *ta saṅ Uttaṅka denya |*

[1] ‘only’. [2] *hyun* ‘desire’. [3] *mahyun yadyapi* ‘however much they desire’. [4] ‘anger’. [5] ‘now’. [6] ‘for’. [7] *galak* ‘wild, fierce, malicious.’ It is a noun because the pronoun *ta* is added to it. [8] ‘not able’. [9] *hilaṅ* ‘to disappear’. *h-um-ilaṅ-akn-a* (-*akĕn* is often causative). [10] ‘went away’. [11] *maka* + *ulih* ‘being in possession of’. *ulih* ‘to possess’. [12] ‘while’ [13] *riṅ havan* ‘on the way’ (पथि). [14] *tĕmah* ‘assume a form, metamorphose’. *matĕmahan agnīkaṅ*: the Sanskrit text has *nagnika*. The OJ. text might have been *nagnīkaṅ*. [15] curse of the king. [16] *eṅgĕp* ‘to represent oneself as’. [17] *vor* ‘to mix’, *vorakĕn* ‘to mix something with another’. The agent is not expressed. [18] hot. *ka*– + –*an* ‘to be hit by, to be affected by’.

The kṣatriya is reverse. He is pure only in speech. His nature is to be hard in the heart, however much he desires otherwise. That is why I was angry with you and malicious. I cannot revoke my curse on you. So said mahārāja Pauṣya.

Uttaṅka left with the ear-rings. While he was on the way, the curse [of the king] became fire. He dressed up as one free from passions. He was scorched by the heat of the sun. He was in great suffering.

hana ta vulakan[1] *ri tīra niṅ hĕnu*[2] | *ṅkana*[3] *ta madyus*[4] *saṅ Uttaṅka* | *ikaṅ kuṇḍala inĕnahakĕn*[5] *ireṅ*[6] *bhūtala* | *tumiṅhal*[7] *ta nāga Takṣaka masö*[8] *ta ya malap*[9] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala* | *katon*[10] *mara*[11] *ya*[12] *de saṅ Uttaṅka* | *inusi nira ta ya* | *kavĕnaṅa*[13] *ri hiḍĕpnya*[14] | *maluy*[15] *ta ya jātinya nāgarūpa* | *mĕṅā*[16] *ta saṅ hyaṅ Pṛthivī* | *umasuk*[17] *ta yerika* | *alayū*[18] *mare*[19] *pātāla sira* | *inastuti*[20] *nira tekaṅ nāga Takṣaka* | *pinalaku*[21] *nira ikaṅ kuṇḍala* | *saṅka yan*[22] *mapakĕna*[23] *de nira paṅguruyāga*[24] | *ndātan paveh ikaṅ nāga Takṣaka* |

[1] ‘spring’. [2] ‘way’. [3] ‘there’. [4] ‘bathed’. [5] *in-ĕnah-akĕn. ĕnah* ‘to put, to place’. [6] *ira+iṅ.* [7] ‘saw’. [8] *asö* ‘to approach’, *masö* (*–um* shortened to *m–*). [9] *alap* ‘to take’. [10] *ka-ton, ka–* denotes that the action is un-intentional. [11] ‘then’. [12] refers to Takṣaka. [13] *ka-vĕnaṅ-a*: *vĕnaṅ* ‘to win, to overpower’, *–a* for future. [14] *hiḍĕp* ‘mind’. Takṣaka thought that he would be overpowered by Uttaṅka. [15] *valuy* ‘again’. [16] *vĕṅā* ‘to open, to be open, to split.’ [17] ‘entered’. [18] *layū* ‘run’. [19] *mara + i, para* ‘to come’. [20] *in-astuti(–a–* is prothetic). [21] ‘asked’. [22] *saṅka yan* ‘because’. [23] ‘intended for’. [24] *paṅ–* is for action nouns.

There was a spring at the road side. He took a bath there, after having put the ear-rings on the ground. Takṣaka saw them and approached to take them away. Uttaṅka chanced to see him coming. He chased him. Takṣaka thought in his mind and assumed his form of a nāga. The earth split and he entered in it. Uttaṅka ran to the nether world and praised nāga Takṣaka that he took the kuṇḍalas. They were intended for being offered to the guru. Takṣaka did not give them.

kevala luṅhā[1] *humötakĕn*[2] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala-maṇi*[3] | *pinet*[4] *ta ya de saṅ Uttaṅka* | *anon*[5] *ta sira strī rvaṅ siki*[6] *manĕnun*[7] | *lvir*[8] *nikaṅ lave*[9] *tinĕnunya*[10] *hirĕṅ*[11] *lavan putih* | *mvaṅ hana ta ṣaṭ kumāra* | *rare*[12] *nĕmaṅ*[13] *siki n*[14] *paṅidĕrakĕn*[15] *cakra* | *dvādaśa arāḥ* | *rvavĕlas*[16] *sĕṅkĕrnya*[17] | *muvah hana ta vvaṅ manuntun*[18] *kuda*[19] *katon de nira* | *inastuti nira ta sahananya*[20] | *tinañan*[21] *ira ta paran*[22] *ikaṅ nāga Takṣaka* | *mamarah*[23] *to saṅ manuntun kuda* | *ai saṅ Uttaṅka* | *yan mahyun kita kapaṅgiha*[24] *nikaṅ kuṇḍala* | *nahan*[25] *iki*[26] *kudaṅku*[27] *ya*[28] *dĕmvani*[29] *ike*[30] *silitnya*[31] | *yatanyān*[32] *mijil*[33] *tekaṅ kukus*[34] *saṅke*[35] *mukhanya* | *upupakne*[36] *ri vivara nikaṅ Takṣaka masuk*[37] | *niyatekaṅ Takṣakāvĕdi*[38] | *umvataknekaṅ*[39] *kuṇḍala ri kita* | *an maṅkana liṅ saṅ manuntun kuda* |

[1] ‘he went away’. [2] *höt* ‘to hide, conceal’. [3] = *maṇi-kuṇḍala* in Sanskrit order. [4] *pet* ‘look for’. [5] *ton* ‘to see’. [6] *rvaṅ siki* ‘two pieces’. [7] *tĕnun* ‘to weave’. It becomes continuative with nasalization: ‘were weaving’. [8] ‘appearance’. [9] ‘thread’ [10] *tĕnun* ‘to weave’. [11] ‘black’. [12] ‘boy’.

[13] *nĕm* 'six'. *–aṅ* is added after a numeral. [14] *n* = *an* to emphasize. After it we find *pa–* and not *ma–*. [15] *idĕr* 'to turn round'. *pa-ṅ–* indicates continuative action, and *–akĕn* a definite object that will follow. [16] *rva(2)vĕlas(10)* = 12. *vĕlas* is 10 in connection with 20, otherwise 10 is *puluh*. [17] *seṅkĕr* 'spoke'. [18] *tuntun* 'to lead, to conduct', *manuntun* 'leading'. [19] 'horse'. [20] 'all those present' (*sa–* all, *hana* to exist, *–nya* them). [21] 'asked'. [22] 'destination, the place to which one goes'. *para* 'to go' (cf. English go-al). [23] 'informed'. [24] 'to find, to obtain'. [25] 'thus'. [26] 'this' [27] *kuda-ṅ-ku*: after a vowel *–ṅ–* is added before *ku*; *ku* 'my'. [28] refers to the horse. [29] *dĕmu-an-i* 'blow', *–i* denotes that the action is directed towards a particular object. [30] *ika* + *i* = Skt. *tatra* (locative). [31] 'anus'. [32] 'in order that'. [33] *vijil* 'to come out' (*um–* shortened to *m*). [34] 'smoke' [35] 'from'. [36] *upup* 'to fumigate'. [37] *asuk* 'to enter'. [38] *avĕdi*, *vĕdi* 'to be afraid'. [39] *um-vat-akn-a*, *vvat* 'to present, offer'. The first *v* of *vvat* disappears when it is inserted.

He went away to hide the jewelline ear-rings. Uttaṅka looked for him. He saw two women weaving. They were weaving black and white threads. Six boys were turning the wheel which had twelve spokes. There was another man riding a horse. Uttaṅka saw them and prayed to all the present to tell him the destination of nāga Takṣaka. The one riding the horse informed: if you wish to get back the ear-rings, blow into the anus of my horse. It will produce smoke from its mouth. It will fill the hole where Takṣaka has entered. He will surely be frightened and will return the ear-rings to you.

tan vihaṅ[1] *saṅ Uttaṅka* | *tinulup nira ta silit nikaṅ kuda* | *mijil taṅ agni sakeṅ sarvendriya-nya*[2] | *saha dhūm-anavarata humibĕki*[3] *nāga-loka* | *haroharekaṅ*[4] *nāga Takṣaka* | *ḍatĕṅ*[5] *umehakĕn*[6] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala ri saṅ Uttaṅka* | *tĕhĕr*[7] *aṅupakṣamā* | *tinaṅgap*[8] *saṅ Uttaṅka ikaṅ kuṇḍala* | *inaṅĕn-aṅĕn*[9] *ira*[10] *tikaṅ divasa* | *tan dadi*[11] *kavvat*[12] *vĕṅinya*[13] *ta ya*[14] | *maṅke*[15] *npaśuci*[16] *hana*[17] *saṅ guru-patnī* | *vyartha ikiṅ kuṇḍala ulihku*[18] | *apan paṅlĕvihi*[19] *divasa* | *maṅkana liṅ nirān*[20] *panaṅis*[21] |

[1] 'obeyed', *tan* 'not' + *vihaṅ* 'to resist'. [2] 'all the openings of its body'. [3] *hibĕk* 'full, to fill'. [4] *harohara* 'bewildered'. [5] 'came'. [6] *veh* 'to give'. [7] 'next, after that'. [8] *taṅgap* 'to take'. [9] 'pondered'. [10] Uttaṅka. [11] 'it was not possible' (at the beginning of a sentence). [12] *ka-uvat* 'offered'. [13] 'that evening', the evening of the same day. *–nya* is used to form adverbs. [14] refers to *kuṇḍalas*. [15] 'now'. [16] *n–* is the emphasizing element. [17] 'the being' (of the guru-patnī). [18] *ulih-ku* 'in my possession'. It is of no use that I have obtained the ear-rings. [19] *lĕvih* 'more', *paṅlĕvih* 'to be more than, to have passed a certain date). They are too late. [20] *an* 'while'. [21] 'weeping'.

Uttaṅka obeyed him. He blew the anus of the horse. Fire came out from all the openings of the body. The smoke constantly filled the land of nāgas. Nāga Takṣaka was bewildered. He came out with the ear-rings to give them to Uttaṅka. He apologized. Uttaṅka took the ear-rings. Then he thought of the day. It is not possible to offer them by this very evening as desired by the wife of the guru. These ear-rings in my possession are useless, because they are late (or have passed the date). Thinking thus he wept.

mojar ta saṅ manuntun kuda | ai saṅ Uttaṅka | hayva[1] *kamu*[2] *saṁśayā | tuṅgaṅi kudaṅku | tĕkā*[3] *kita usĕn*[4] *| amĕnaṅana*[5] *saṅ guru-patnīnta | maṅkanānugraha saṅ manuntun kuda | tinuṅgaṅan irekaṅ*[6] *kuda | kṣaṇika*[7] *sira tĕkeṅ āśrama saṅ kāla nira tĕlas madyus*[8] *| maṅunakĕn*[9] *pahyas*[10] *| katon saṅ Uttaṅka | mvatakĕn*[11] *ikaṅ kuṇḍala ri sira | sanyāsāmbĕk*[12] *nirāgĕlĕṅa*[13] *| śumāpā*[14] *saṅ Uttaṅka ri vyartha nikaṅ divasa-samaya | amĕnaṅi*[15] *pva sira kāla*[16] *|*

[1] 'don't'. [2] pronoun of the 2 person pl. (pluralis majestatis). [3] 'you will come' (*–a* future). [4] 'quickly'. [5] *vĕnaṅ* 'to win, attain'. *a-mĕnaṅ-an-a* 'you will attain' a definite person. [6] *ira* refers to Uttaṅka + *ikaṅ* 'that'. [7] 'in a moment, immediately'. [8] *tĕlas* indicates a completed action: when she had bathed. [9] *vaṅun* 'to construct, to arrange, to put in order, to perform'. [10] *pahyas*: *pa-* forms nouns, *hyas* 'to dress or adorn oneself'. [11] *vvat* 'offer'. [12] *sanyāsa* 'as if, if'. *sa–* denotes 'in agreement with' + *nyāsa* 'to represent oneself', *ambĕk* 'mind'. [13] *gĕlĕṅ* 'angry'. [14] *śāpa* + *–um–* + *–a* (denotes doubtfulness). [15] 'he came to her'. [16] adv. 'on time' (Skt. *kāle*).

The horseman said: Hey Uttaṅka, do not worry. Get on to my horse. You will reach quickly and meet the wife of your guru. The horseman obliged him thus. He mounted the horse and in a moment reached the hermitage of the wife of the guru. By that time she had taken her bath, was about to dress up, and was awaiting Uttaṅka to bring her the ear-rings. She was angry in her mind and was about to curse Uttaṅka for the violation of time. But he reached her just in time.

harṣa ta saṅ guru-patnī | pinalaku[1] *nira ikaṅ kuṇḍala | an pinakakuṇḍalā nira | inalap*[2] *nira taṅ kuṇḍala saṅke*[3] *taṅan*[4] *saṅ Uttaṅka | atĕhĕr*[5] *aṅastvakĕn*[6] *saṅ Uttaṅka umaṅguha*[7] *ṅ kasiddhyan*[8] *| manĕmbah ta saṅ Uttaṅka ri saṅ guru-patnī | ri tĕlas*[9] *nira maṅkana | mājar ta sira ri sakatĕmu*[10] *de nireṅ havan*[11] *| mvarah*[12] *ta sira ri bhagavān Veda | liṅ bhagavān Veda | uḍuh*[13] *anaku saṅ Uttaṅka | atyanta durlabha*[14] *ni pavehta guruyāga | kunaṅ*[15] *denta*[16] *bhakti riṅ guru moghā*[17] *kavĕnaṅ*[18] *|*

[1] *palaku* 'to ask'. [2] *alap* 'to take'. [3] 'from'. [4] 'hand'. [5] '(doing) next'. [6] *astu* in a base word in OJ to denote the idea of 'blessing'. [7] 'in order to obtain'. *paṅguh* 'to obtain'. [8] = *siddhi*. [9] *ri* indicates the object. *tĕlas* is used as a noun because followed by *nira*. [10] *sa* 'all' (indicates totality), when *sa* precedes a word base we often find *saka–*. *tĕmu* 'to find, to meet'. [11] 'way'. [12] 'informed'. *varah* 'to inform'. [13] interjection expressing astonishment. [14] it is a noun because it is followed by *ni* (genitive in Skt.). [15] 'however'. [16] 'the fact that you display [bhakti]: *de* 'work' + *n* + *ta* 'your'. [17] OJ 'anyhow, indeed'. [18] *vĕnaṅ* 'win, obtain'.

The wife of the guru was happy. She had requested the ear-rings so that she could wear them. She took them from the hands of Uttaṅka. Then she blessed Uttaṅka for his success in obtaining them. Uttaṅka folded his hands to the wife of the guru. After this, he narrated all that he met on the way to bhagavān Veda. Bhagavān Veda said: ah my son Uttaṅka, your gift of the guru-offering is extremely difficult to obtain. Because of your devotion to the guru you could obtain them anyhow.

hana pveka[1] *patakvanta*[2] *ikaṅ vṛṣabha pinaṅguhta*[3] | *airāvaṇa ika* | *kunaṅ*[4] *saṅ manuṅgaṅi vṛṣabha* | *saṅ hyaṅ Indra ika* | *prasiddha*[5] *mitraṅku sira* | *avĕlas*[6] *ta manah(nya) tumon i kita* | *yapvan*[7] *ikaṅ purīṣa mvaṅ ĕyĕh*[8] *niṅ vṛṣabha pinaṅanta* | *amṛta ika* | *ikaṅ strī rvānĕnun katon denta* | *saṅ Dhātā Vidhātā ika* | *ikaṅ lave*[9] *tinĕnunyāhirĕṅ lavan putih rātrī divasa tatvanya*[10] | *kunaṅ rare*[11] *nĕmaṅ siki* | *ṣaḍ ṛtu ika* | *ikaṅ cakra dvādaśāra* | *dvādaśa rāśi tattvanya* | *kunaṅ ikaṅ pinutĕrnya*[12] | *saṁbatsara tattva nika* |

[1] *hana pva* (at the beginning of a sentence) 'now as to', *ika* 'that'. [2] 'your question'. *pa-takvan-ta*(your). [3] *paṅguh* 'to meet'. [4] 'but, however'. [5] 'you must know' (Skt. *kila*). [6] *vĕlas* 'pity', *avĕlas* 'to have pity on'. [7] 'as to, as for'. [8] 'urine'. *ĕyĕh* is the older form of *uyuh* (which has come earlier in this text). The ancient *pĕpĕt* develops into *u* in later Javanese. [9] 'thread'. [10] 'in reality'. [11] 'boys'. [12] 'they turned round', *putĕr* 'to turn round'.

Now your question about the ox you saw. He was Airāvaṇa. The person sitting on the ox was lord Indra. You must know that he is my friend. Out of mercy he helped you. As to the dung and urine you ate was nectar (*amṛta*). The two ladies engaged in weaving seen by you were Dhātā and Vidhātā. The black and white thread they were weaving are day and night in reality. The six boys are the six seasons. The twelve spokes of the wheel are the twelve Signs of the Zodiac. Their turning was the year in reality.

yapvan ikaṅ vvaṅ manuntun kuda, saṅ Pāñcajanya ika | *tattva nikaṅ kuda saṅ hyaṅ Agni ika* | *ya ika tinuṅgaṅan mataṅ yan kitan*[1] *tĕka*[2] *usĕn*[3] | *saṁkṣepanya* | *māsih*[4] *ikaṅ sarva-devatā de niṅ*[5] *kaguruśuśrūṣanta* | *tava sukham upalabhyate* | *mataṅ yan ikaṅ sukha kapaṅguh denta* | *ulih*[6] *tānaku* | *huvus*[7] *siddhi-mantra kita* | *maṅkana liṅ bhagavān Ved-āṅanugraha saṅ Uttaṅka* | *huvus saṅ Uttaṅka kṛt-ānugraha ni bhagavān Veda* |

[1] *kita-n* (*n* for emphasis). [2] 'come'. [3] 'soon'. [4] *asih* 'to love'. [5] *de niṅ* 'because of'. [6] 'return'. [7] 'already', indicates completed action.

The person leading the horse was Pāñcajanya. The horse was Agni in reality. Riding on it you reached immediately. In short, all the gods had mercy because of your devotion to the guru. That is why you enjoyed this favour (*sukha*). You go back having gained perfection in the mantras. Thus Bhagavān Veda blessed Uttaṅka.

kintu tĕlas[1] *karuhun*[2] *paṅanugraha saṅ guru* | *inaṅĕn-aṅĕn ira ta ṅhel*[3] *nira de nikaṅ*[4] *nāga Takṣaka* | *krodh-āmbĕk*[5] *nirāhyun*[6] *malĕsāgave*[7] *upāya*[8] *irikaṅ nāga Takṣaka* | *an maṅkanābhiprāya nira* | *lumāmpah ta sira mareṅ*[9] *Hastināpura* | *kathaṁcit mahārāja Janamejaya haṅar*[10] *ḍatĕṅ*[11] *saṅka*[12] *paṅdonan*[13] *ira* | *huvus malahakĕn*[14] *ikaṅ deśa Takṣila*[15] | *maluṅguh*[16] *ta sireṅ vataṅan*[17] | *pinarĕk*[18] *deniṅ taṇḍa*[19] *mantrī nira* | *ḍatĕṅ ta bhagavān Uttaṅka* | *maṅuccāraṇākĕn Veda śānti-mantra* |

[1] indicates a completed action, cf. Skt. *sma*. [2] *ruhun* 'beginning, first'. *ka-ruhun* 'preceded by, having preceded'. When the giving of the anugraha by the guru had preceded. [3] 'trouble,

difficulty'. [4] 'on account of, brought about by, which were the work (*de*) of'. [5] 'mind', *krodha adj.* angry. [6] *hyun* 'to wish, to desire'. [7] *valĕs* 'back, return', *malĕsa* 'to take revenge'. *agave* 'by making, by doing'. [8] 'scheme, trick, deceit'. [9] *para* 'to go'. *mareṅ +iṅ* is often used as a preposition. [10] 'just now'. [11] 'arrived'. [12] 'from'. [13] 'military expedition', *don* 'aim, design, object in view'. [14] *alah* 'be defeated'. *m–* (abbreviation of *um+alah +akĕn* 'to conquer, to gain victory'. [15] Cf Greek Taxila. [16] *luṅguh* 'to sit'. [17] *vataṅan* 'place of royal audience'. [18] *parĕk* 'to approach, to wait upon'. [19] *taṇḍa* 'high official'.

After having been blessed by the guru, he thought of the troubles caused by nāga Takṣaka. He became angry and wanted to find a way to take revenge against Takṣaka. Such was his intention. He went straight to Hastināpura. It so happened that mahārāja Janamejaya had just returned from a military expedition after defeating the kingdom of Takṣilā. He was sitting in the royal audience hall, with his officials and ministers in waiting. Bhagavān Uttaṅka appeared before him and recited the hymns of peace from the Vedas.

> *mojar ta sireṅ mahārāja* | *"sājñā*[1] *haji, ikaṅ byāpāra pāduka*[2] *śrī mahārāja dumon*[3] *ikaṅ*
> *deśa Takṣila* | *atyanta kĕnoh*[4] *ika*[5] | *apan tanbhaktinya ri haji* | *tan hana kārya bhāra*[6]
> *saṅkerika*[7] | *anuṅ*[8] *yukti*[9] *gavayakna*[10] *usĕn*[11] | *ya tika*[12] *tan vava-rĕṅön*[13] *de saṅ nātha* |
> *aparan*[14] *ikaṅ kārya yukti* | *yan liṅa*[15] *haji* | *nahan rāma*[16] *rahadyan saṅhulun* | *mahārāja*
> *devatā*[17] | *sira pĕjah*[18] *sinahut*[19] *iṅ nāga Takṣaka* | *ndatan hana doṣa nira* | *vajrāhata*
> *ivācalaḥ* | *kadi ta sira vukir*[20] *agöṅ*[21] *pinaṅan*[22] *iṅgĕlap*[23] | *atyanta kāsyasih*[24] *nira* | *agĕrah*[25]
> *ācāra nikaṅ khala*[26] *Takṣaka* |

[1] *sājñā* is used in addressing kings or high placed officials, while *sojar* (by your leave) is used in addressing common people, *kṣantavyam* is a very polite expression for addressing exalted persons. *Kṣantavyaṁ* has been shortened to *tabe* and is a colloquial term for 'good bye' in taking leave, used by school boys and people of lower strata. [2] used to indicate the king, esp. prostrating and seeing the feet only (*devapāda*). In modern Javanese *dhūli* means Your Majesty. [3] *don* 'to aim' [4] 'right, correct, good'. [5] resumptive pronoun. [6] 'important'. [7] *saṅka* 'from', may indicate 'than' after comparative degree of adjectives. *irika* 'that' (i.e. expedition). No other work was more important than that. [8] 'whatever'. [9] fit (adj). [10] 'to do'. [11] 'soon, urgently'. [12] *ya tika* 'just that' (for emphasis). [13] *vava* (to bring)-*rĕṅön* (to hear): 'to pay attention to'. [14] 'what'. [15] *yan liṅa* 'so to say'. [16] 'father'. *r* (honorific prefix) + *āma* = rāma. [17] 'the late regretted' (used of dead kings or very high personages.) [18] 'died'. [19] *sahut* 'to bite'. [20] 'mountain'. [21] 'big, great'. [22] *paṅan* 'to eat' (said of lightning striking a mountain). [23] 'thunderclap'. [24] pitiable', *ka-* + *asi* + *asih* 'love, affection'. [25] 'tormenting, offensive'. [26] 'wicked'.

He said to the king: with the permission of Your Majesty, that expedition to attack Taxila was very correct because it was not loyal to Your Majesty. There was nothing more important than that. There is another immediate action to be attended to by My Lord. What is that right action? By the words of Your Majesty, the father of Your Majesty, the late (devatā) king died bitten by nāga

Takṣaka, without any fault, like a big mountain struck by the thunderbolt. It was very unfortunate. The conduct of the wicked Takṣaka was pernicious.

> *sugyan*[1] *ta haji magavaya*[2] *ṅ yajña sarpa*[3] | *makaphala patya*[4] *nikaṅ nāgādhama* | *apan maṅkana ṅ kṣatriya ṅaranya* | *si*[5] *utsāha ri patya niṅ śatru gumavayakĕn*[6] *duḥkha nira* | *ikaṅ nāga Takṣaka pva prasiddha duṣṭa* | *sumahut*[7] *i rāma rahadyan saṅhulun* | *yukti ta ya tumibā*[8] *ri dilah*[9] *hyaṅ agni sĕḍĕṅ pinūjā de saṅ brāhmaṇa* | *apan kaduṣṭan ikaṅ nāga Takṣaka* | *huvus ikāmighne*[10] *bhujaṅga*[11] *haji* | *umalapi*[12] *kuṇḍalāṅgĕh*[13] *guru-yāga rabhujaṅga*[14] *haji* | *ya ta mataṅ yan krodha bhujaṅga pāduka śrī mahārāja iriya*[15] |

[1] 'it might be advisable, perhaps'. [2] *gavay* 'to make', *magavaya* 'should make'. [3] it is the Javanese order of *sarpa-yajña*. [4] *pati* 'death'. *–a* in *patya* indicates that the *phala* will take place in the future. [5] *si* can make a following word or words a noun or a nominal phrase. [6] 'who brings about'. [7] *sahut* 'to bite'. [8] 'he will fall' (*–ā* denotes future or uncertainty). [9] 'flame'. [10] *a–* + nasalization of *vighna* + *–i*. [11] *bhujaṅga* = bhagavān, learned brāhmaṇa. It is the Sanskritised form of the pure Indonesian word *bujaṅ*. Modern Javanese *pujåṅgå* 'royal poet, court poet'. [12] 'by taking'. [13] *aṅgĕh* 'destined for, intended for'. [14] *ra* is honorific. [15] 'with him' (i.e. Takṣaka).

It is advisable to perform a serpent sacrifice so that the vile nāga is dead. One called a kṣatriya has to kill an enemy who brings him harassment. That nāga Takṣaka has been most wicked in biting the father of Your Majesty. It is appropriate that he falls in the flames of fire in which worship is being conducted by a brāhmaṇa. In his villany nāga Takṣaka created impediments in the way of your brāhmaṇa by taking away the ear-rings intended as an offering to my guru. That is why your brāhmaṇa is furious against him.

> *ndatan sayogya*[1] *ṅvaṅ*[2] *viku*[3] *magavaya*[4] *ḍaṇḍa* | *mataṅ yan hĕnĕṅ*[5] *rabhujaṅga haji* | *kunaṅ*[6] *śrī mahārāja yogya magavaya ḍaṇḍa* | *apan dharma niṅ kadi kita kṣatriya* | *ikaṅ ḍumĕṇḍa yukti ḍĕṇḍan*[7] | *nahan liṅ saṅ Uttaṅka ri mahārāja Janamejaya* | *mapraveśa ta mahārāja Janamejaya ri kakṣatriyan*[8] *ira* | *tumakvanakĕn*[9] *yan tuhu mahārāja devatā pĕjah sinahut*[10] *de niṅ nāga Takṣaka* | *siṅgih*[11] *liṅ niṅ mantrī nira kabeh*[12] | *krodha śrī mahārāja* | *mataṅ yan agave*[13] *yajña-sarpa* | *mituhu*[14] *varah*[15] *bhagavān Uttaṅka sira* |
>
> *nahan ta carita saṅ Ugraśravā ri saṅ Daśasvāmī sira kabeh* |
> *ṅaran ikaṅ carita* | *iti poṣyacarita* ||

[1] *sa–* 'in accordance with'. [2] The definite article *ṅ* is often put before a word to express generality. [3] *viku* is also used for non-Buddhist monks. It is one of the very few Pali words in OJ. [4] *gavay* 'to award'. [5] 'to be silent or sit idle by'. [6] 'however'. [7] 'a punishable person'. [8] 'palace'. [9] *takvan* 'to ask'. [10] 'bitten'. [11] 'really, true, indeed' (indicates affirmation). [12] 'all'. [13] 'made'. *gave* is the younger form of *gavay*. [14] 'true'. *mi–* is the nasalized form of *pi–* to indicate causative or transitive verbs, esp. those which refer to a definite case. [15] 'information'.

It is not proper for a monk to award punishment. So I have taken no action. It is correct for Your Majesty to punish him. It is the duty of a kṣatriya like Yourself to punish the guilty. Thus Uttaṅka said to the King. King Janamejaya went to his palace to enquire if the late King had died bitten by nāga Takṣaka. All the ministers affirmed it as true. The King was furious. He performed a serpent sacrifice, as the information of Uttaṅka was true.

This is the story narrated by Ugraśravā to the ten sages. The name of the story is Pauṣyacarita.

31. OLD JAVANESE BHĪṢMAPARVA

kṛṣṇ-āṅg-ambhoda-paṅktiḥ kila kapila-jaṭā-jālik-āveṣṭamāno
dhūli-preṅkhad-balākā niratiśaya-bala-stotra-parianya-ghoṣaḥ|
yasya jñāna-pravarṣaḥ sukhayati janatā-nīlakaṇṭha-pravāhān
taṁ vande Vyāsa-saṁjñā-yutam anukṛtaye mātrayā tad-guṇānām||

hana[1] *sira*[2] *paṇḍit-ātiśaya kottaman*[3] *ira*[4]|*nīlakaṇṭha*[5] *kiris*[6] *śarīra nira*|*kāṅkĕn*[7] *megha*| *bhinūṣaṇan*[8] *deni*[9] *kapila-jaṭā kāṅkĕn kilata*[10]| *inadyutan*[11] *iṅ*[12] *bhasma putih kāṅkĕn vĕlaha*[13] *ya*[14]| *gambhīr-atĕrĕh*[15] *pva*[16] *vijil*[17] *nikaṅ*[18] *stuti saṅka tutuk nira yatika*[19] *tulya*[20] *gĕntĕra*[21]|*ikaṅ rāt*[22] *kabeh pva*[23] *kadi*[24] *samūha niṅ mayūra*|*sukh-ātiharṣ-āgiraṅ*[25] *deniṅ jñāna nira kāṅkĕn udana*[26]|*sira ta*[27] *saṅ paṇḍita samaṅkana kasobhāgyan ira*[28]| *sira ta śrī bhagavān Vyāsa ṅaran ira*|*namaskāra sambah ni ṅhulun i sira*[29]| *palar*[30] *katirva*[31] *mātra*[32] *nikaṅ guṇa hane*[33] *sira*|

[1]. At the beginning of a sentence it means: there was, once upon a time, Skt. आसीत्। So also in Modern Javanese and Malay. [2]. Mainly an honorific word which agrees with the article in modern languages. It means 'the', sometimes to be translated as 'a'. It also indicates the honorific 3rd p. pl. [3]. *ka*– + –*an* expresses abstract ideas, = Skt. –*tā*. [4]. possessive form of *sira*, equal to 'his' in English. It is a complex sentence pattern without any joining word for subordinate clauses. [5]. It means 'peacock-like'. No difference between substantive and adjective. It is the predicate. [6]. 'smooth, shining, Skt. *snigdha*'. The *snigdhatā* of his body was peacock-like. [7]. 'just like, may be compared to'. [8]. The infix –*in*– refers to the person who is subject to the action of the verb. It means: 'bhūṣaṇas have been applied to this person'. –*an* replaces the suffix –*i* (which has the same value) when the word contains an –*in*–. –*an* and –*i* refer mainly to a place or locality. The –*in*– form is used if the process or action expressed by the verb has been performed intentionally. The agent has willingly or consciously performed the action. [9]. *de*– 'by' + *ni* 'of'. *ni* often expresses a relation between two nouns. *deni* 'by, by means of'. [10]. *kīla* 'flame' (lexical word), *kilat* 'lightning', *kilat-a* the word to which –*a* is attached is not a real fact, but a mental fact. The person speaking sees it before his mental eyes. He hopes that it will turn up, it shall or will be. –*a* is also used in similes: *kāṅkĕn kilat-a* 'just like lightning'. Lightning is not an actual fact, it exists only in the mind of the speaker or writer. It is also possible that the OJ author has misunderstood Skt. *kila* as *kīla* 'flame' or as *kilat* 'lightning'. [11]. *in-adyut-an* from *ādyota*. Sometimes Skt. –*o*– becomes –*u*– in OJ (*o* > *u* and *ā* > *a*). It points to a vulgarization in adoption by the masses. –*in*– becomes *in*– when added to a word-base (WB) beginning with a vowel. [12]. *i* and *iṅ* indicate a very general

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PW = Otto Böhtlingk und Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1872–1875.
Z = P.J. Zoetmulder, *Old-Javanese-English Dictionary*, vol.1 (A–O), vol.2 (P–Y), 'S–Gravenhage (Martinus Nijhoff), 1982.

relation which may be translated by: on, by, at. If the following words are determined we mostly find *i*. We find *i* when there is a definite article corresponding to English 'the', or if there is another word depending on the word which follows *i*. If the following word is not determined we generally find *iṅ:*

anak i bapanya

anak iṅ bapa (because *bapa* is not determined, it is a father in general, not a particular father). [13] *vĕlaha* Skt. *balāhaka* 'crane'. [14] *ya* 'indeed', a weak indeed. [15] 'quiet, still, calm'. The prefix *a–* shows that it is an adjective. [16] Skt. *tu* . [17] *vijil* can be both a verb 'to come out' and a substantive 'the coming out'. As the subject of a sentence it is a substantive 'the coming out of praise from his mouth'. [18] *n-ika-ṅ*: *n–* is the genitive of Skt., *ika* 'that', *–ṅ* is an exception here. If the following word is determined we do not find *–ṅ*.[19] *ya-tika*: *ya* 'that'+ *tika* is a longer form of *ika* as being more expressive or more accentuated. *ya-tika* means *tadeva* in Skt. [20] 'just as, like'. [21] 'thunder' (Mod. Jav. *guntur*). *–a* in a simile: the thunder exists only in the mind of the speaker. [22] *rāt*: in monosyllabic words the mss consistently have a long vowel. In very many cases we can prove that Indonesian languages have disyllabic words. The long vowel is a product of contraction. The *–h–* often disappears as it is always weak: **ra[h]at>rāt*. [23] Skt. *tu*. [24] Skt. *iva*: the whole world was like a multitude of peacocks. [25] Synonymous words of Skt. and OJ in the predicate: they were delighted by his knowledge just like rain. [26] *udan-a*: *udan* 'rain' + *–a* for the simile. [27] Skt. *tu, kila*. [28] 'whose *saubhāgya* was as follows'. [29] 'to him'. OJ prefers a nominal sentence. [30] 'perhaps, in order to'. [31] *ka-tirv-a: tiru* 'to follow, to imitate'. *ka–* indicates that the action is said of a person or thing who does not perform the action but of one who undergoes the action. If *ka–* is used a conscious or willful agent is performing the action. The suffix *–a* shows that the action is no reality, it exists in the mind of the speaker. [32] 'a trifle, a part of it'. [33] *hane* = *hana* + *–i* 'existing in'. I adore him in order that (or perhaps so that) I may imitate a small part of his virtues.

There was a learned (sage) of supreme excellence. His body was shining like that of Nīlakaṇṭha, and he was like a cloud. He was adorned by brown matted locks resembling lightning. He was glittering with white ashes, resembling a crane. The voice from his mouth during prayers had deep resonance resembling thunder. The people around were like a herd of peacocks, highly delighted by his knowledge as if it were rain. Such was the brilliant splendour of the learned sage. He was called bhagavān Vyāsa. My reverential salutation to him. May be I can imitate a trifle of his virtues [in writing this Bhīṣmaparva].

api ca
yas śrīdharo[1] *Yavapatiḥ khalu lokapālaḥ*[2]
dṛṣyamāno Hariḥ[3] *pada-trayam eti samrāṭ* |
Śrī-Dharmavaṁśo Tĕguḥ<ādim> Ananta-madhyāṁ
saṁjñāṁ nṛpaḥ praṇidadhāti sa Vikramāntām[4] ||

[1] All the mss have *tridharo*, but Gonda has *śrīdharo* in accord with the OJ exegesis. As the stanza is by the OJ author the mss. reading is not valid. [2] All the mss have the visarga. *Khalu lokapālaḥ* means that he was following the principles of governance laid down in the Manusmṛti 9.303f. It is in accord with the practices of the Gupta emperors. The epithet of Samudragupta in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Candragupta II is [*Dhanada-Varuṇ-Endra-Āntaka-sa*]*masya* 'one equal to Kubera, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama'. They are guardians of the four directions (Lokapāla) —Kubera: north, Varuṇa: west, Indra: east, and Yama: south. Each has a different function, e.g., just as every sinner appears bound by the noose of Varuṇa, the king should arrest and punish the sinners, following the vow of Varuṇa (Manu 9.308):

वरुणेन यथा पाशैर् बद्ध एवाभिदृश्यते।
तथा पापान् निगृह्णीयाद् व्रतं एतद्धि वारुणम्॥

The Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin (24.52f) says that the king should strive for the well-being of the people like the Eight Lokapālas. President Suharto used to exhort his ministers to follow the aṣṭabrata: e.g. to tax the people gently as the Sūrya absorbs water slowly. [3] Gonda has *tasya manohāri*, which has been emended to *dṛṣyamāṇo Hariḥ* in accord with the OJ. This quarter means that the emperor was visible as a *hari* or Lion when he performed the triple rites of the *pañcāsya* ritual. *Pañcāsya* means a lion. *Hari* means a 'lion' in several Skt. texts, such as the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Raghuvaṁśa, Bhāgavata-purāṇa (see references in PW 7.1546). Here it refers to the pañcāsya rites performed by the King. [4] The OJ poet defines the name of the King as *tripada* 'consisting of three words'. The technical term *tripada* occurs in the Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā-prātiśākhya and Atharvaveda-prātiśākhya. The three words are *tĕguh* in the beginning, *ananta* in the middle, and *vikrama* at the end. Śrī is the honorific, and dharmavaṁśa is the name of his dynasty as the creators of literature (*dharma*). Zoetmulder does not have *dĕguh*, but *tĕguh* 'firm', stable, strong, steadfast', that recalls names like Sthiramati, Āryasthira. The poet wants to emphasise that the king gave 'stability' to the country as well as invulnerable security by his martial might.

The *anvaya* (prose order) of the second half is: *sa Śrī-Dharmavaṁśo nṛpah Tĕguḥ-ādiṁ Ananta-madhyāṁ Vikramāntāṁ saṁjñāṁ praṇidadhāti*. It indicates that *śrī-dharmavaṁśa* should have the nom.sg. ending.

He is the Lord of Java who upholds its might as a very Lokapāla (God of Directions). The monarch is a veritable Viṣṇu (*Hari*) who has performed the triple rites. He is His Majesty (śrī) of the Dharmavaṁśa dynasty. His name begins with Tĕguh, has Ananta in the middle, and culminates in Vikrama.

The stanza has been written by the Javanese author of the Bhīṣmaparva, in the aesthesis of Sanskrit alaṁkāra. He must have been a profound scholar of Sanskrit.

mvaṅ hana ta sira ratu cakravarti sinivi[1] *riṅ*[2] *Yavadvīpa-maṇḍala*|*paripūrṇa göṅ nikaṅ kasamrāṭ-prabhun*[3] *hane sira*|

kesyan[4] *nirukti nikaṅ Hari saṅajña*[5] *de nira|vyaktinya*[6] *n*[7] *sinaṅguh Hari Viṣṇu sira|ri de nira*[8] *Śrīdhara|satata makiṇḍayutan*[9] *ikaṅ*[10] *śrī ri bāhudaṇḍa nira|*
sinaṅgah hari sira vaneh[11]*|ri de nira Lokapāla|nityaśa rumakṣeṅ*[12] *jagat-maṇḍala|*
muvah[13] *sinaṅgah ta sira siṁha|ri de nira pañcānana|makabrata*[14] *ṅ kapañcāsyan*[15]*|*
mahārāja samaṅkana kātiśayan ira|sira[16] *ta makanāma śrī Dharmavaṁśa Tĕguh Anantavikrama|*
saphala[17] *maṅgalya*[18] *niṅ maṅikĕt Prākṛta niṅ Bhīṣmaparva|nihan ta samāropa*[19] *nikaṅ carita|svasti|*

[1] *sinivi*: *sivi* 'to honour, to pay homage to a king' (always said of a king). Every morning nobles and ministers came and paid homage to the king who came out of the palace for the *sivi* ceremony. *Sinivi* is the passive form but it has to be translated as 'he rules'. [2] *riṅ*, *ri* 'in, at, on' denote that the following word is a place: mountain, country, town, village. Very often the predicate is at the beginning. [3] It is a curious compound of two Sanskrit words of a similar meaning. The suffix *–n* is an irregular sandhi form of *–an*. *ka–* + *–an* form nouns, and *ka–* + *ĕn* form adjectives. He had the full grandeur (*göṅ*) of the majesty of his sovereignty. [4] *isi* 'to fill', *kesyan* 'filled with or by'. [5] Svarabhakti of *saṁjñā*. The explication (*nirukti*) of the name Hari was fulfilled by him. [6] It is an adverbial use. *–nya* is a possessive suffix belonging to the 3rd person: his, her, its. [7] *n* indicates that the following words are subordinate in a way. It is equal to Skt. *yathā* 'that'. [8] *ri de nira* 'because he was'. *ri* 'with regards to, on account of'. [9] *ma-kiṇḍayut-an* 'to grasp, to clasp'. *ma–* indicates that the verb is active (parasmaipada). *–an* indicates that the action is repeated. We often find *–an* when there is a word meaning 'always' (*satata*, *sadā*). [10] *ikaṅ* 'the (well-known), that' has a shade of meaning, which is difficult to translate. [11] *vaneh* 'other, *also*'. [12] *–iṅ* indicates that the following word is a locality. *–um–* indicates that the action is continuous. Though it is not exactly the counterpart of the English progressive, but it something like it: he was always protecting. We can also translate it as a participle. [13] *muvah* 'and also'. Formerly it must have been a verb √*uvah* 'to vary, to change', *umuvah* or (shorter) *muvah* 'changing, being changing'. The *u–* of prefix *um–* has been dropped. Indonesian has many times two verbs, which are complementary to each other: *muvah sinaṅguh* 'changing called, besides he was called, otherwise he was called'. [14] *makabrata* 'having made a vow', *maka–* often means 'having, possessing, being'. [15] *kapañcāsyan* is a very severe religious observance (Z). This *brata* also occurs in Tantri Dĕmuṅ. [16] The subject *mahārāja* is resumed by the pronoun *sira*, as the sentence is long. The pronoun reminds the reader of the subject. [17] *saphala* 'may it be successful'. We need not have *–ā* (*saphalā*). The forms of 'to be' are also absent. [18] *maṅgalya* belongs to *maṅikĕt* which must be translated by a noun. *Maṅikĕt* acts as a noun as it is preceded by *niṅ*. So *niṅ maṅikĕt* means 'of the author'. *ikĕt* 'to compose (a book, esp. a poem)'. Originally it meant 'to bind words'. *ma-ṅ–* indicates continuous action and that there is a person who performs the action. [19] *samāropa* 'undertaking, beginning'

He is a cakravartī monarch revered all over Java. He has the full grandeur (*göṅ*) of the majesty of his sovereignty.

He fulfills the explication of his name as Hari. He is called Hari because he is verily Viṣṇu as he upholds the glory [of the state, Śrīdhara]. This glory is constantly upheld by the might of his arms.

Moreover, he is Hari being a Lokapāla and being ever busy in protecting the kingdom.

He is termed a 'lion' because he had become Pañcānana by observing the severe pañcāsya-brata. Such is the Monarch in all his eminence. His name is Śrī Dharmavaṁśa Tĕguh Anantavikrama.

May the auspicious Javanese translation of the Bhīṣmaparva by the author be a success. Now we undertake the narration. Svasti.

Ri tĕlasnya n[1] *vinyākṛta ikaṅ Udyogaparva tĕkap*[2] *bhagavān Vaiśampāyana|matakvan ta mahārāja Janamejaya muvah ri sira|tumañakĕn*[3] *krama*[4] *nikaṅ vīrayodha riṅ*[5] *Korava Pāṇḍava| liṅ nira*:
kathaṁ yuyudhire vīrāḥ Kuru-pāṇḍava-sainikāḥ|
pārthivāḥ sumahātmāno nānā-deśa-samāgatāḥ||

[1] *ri tĕlasnya n* 'already, after, at its end that...' [2] 'by'. [3] *–akĕn* indicates that the verb is transitive. [4] 'manner, behaviour, method, proceeding'. *Krama nikaṅ vīrayodha* 'behaviour of the brave warriors'. [5] *riṅ* 'of'.

When Bhagavān Vaiśampāyana had narrated the Udyogaparva, mahārāja Janamejaya asked him about how the brave warriors of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas fought.

Sājñā[1] *mahāmpuṅku*[2] *mapa ta nyāsa nikaṅ praṅ nikaṅ vīrapuruṣa|vatĕk*[3] *Koravabala mvaṅ Pāṇḍavabala mvaṅ ikaṅ ratu sāmanta viśeṣa saṅkeṅ dūradeśa|ṅdo*[4] *varahĕn*[5] *ta raputu*[6] *saṅ maharṣi|kadi de rahadyan saṅhulun pralagi*[7] *de mpuṅku*[8] *mājar-ajara*[9] *tattva kathāna*[10] *tanpa*[11] *vistara|sāra tan prapañca de pinakaṅhulun maṅupapatti*[12]*|maṅkana takvan*[13] *mahārāja Janamejaya|*

[1] In accordance with the order of, at your service'. An oft-used formula of politeness. [2] *mpu* 'spiritual master, brahmin, ṛṣi, ascetic'. *–ṅku* is the suffix of the 1st person. [3] 'collection'. It has a collective sense. The words preceding *vatĕk* always indicate the men acting together. [4] 'well, come on'. [5] *varahĕn* 'should be taught'. *–ĕn* is a sort of passive imperative, *–tavya* in Skt. [6] *raputu saṅ maharṣi* 'the honoured offspring of the maharṣi, i.e. I'). *ra* 'honorific prefix'+ *putu* 'offspring'. [7] 'formerly'. *kadi* to *pralagi* 'as you have done formerly'. [8] 'my lord'. [9] *ajar-ajar*: the double WB indicates that the activity is being repeated or that it is done with emphasis (intensive). [10] *kathā + an + a* 'to tell a person, to relate the story to a person'. *–an– (= –i)* indicates that the action is referred to a definite person. With *–a* we have *–an–* instead of *–i*. [11] It is difficult to decide

whether *tanpa* has to be separated. The negation must have had some emphasis, so *pa* has been kept with *tan*. When the second word is followed by a suffix then *pa–* goes with the second word: *tan pavistārākĕn*. [12] *maṅ-upapatti* 'to explain, to teach, to explain what is proper or right, to explain (in general), to teach'. Latin *docere* 'to teach' has the same origin: *decet* means 'proper', the forefather of English 'decent'. I consider it an appropriate teaching if it is not diffuse but has essential points (*sāra* 'essence'). [13] 'to ask, to request'.

"Your Holiness, what was the battle array (*nyāsa*) of the brave warriors of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, and of the eminent vassal kings who had come from distant countries. Great sage, narrate to me just the essentials (*tattva*), as you have done formerly, not at length. Relate to me the main points (*sāra*) without over-elaboration. Thus asked mahārāja Janamejaya.

macarita ta bhagavān Vaiśampāyana|umucap nya[1] *sakrama*[2] *nikaṅ laga|kumva*[3] *pūrva*[4] *ni*[5] *de nirāsaṅkathā*[6]|

yathā yuyudhire dhīrāḥ Kuru-pāṇḍava-sainikāḥ|
Kurukṣetre tapaḥkṣetre śṛṇu tvaṁ pṛthivīpate||

sājñā haji,[7] *tan pahiṅan*[8] *inak*[9] *nikaṅ praṅ riṅ*[10] *'Korava-Pāṇḍava saha bala kabeh|maṅayu*[11] *kadhīran|ṅkaneṅ tĕgal*[12] *Kurukṣetra|rĕṅvakĕna*[13] *ta pūrvakrama nikaṅ praṅ de parameśvara*|

[1] At first sight *nya* appears to be a suffix, it is never put after an *–um–* form. It is another word meaning 'like this, as follows'. [2] 'all the happenings, all that happened in the war'. [3] 'thus'. *Kva* 'thus' + *–um–*, originally it was a verb form with *–um–* meaning 'being like this'. [4] 'the beginning' (noun). [5] 'of'. [6] *a–* 'to be doing a thing' + *saṅkathā* 'telling, talking'. [7] *sājñā haji* 'my Lord', *haji* 'lord'. [8] *tan pahiṅan*: because the suffix *–an* follows *tan pa°*, *pa–* is joined to the second word. *hiṅ* + *–an*. [9] 'delight'. [10] *riṅ* indicates a locality, a place. It indicates local relations. It can also express 'with regard to'. Here it is better to translate it as: 'among'. They fought with good cheer (*inak*). [11] *ayu* 'to compete, to emulate'. *maṅayu kadhīran* 'to compete in courage'. [12] *ṅkana* + *iṅ* (Skt. *tatra*) *tĕgal* (Skt. *kṣetre*). [13] *rĕṅö* + *–akĕn* + *–a* (imperative). *–akĕn* indicates that the action relates to an object. Because the sentence is passive, the agent is introduced by *de*.

Bhagavān Vaiśampāyana narrated the events. He mentioned the array of the battle. Thus begins the narration. My Lord, the troops of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas with all their forces were boundless in their joy on the battlefield, emulating each other in courage on the field of Kurukṣetra. His Majesty listened to the preliminary arrangements of the battle.

Tĕlas atiṅkah[1] *umarĕp*[2] *vetan*[3] *saṅ Pāṇḍava|saha vīra-yodha sira muṅkurakĕn*[4] *kuṭa*[5] *nira|kavāhya saṅke*[6] *samantapañcaka|irika ta ya*[7] *n kahiḍĕp*[8] *śūranya|sakveh nikaṅ pṛthivīmaṇḍala kavave*[9] *tĕṅah niṅ Kurukṣetra|halĕpa*[10] *vvaṅ matuha*[11] *lavan rare dahat*[12] *ta kunaṅ*[13] *kavĕkasāher*[14] *i umahnya| yatika*[15] *tan papramāṇa katon ikaṅ vīrabala ṅkaneṅ raṇāṅga*|

> *yāvat tapati sūryo hi Jambūdvīpasya maṇḍalam*|
> *tāvad eva samāvṛttaṁ balaṁ Bhāratasattama*||

[1] *tiṅkah* ‘battle array’. [2] ‘facing’, *arĕp* ‘before’. [3] ‘east’. [4] *m–* (for *um–*) + *puṅkur* ‘to turn the back to’ + *akĕn*. [5] *kūṭa* ‘encampment’ from *koṭa* (o>u, perhaps a Prakritism). *um–* (i) is very often used when the WB expresses a transition from one position to another, or a movement, or the beginning of an action, (ii) very often the action is not continuous. (iii) A large number of um– forms derive from WB which do not assume prenasalized derivatives (*maṅ–*, *aṅ–*, *am–*). [6] *kavāhya saṅke* ‘outside from’. [7] *irika* ‘there, then’, *ta ya* = Skt. *tu*. [8] ‘thought, intelligence, feeling, imagining’, *ka–* for passive. [9] *kavave* ‘brought in’, *vava* ‘to bring’. [10] *halĕp* ‘nice’, *halĕpa* ‘it would be nice, how nice!’. [11] *tuha* ‘old, old age’, *matuha* ‘old’, *ma–* also indicates an English adjective (‘having to do something with’). [12] *rare dahat* ‘very young boy’. [13] ‘but, very, now’. [14] *ka-vĕkas-a* + *a-her*. *vĕkas* ‘remain’, *–a* (indicates a wish: ‘would’). *a–* ‘to be’, *her* ‘to stay’, *aher* ‘staying’. *ka–* indicates that a person or a thing has been attained by an activity. The person is the centre. The person or thing has no hand in the matter. [15] ‘that, thus it happened that’.

After the Pāṇḍavas had lined up facing the east, along with their heroic warriors, they turned their backs to their encapment, outside of Samantapañcaka [lake]. Then it was that one might imagine the heroes of the whole world had been brought into the centre of Kurukṣetra. How nice, that old men and very young boys remained in their houses. The heroic warriors seen on the battlefield were countless.

> *sahiṅan*[1] *iṅ āditya n sumuluh*[2] *iṅ maṇḍala riṅ*[3] *Jambūdvīpa*|*hiḍĕpĕn*[4] *de haji*|*samaṅkana*[5] *kveh nikaṅ*[6] *bala n*[7] *pasamudāya paṅiḍĕp i ṅvaṅ*[8]|*mataṅnya n*[9] *tan hana vukir*[10], *tan hana lvah trĕbis,*[11] *tan hanâlas, tan hana durga ṅaranya*[12]: *kapva*[13] *kesyan*[14] *koṅgvanan*[15] *kuvu*[16]|*kapva kataman*[17] *senā lĕbak*[18] *unurnya*[19] /*tĕkvan*[20] *harṣa nikaṅ Pāṇḍavabala kadi ginyaṅ-gyaṅ*[21] *agyāṅ*[22] *ayva kaśūran*|*katon*[23] *mara*[24] *giraṅnya*[25] *tĕkap*[26] *mahārāja Kṛṣṇa mvaṅ saṅ Dhanañjaya*|*ya ta mataṅnya n imbuhi*[27] *paṅahaṁkāranya*[28]|*paḍāsraṅ*[29] *anyup*[30] *śaṅkha sira kalih*|

[1] *hiṅ* ‘limit’, *sahiṅan* ‘as far as’. It is a substantive as can be seen from the following *iṅ*. [2] *suluh* ‘torch, light’, *sumuluh* ‘to illuminate’. [3] *riṅ* denotes a spatial relation and it occurs before the names of places, mountains, even in the sense of *niṅ*. [4] *hiḍĕpen de haji* ‘you can imagine’. [5] ‘so many, so far’, equal to *tāvat* of the Skt stanza. [6] ‘of the’. [7] *n* introduces a subordinate clause and sometimes it is only for emphasis. *n pasamudāya* ‘while forming a multitude’. [8] *paṅiḍĕp i ṅvaṅ* ‘in my opinion’. *pa–* forms nouns, *ṅ* ‘the’ + *vaṅ* ‘person’: the person, this person, myself: *i ṅvaṅ* ‘of this person (speaking)’, *iṅ vaṅ* ‘of [another] person’. [9] *mataṅ* ‘reason’, *mataṅnya* ‘that is the reason why’, *n* ‘that’ (conj.). It means ‘reason of it is’. [10] ‘mountain’. [11] ‘inaccessible’. [12] Skt. words are often followed by *ṅaranya*. [13] ‘all of them’ (without any difference). [14] ‘full’, √*isi* ‘to fill’. [15] ‘occupied by’, *uṅgu* ‘to be somewhere, to occupy a place’. The two words *kesyan* and *koṅgvanan* are tautological. [16] ‘camps’. We cannot have *de kuvu*, *de* presupposes a conscious

agent. The camps have done nothing intentionally. 17. *tama* 'to penetrate'. 18. 'plains, valley'. 19. *unur* 'hill'. *–nya* belongs to both *lĕbak* and *unur* as they form a unity. 20. 'moreover, and also'. 21. *gyaṅ* 'to urge on, to induce'. 22. *a-gya* 'quick', *aṅayva* from *ayva* 'to compete, to vie', *aṅ–* means that there is a subject and that the verb form belongs to the subject. It indicates continuous action. 23. *katon* 'was seen'. Mod. Javanese: *katon* 'was seen', *kĕton* 'visible' (no agent). In OJ there is no difference between these two forms, at least not in orthography. 24. 'indeed'. 25. *giraṅ* 'cheerfulness'. 26. *tĕkap* 'by' (it denotes the agent). 27. *imbuh* 'to increase'. 28. *paṅahaṅkāra: paṅ–* makes a noun. The *ahaṅkāra* of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna increased by the enthusiasm of the forces. 29. *paḍa* 'both or all of them', *asraṅ* 'to advance' (on the enemy), *sraṅ* 'rush up to'. 30. 'to blow a trumpet'. If a sentence begins with *paḍa* and closes with *sira kalih*, it denotes that the activity is performed together.

Your Majesty, the number of troops assembled equalled the number of sun rays illuminating the entire Jambudvīpa. In my opinion there were no mountains, no river however inaccessible, no forest, no fortress that was not full, or not occupied by the encampments. All the valleys and hills had been penetrated by the armies. Moreover, the Pāṇḍava forces were impatient for rapid action to show their might. Their exuberance was seen by mahārāja Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, and their self-confidence went up. Both of them blew their conches and rushed up to the enemy.

> *apa ta lvir ni śabda nikaṅ Pāñcajanya lavan ikaṅ śaṅkha Devadatta|arĕs*[1] *giri-girin*[2] *ikaṅ ikaṅ Koravasenā tĕkapnya*[3]*|kapatuli*[4] *karĕrĕṅ*[5] *mogha*[6] *vismṛti|kadi mṛgāṅrĕṅö*[7] *śabda niṅ siṅha| tĕkvan*[8] *ikaṅ lĕbu mĕlĕk*[9]*|vandaṅkura*[10] *pĕtĕṅ*[11] *tan papatonan*[12] *sāvayava*[13] *nikaṅ Kurukṣetra|tan prabhā katona*[14] *teja saṅ hyaṅ Āditya|tatan masove tumiba taṅ varṣādulur*[15] *aṅin pracaṇḍa humuṅ gumuruh*[16]*|pahya*[17] *nikaṅ pratisenā n sĕḍĕṅ maharĕparĕpan*[18] *kadi gĕntĕr*[19] *iṅ tasik mapagut*[20] *lavan rovaṅnya|ri kāla niṅ yugānta|ṅkana tikaṅ pratiyodha n paṅghoṣaṇākĕn samaya dharmayuddha|*

1. 'afraid, confused' (√*rĕs*). 2. 'horrified' (a forceful word). *giri-giri-n = giri*^{2} *+ –ĕn* 'being horrified'. Sandhi of *i + ĕ = i, i + a = ya, e.* 3. *tĕkap* 'by' + *nya* 'that' (i.e. sound of the conches). 4. 'deafened': *kapa–* is a rare prefix + *tuli* 'deaf'. 5. *rĕrĕṅ* 'dejected, in low spirits'. 6. 'anyhow, immediately, at once, without a definite cause, without a motive'. 7. *aṅ–* indicates continuous action. 8. 'moreover'. 9. *lĕbu* 'dust', *mĕlĕk* 'whirl'. 10. 'darkness', cf. Skt. *andhakāra*. 11. 'darkness' 12. *tan pa–* (negative) *ton* (the sight, noun) *–an* (indicates the repetition of the function). *ton* 'to see'. 13. 'all the parts of, the whole of' (Kurukṣetra) Skt. *sāvayava*. Compare *tamolah tumuvuh göṅ nikaṅ krodha|paṅavruhana hariṅĕtĕn sāvayava nikaṅ mukha* 'his anger increased continuously (*tamolah*) which could be concluded from the perspiration of the whole of his face' (Juynboll, Wirāṭaparwa, p.29). 14. *prabhā* 'shinning, radiant' (adjective), *ka-ton* (visible), *–an* (indicates that it is not exactly the reality, but only the intention of the author. 15. 'accompanied'. 16. 'thundering, roaring'. 17. 'difference'. 18. 'facing in combat'. 19. 'thunder, thundrous noise'. 20. 'collide, clash'.

What were the reverberations of the Pāñcajanya and the Devadatta conches. The Kaurava forces were confused and horrified. Deafened and dejected they lost their senses, like a deer on hearing the roar of a lion. Besides, the dust whirling around caused darkness and nothing could be seen all over Kurukṣetra. The shining light of the Sun could not be seen. Shortly came the rains with wild hurricanes and roaring thunder. The dust whirling around caused darkness and nothing could be seen all over Kurukṣetra. As the opposing forces facing each other clashed they were like thundrous see-waves colliding against each other at the end of aeons. Herald of the adversaries announced the time of righteous combat.

Prof. Jan Gonda skipped over to p.11 line 8 and the continuity of the text was broken.

kapaṅguh[1] *ta sira*[2] *sĕḍaṅ prihatin*[3] *manastāpa*[4]|*maṅĕn-aṅĕn*[5] *kadurnayan*[6] *i anak nira kabeh*|*mojar ta bhagavān Vyāsa maṅhanakĕn*[7] *smṛti sambodhana*|*liṅ nira: sojar*[8] *ni tanayan*[9] *mami*|*mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭrạ*|*kadivasa*[10] *kiṅkiṅ*[11]|*t ahuvusa*[12] *n śocanīya*[13]|*paṅatag*[14] *niṅ Kālavaśa ṅaran iki*[15] *maṅke*[16] *ri pĕjaha ni anakta*[17] *kabeh ri tĕṅah iṅ raṇamaṇḍala*|

[1] *paṅguh* ‘to meet, find’. [2] 3rd person plural. If used for the singular it is respectful. [3] *prih* (‘grief’ *duḥkha*)*-hati-ĕn* = *prihatin* ‘dejected, disheartened, disconsolate’ [4] Here it is an adjective. [5] ‘being in a continuous state of thinking, thinking and thinking, being anxious about’. *m–* = *um–*, *aṅĕn-aṅĕn*: repetition of the WB means continuance of action. [6] *ka–* + *–an* for a noun (Skt. *–tā*). [7] ‘to cause to be, to bring about’. It is the causative of *hana*. [8] *sojar* = *sa–* + *ujar* ‘word’. It is the same as *sājñā* which is more respectful. [9] It is curious to find *–n* at the end. *Tanaya* is often followed by the name of the father: *tanaya ni*... (*niṅ, nikaṅ*)... [10] ‘it should stop’ from *avasāna* or √*adhivas* ‘to settle’. [11] ‘sorrow’. [12] *t* indicates the second person, used in forms of this type to indicate an imperative. *ahuvus* ‘to have something to do with the finished’. [13] *n* subordinates the following word. [14] *atag* ‘call, summons’. [15] *ṅaran iki* (Skt. *–ākhya*) and similar expressions are found after difficult Skt. words. [16] ‘now’. [17] *–ta* is the common form (not respectful) of the 2nd person.

He found [Dhṛtarāṣṭra] in a dejected and depressed state thinking about the sad state of all his sons. Then Bhagavān Vyāsa spoke to enlighten his consciousness (*smṛti*). He said: my child Mahārāja Dhṛtarāṣṭra! give up your grief. Stop the agony. The death of all your children on the battlefield is subject to the ineluctable force of Destiny (*Kāla*).

yad tv icchasi saṅgrāme dṛṣtam eva viśāṁ pate|
cakṣur dadāmi te divyaṁ yuddham etan niśāmaya||

kunaṅ yat[1] *ahyun kitānakku tumiṅalana*[2] *ṅ papraṅan*[3]| *tumontona*[4] *papraṅ ni anakta lavan saṅ Pāṇḍava*|*aku manugrahana kita kadibyacakṣusan*|*astu*[5] *vehĕn*[6] *kitānona*[7] *deṅku*|*vĕnaṅa*[8] *kitāmratyakṣakĕna ṅ adoh-aparĕk*[9]|*makaphala*[10] *vĕnaṅa kitāvara-varaha*[11] *krama ni praṅ niṅ Korava-Pāṇḍava dlaha*|*ndan yan*[12] *maṅkana liṅta vita*[13] *ya*|

[1] *yat*: *t* indicates the 2nd person. *yan* = *yadi*, *yat* is 3rd person, *yak* is 1st person. [2] *tiṅal* 'to see'. [3] *pa-praṅ-an* 'battle-field' [4] *tumonton-a* 'in order to be seeing, in order to see', *–a* indicates 'in order to'. [5] 'let it be' [6] 'let it be given or allowed'. *–ĕn* is passive. [7] 'you will see'. [8] *vĕniṅ* 'to be able' [9] 'what is far and near' [10] 'with the result', *maka–* ' having, being' (*makarāja* 'being or functioning as a king'). [11] *vara-varah* 'to relate (various things)' [12] *ndan* 'well', *yan* 'if'. [13] *vita* 'namely', *ya* 'then, that'. If you agree then I shall do it.

If you want, my child, to see the battlefield to watch the fight between your sons and Pāṇḍavas, I will bestow divine vision on you. It will enable you to witness what happens far and near. You will be able to follow the course of war between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. If you agree, I will do it.

duh sājñā maharṣi! taham[1] *manambah hulun|tan ahyun ranak maharṣi*[2] *tumona kapĕjah ni anak niṅ pinakaṅhulun*[3]*|rahadyan*[4] *saṅhulun mavara-varaha ri pinakaṅhulun|hayva tatan keṅĕt*[5] *mūla-madyâvasānanya de saṅ paṇḍita*[6]*|*

katuhvan[7] *tānakku yan maṅkana|kumva ta deyanta*[8]*|iki si Sañjayānugrahananaṅkva*[9] *kadibyacakṣusan|ya ta majare*[10] *tanayaṅku*[11]*|mratyakṣakĕna sāvasthā nikaṅ samara|astu*[12] *ya tan matya*[13] *deniṅ sarva-sañjata|ike de mami*[14]*|tan kĕna ta´ya riṅ ṅel lapa ṅlih*[15]*|dīrghāyuṣa ta ya tuvi*[16]*|lavan tan ilva*[17] *ta ya kahava*[18] *ri praṅ niṅ Korava-Pāṇḍava|ya ta iki*[19] *mutthāpanakĕna*[20] *kīrti niṅ Kurukula dlaha|kumva*[21] *saṅkṣepanya*[22]*|hayva juga kita kamatolihĕn*[23] *iṅ lara| apayapan*[24] *kadi liṅku rikana*[25]*|*

[1] 'not accept' [2] *r-anak maharṣi* 'the respected (*r*-) son of the sage'. i.e. I. He says 'respected son' because he is a king. [3] *pinaka–, paka–, maka–*. [4] *ra–hadi-an*: *ra–* is honorific, *hadi* 'prince, king'. [5] *hayva* 'Skt. *mā*', *tatan* 'not', *keṅĕt* ' remembered' (*iṅĕt* 'to remember'). Double negation is a forceful affirmation. Let it be remembered. [6] *de saṅ paṇḍita* 'by you'. *saṅ* shows that it is addressed to the person present. [7] 'rightly, justly', *tuhu* 'true, right, correct'. [8] *de+y+a*: *y* is a sandhi insertion. *–nta* is the suffix for the 2nd person after a vowel (*deya*). You have to do like this. [9] *anugrah-an-a-ṅ-ku-a*. The glide *ṅ* is inserted after a vowel. The *–a–* is added to the verb, and it is repeated after the personal pronoun at the end. [10] *ajar* 'to relate, explain, tell, teach'. [11] i.e. to you. [12] it will be like this, it will certainly be. [13] *ya tan matya* 'he will not die'. [14] *ike de mami* 'by my work, by what I do'. [15] *ṅel* 'tiredness', *lapa* 'hunger', *ṅlih*' exhaustion'. [16] 'moreover'. [17] *ilu* 'together', *vb.* 'to join'. [18] *kahava* 'to be carried away'. He will not be carried away to the battlefield along with others. [19] *ya ta iki* 'he then here'. [20] *m–* for *um* + *utthāpana* 'establish'. [21] 'like this'. [22] 'in short' (adverb). [23] *tolih* 'to pay attention', *tan tolih* 'indifferent, reckless', *taman tolih* 'reckless, rash' (*taman* is stronger than *tan*). [24] *apayapan* = *apa+ya+apan* 'for, because' (longer word than *apan*). [25] 'there, on that occasion'.

O great seer, I do not accept it (*taham*) with folded hands. Revered sage, I do not want to witness the death of my sons. Your Holiness, please tell me everything that happens from the beginning, middle and end. It is fine, any son, if it be so. I will bestow divine vision on Sañjaya.

He will narrate to you, my child, all that happens in the battle. Surely, he will not be hurt by any weapon by what I bestow on him. He will not suffer fatigue, hunger or exhaustion. He will have a long life. He will not take sides in the war either with the Kauravas or with the Pāṇḍavas. He will raise the glory of the Kuru dynasty in the future. In short, do not continue to grieve, as I have told you.

> *yato dharmas tato jayaḥ|asiṅ*[1] *kahanan*[2] *i saṅ hyaṅ Dharma kahanan iṅ kavijayan|tan ya sinehakĕn*[3] *ayunya*[4] *n pamet*[5] *itaretarāśraya*[6]*|tĕlas teka katon ikaṅ hala riṅ Korava|paṅlampvakĕn*[7] *ta ya denta|apan akveh paṅupalakṣaṇe*[8] *tan ayunya|ahĕm*[9] *apupul*[10] *marekaṅ*[11] *gagak*[12] *lavan manuk vĕsi*[13]*, arok*[14] *arurah*[15] *lavan hĕlaṅ*[16] *mvaṅ valāhaka|asalivĕran*[17] *ikaṅ bhūta piśācāṅigĕl*[18] *tan pântara*[19]*|sabarinya*[20] *n tĕka sandhyā n katon ikaṅ kavandhāṅaras*[21] *vimba saṅ hyaṅ Āditya|amogha*[22] *tan pateja ṅ vulan purṇamā|muni*[23] *tan tinabĕh*[24] *ikaṅ bherī mṛdaṅga|tan pisan*[25] *piṅrva tiba niṅ udan rah*[26] *lavan pāṁsuvarṣa|vintaṅ*[27] *Śanaiścara muṅgv*[28] *iṅ madhya niṅ Kṛttikā Rohiṇī|*

[1] 'all that' (यः कश्चित्). [2] 'pervaded with, subjected to'. [3] 'what has been made different', *sah* 'different'. [4] *ayu* 'good, beautiful, nice, correct, well-being'. [5] *pet* 'to seek'. [6] Dharma and jaya are interdependent. They are not separate. [7] *pa-ṅ-lampv-akĕn*: *pa–* is often used in OJ to indicate the imperative. *lampu* 'to prefer, choose, acquiesce': you better acquiesce. [8] *pa–* is a noun here, not an imperative. [9] 'to deliberate' [10] *pupul* 'to gather, meet'. [11] *mara* 'then'. [12] 'crow'. [13] *manuk vĕsi* 'a kind of vulture'. [14] *rok* 'to come to blows'. [15] *rurah* 'to be at grips'. [16] 'marsh-harrier'. [17] *salivĕr* 'to mix'. Trisyllabic bases often have *–al–* or *–ar–* or another similar element. They often refer to sound, emotion, movement, etc. Prof. Gonda has written on internal nasal and liquid elements in the BKG. [18] *aṅigĕl: igĕl* 'to dance' [19] *tan pāntara* 'without interruption' [20] 'as soon as, whenever'. [21] *aṅaras* from *aras* 'to touch, to stroke'. [22] *a-mogha* (*a–* is the OJ prefix): *mogha* 'suddenly, unexpectedly' [23] *muni = um– + uni* 'to sound'. [24] *tabĕh* 'to beat', *tinabĕh* 'beaten'. [25] *tan pisan* 'not once'. [26] 'blood'. [27] 'star'. [28] 'was'.

All that is pervaded by sacred Dharma is the locus of victory. Their interdependence cannot be separated. You have seen the vile of the Kauravas. You reconcile to it, as there are many bad omens. Crows and vultures are gathering together. Marsh harriers and cranes are coming to grips. The demonic bhūtas and piśācas are coming without interruption. Headless bodies of spirits (*kabandha*) appear early in the evening in sexual union even in sunlight. Suddenly the moon is without shine even during full-moon. The drum gongs (*bherī*) and drums can be heard even though no one is beating them. Not once but twice there have been rains of blood and dust. Planet Śanaiścara has come in the middle of Kṛttikā Rohiṇī.

> *vintaṅ Arundhatī muṅkurakĕn*[1] *vataṅ*[2] *Vasiṣṭha amogha gumanti*[3] *rikaṅ dik-vidik|tan pasaṅkana*[4] *megha|humuṅ*[5] *tan pantara vāhana tĕhĕr*[6] *aṅohan*[7]*|asaṅgani*[8] *lavan paṅalulu*[9] *niṅ śṛgāla|bheda saṅke*[10] *vastu apūrva katon iṅ lagi*[11]*|*

[1] 'to have behind oneself, to be in front of another'. *puṅkur* 'behind, back part'. [2] 'stick, staff'. [3] 'to take the place of, to succeed, to follow'. *ganti* 'substitute'. [4] *pa-saṅk-an-a*, *saṅka* 'cause'. *tan p*° 'without cause'. [5] *huṅ* 'to rumble'. [6] 'afterwards, and also'. [7] *ṅoh* 'to creek, to groan (of wheels)'. [8] *a–saṅg-an-i* 'being together with'. [9] 'howling (√*alulu*). [10] *bheda saṅke* 'besides, in addition to'. [11] *lagi* 'constantly'.

The star Arundhatī has placed the staff of Vasiṣṭha at the back (?). The directions and sub-directions are interchanging. Clouds have appeared without any reason. The carriages are rumbling incessantly and also creeking. The jackals are having intercourse and howling. Besides, strange phenomena are appearing constantly.

32. OLD JAVANESE RĀMĀYAṆA, SARGA 5

ya ikana[1] *liṅ nikāṅ adhama Śūrpanakhān*[2] *pavuvus*[3] |
ri sira ta saṅ Daśānana vavaṅ[4] *sumahur ta sira* |
ari[5] *kita hayva cāla hrĕdayanta tamat[t]*[6] *alara* |
takarin[7] *ike si Rāvaṇa ṅaranya jayeṅ bhuvana* | | 17 | |

[1] *ya ikana* 'those': no sandhi is peculiar to Ram. It has often a hiatus. In later kakavins sandhi is regular as in Skt. *ikana* is a demonstrative pronoun. [2] *an* 'when'. Usually it introduces clauses in apposition ('in which aspect'). [3] *pavuvus* 'spoke'. After particles *an* and *tan* we have *pa*– instead of *a*– and *ma*–. [4] 'immediately, thereupon'. [5] 'younger sister'. [6] *tamatt* is a form peculiar to the Ram. –*t* is connected with the 2nd person pronoun *kita*. *taman* is the lengthening of *tan*, *tamak* is connected with the 1st person, *tamat* with the 2nd person and *tamar* with the 3rd person (–*r* connected with *sira*). Short pronominal elements –*k*, –*t*, and –*r* are used often in the Ram. They are mostly independent clauses or word groups, mostly with negative particles. *Taman* can be used in any circumstance. The doubling of *t* in *tamatt* is *metri causa*. [7] *takarin* 'isn't he'. A kind of affirmative rhetoric answer is awaited. Also found as *takarih*. Corresponds to Skt. *kiṁ na*, *nanu*.

These were the words of the contemptible Śūrpaṇakhā to Daśaratha. Thereupon he replied: my younger sister, let your heart not tremble, do not be distressed. Rāvaṇa is victorious in the world, isn't he.

syapa karikā[1] *tinonta*[2] *kinabhaktyan*[3] *iṅ Indra kunĕṅ*[4] |
kuliśa ta śīrṇṇa bajra ri ḍaḍaṅku[5] *taman*[6] *paṅĕne*[7] |
hana ta liman hyaṅ Indra sinikĕpku[8] *taman paṅapa*[9] |
ḍukut upama nya tan paguṇa[10] *deṅku*[11] *tinimpalakĕn*[12] | | 18 | |

[1] *syapa* 'who', *karikā* 'whoever' (emphatic particle). [2] 'seen by you'. *ta* is an agentive suffix. [3] 'revered'. *k-in-a-bhakty-an*: *ka* lengthens the form without any clear function. The passive element –*in*– has been inserted in *ka*–. –*an* occurs in passive forms and –*i* in active forms. *ka*– + –*an* is a lengthened passive form. [4] emphatic word. [5] *ḍaḍa* 'chest'. [6] 'not'. [7] 'produce effect'. √*kĕna* + –*i*. [8] 'caught by me' √*sikĕp*. [9] *taman paṅapa* 'to do nothing. *apa* 'what'. [10] *tan paguṇa* 'useless'. *guṇa* 'use'. [11] 'by me'. [12] 'thrown away'.

Did you ever see a person to whom Indra pays tribute? His vajra was smashed on my chest without any effect. I seized the elephant of Indra without any harm. I threw it away as if it (the elephant) was worthless grass.

nda[1] *taṅa-taṅā*[2] *prabhāva ni si Rāvaṇa tan papaḍa* |
satata mara[3] *ṅ vulan umĕtu pūrṇṇama tar viluma*[4] |

mamava[5] *vuṅa*[6] *n tahun sahana niṅ hyaṅ alah*[7] *matakut* |
sa-isi[8] *nikaṅ Surālaya aneka kahĕnti*[9] *kabeh* || 19 ||

[1] 'well, then'. [2] 'pay attention'. *°taṅā: –ā* may be the suffix of the subjunctive with the meaning of imperative. [3] *mara* is an emphatic word. Perhaps it does not mean 'to come out'. [4] 'without fail'. *tar* can be used of the 3rd person only. *tan* can be used for all persons. *Viluma* = Skt. *viloma*. [5] *vava* 'to bring'. [6] 'flower'. In Bahasa Indonesia *buṅa* means 'interest', *vuṅan* 'tribute'. [7] *alah* (i) 'to be conquered, to be defeated', (ii) Skt. *abhibhūta*. [8] *sa-isi* 'all the contents of'. [9] 'exhausted'.

Now pay attention. Rāvaṇa's might has no equal. The full moon always comes out without fail. Out of fear, the gods bring as yearly tribute all that is in heaven, without leaving anything behind.

ikana vuvusta hāsya mata[1] *keraṅ-iraṅ*[2] *dahatĕn*[3] |
yak[4] *atukarāpraṅa*[5] *mvaṅ ikanaṅ*[6] *tapa Daśarathī* |
tuvi[7] *ya manūṣya hīnabala tan hana śakti riya* |
saka riyasihku tag[8] *vihaṅ asiṅ*[9] *sapakonta*[10] *rari*[11] || 20 ||

[1] emphatic particle. [2] 'shameful'. [3] 'exceedingly'. *–ĕn* usually forms passives in an imperative sense. It is a lengthened form. [4] 1st person pronominal element. The 2nd person form is *yat*, the 3rd person form is *yar*, and *yan* is the general form. [5] *atukara* 'that I should fight', *apraṅa* 'that I should go to war'. [6] 'that' [7] 'and that' [8] *tag* (sandhi form of *tak*) *vihaṅ*. It is the 1st person pronominal element. It occurs only in the Rāmāyaṇa and inscriptions, and not in later texts. *tag* 'I shall not' *vihaṅ* 'resist'. *tag* is for *tan*. [9] 'whatever'. [10] 'any of your request'. [11] 'younger sister'.

All that you say is ridiculous and it would be a great shame to fight and to go to war with that ascetic Rāma, who is just a human being, without troops, and without power. Because of my affection for you, I will not resist any of your requests, dear sister.

atha ri huvus nirominaki[1] *citta si Śūrpaṇakhā* |
lumaku sirāhavan gagana śīghra manojavana |
pratita[2] *si*[3] *candrahāsa ya tĕvĕk*[4] *nira tan kapasah*[5] |
satĕka[6] *nireṅ samudra sumĕpĕr ta sireṅ pasisi*[7] || 21 ||

[1] *uminaki* is a verbal derivative meaning 'to set at ease': *inak* 'ease, agreeable', its adjective is *enak*. [2] Skt. *prathita*. [3] *si* is a personal article before proper names. [4] 'sword'. [5] *tan kapasah* 'inseparable'. There is an aversion to monosyllabic bases. Quite often they are lengthened. *Kapasah* has been lengthened with *–pa–*. [6] 'as soon as he had come'. [7] 'beach side'.

After reassuring Śūrpaṇakhā's mind, he left by air as swift as thought. His famous sword candrahāsa was with him. As he reached the sea, he came down on the beach.

mara-marahaṅ[1] *Marica ya ta don ira yan sĕpĕra*[2] |
satĕka nirār varah ta si Marica ri kārya nira |
dadi[3] *sumahur*[4] *satorasi*[5] *mataṅguh*[6] *alah matakut*[7] |
ya huvus alah pva ṅūni pinanah[8] *riṅ aṅin ya katūb*[9] ||22||

[1] *varah* 'to inform, tell'. In older texts the final consonant of the first part of the doubling is dropped. [2] *yan sĕpĕra*: when preceded by *yan*, *an*, *tan* etc the WB occurs instead of the *–um* form. [3] In the older texts, *dadi* means 'thereupon, it happened so that'. [4] 'answered'. [5] 'paragon of goodness'. *satorasi* = *sattvarāśi* (?). [6] 'to prevent, try to prevent'. *ma–* can also mean 'try to..' [7] *alah matakut* 'very afraid'. [8] 'shot'. [9] *ya katūb* 'he was blown away'.

As soon as he arrived, he told Mārīca about his work. Thereupon he answered resolutely (?) to dissuade him [Rāvaṇa] as he was dead afraid. He had been vanquished long ago and was blown away by an arrow shot in the wind [by Rāma].

prabhu kita[1] *he Daśānana nanā*[2] *kita yat*[3] *malagā*[4] |
lavan ika saṅ Raghupravara Rāma ya śakti tĕmĕn[5] |
ikana si candrahāsa ya tĕvĕkta taman paṅapa[6] |
mataṅ ika hayva māra[7] *irikaṅ tapa Dāśarathi* ||23||

[1] 'My Lord'. [2] 'you will be destroyed'. [3] *yat* 'when' (instead of *yan*, for the 2nd person). 1st person *yak*, 3rd person *yar*. [4] 'fight'. [5] 'truly'. [6] *taman paṅapa* 'does nothing, does no harm'. [7] *para* 'to approach'

My Lord, you will be shattered if you fight against Rāma the eminent Raghu. He is really powerful. Your candrahāsa sword can do no harm to him. So do not go near that ascetic Rāma.

nahan ujar iṅ Marīca ya mataṅguh[1] *akon*[2] *maluya*[3] |
muji[4] *guṇa saṅ Raghūttama ri*[5] *śakti nirātiśaya* |
mĕdi-mĕdi[6] *saṅ Daśānana ya donya*[7] *alah matakut* |
dadi[8] *magĕlĕṅ ta saṅ Daśamukhāsi*[9] *vavaṅ*[10] *sumahur* ||29||

[1] 'dissuade'. [2] 'telling him to'. [3] 'return'. [4] 'praising'. [5] 'because of'. [6] *vĕdi* 'to intimidate, discourage'. [7] *ya donya* 'that was his purpose'. [8] 'and so it happened'. [9] *asi* occurs with proper names. It is an emphatic particle. [10] 'immediately'.

So said Mārīca dissuading him and telling him to return [home]. He praised the virtues of Rāma as being exceedingly powerful. His intention was to discourage Rāvaṇa and to frighten him with defeat. Rāvaṇa became furious and replied briskly.

ndya[1] *ta ya pujimva*[2] *śakti ni si Rāghava koṅ*[3] *adhama* |
druhaka[4] *jugāharĕp maliha buddhimu*[5] *bhaktya riya*[6] |

mataṅ ika[7] *kompujīriya*[8] *guṇaṅku tamar*[9] *puji ya*|
jaga-jaga[10] *mātya ko*[11] *druhaka cittamu*[12] *taṇ ḍahayu*[13]||35||

[1] 'however, how is it possible'. [2] *puji-n-mu: puji* 'to praise', –*n*– means the passive subjunctive (Skt. –*tavya*), –*mu* 'you', should be praised by you. [3] 'you'. [4] Skt. *drohaka* 'disloyal, treacherous'. [5] 'your mind'. [6] *bhaktya riya* 'and to be devoted to him (i.e. Rāma)'. [7] 'for that reason'. [8] *ko* 'you' (more or less rude). *m* seldom occurs after *ko*. It can be (i) a short pronominal element like –*k*, –*r*, –*mu*, or (ii) a sandhi form of *n. iriya* 'him' (i.e. Rāma). [9] *tamar* 'not'. (i) it is rather strange as it is not the 3rd person. It may be read tam*at* (with the 2nd person pronominal element) (ii) –*r* is neutral i.e. not connected with person. [10] 'take care'. [11] *mātya ko* 'you will die'. [12] 'your mind is disloyal'. [13] *taṇ ḍahayu* 'it is not good'. *ḍahayu* = *rahayu*. *ḍahayu* occurs esp. after *taṇ*.

How is it possible that you praise the power of Rāma, you the debased. You are treacherous. Your mind wants to desert me and be devoted to him. That is why you fellow praise him and do not eulogise my virtues. Be careful, you will die. Your mind is treacherous. It is not good.

atha ri huvus nirāṅuman-uman[1] *maṅunus*[2] *ta tĕvĕk*[3]|
kumĕtĕr[4] *ikā kumis nira humīs*[5] *hariṅĕt*[6] *niṅ avak*|
kadi tinĕpak[7] *kabāṅan*[8] *ikanaṅ muka bhīṣaṇa ya*|
tudiṅi[9] *tikaṅ Marīca ya manĕmbah aminta*[10] *hurip*||36||

[1] *uman* 'to abuse'. [2] 'drew'. [3] 'mustache'. [4] 'trembled'. [5] 'flowed forth'. [6] 'sweat'. [7] 'struck' *tinĕpak* is the passive form, *manĕpak* is the active form 'to strike a blow'. [8] *ka-bāṅ-an* 'become red'. [9] *tudiṅi* 'to point at with a threatening gesture'. –*i* 'at'. The base form occurs when we expect an –*in*– form. [10] 'asking for'

After knocking him wíth abuses, he drew out his sword. His mustache was trembling. Sweat was flowing from his body. His face was furious and red as if slapped. He threatened Mārīca who folded his hands in begging for life.

ṅhulun ikihĕn[1] *patik*[2] *praṇata bhakti*[3] *taman druhaka*|
tuhu-tuhu bhakti[3] *riṅ prabhu asiṅ sapakona*[4] *riya*[5]|
ikana kunaṅ dumeh[6] *ṅhulun ataṅguha*[7] *dharma tinūt*[8]|
prakrĕti nikanaṅ[9] *manevaka mataṅguha donya hitā*[10]|| 37||

[1] *iki-h-ĕn* is more emphatic than *iki*. Demonstrative pronoun lengthened by –*ĕn*, –*h*– has only a graphic value to write *ĕ* at the beginning of a syllable. [2] 'servant'. [3] 'devoted', *tuhu*^{2} *bhakti* 'truly devoted'. [4] *sapakon-a* –*a* gives an indefinite sense to *sapakon*. It can be translated '[whatever] may be his command'. [5] *ri-ya* 'to him' (i.e. Mārīca). *ri* denotes locus, *ya* is 3rd person pronoun. [6] it is difficult to decide here whether it serves as a substantive or a verb. [7] 'that I should (–*a*) try to dissuade'. [8] The reason is that dharma is followed by me. [9] *nikanaṅ manevaka* 'one who acts as a servant'. [10] *hitā*: –*ā* means 'in order to, so that'.

I am your humble servant, devoted and not treacherous. I am faithful to the King and to whatever he commands me to do. This is the cause that I dissuaded you following the dharma. The obligation of a servant is to dissuade [the master] with his welfare in mind.

yadyapi yat[1] *pituhva*[2] *hayu niṅ naya tan vihaṅĕn*[3] |
sarahayu seṣṭi[4] *saṅ prabhu ya tūtĕna*[5] *dadyakĕna* |
nahan ikanaṅ upaya yadyan[6] *kĕna*[7] *yan pituhun*[8] |
tĕmahana[9] *ni ṅhulun kidaṅ arambuta*[10] *mās kanaka* | | 38 | |

[1] *yat* is the 2nd person form of *yan. yar* is 3rd person and *yak* is 1st person. [2] *pi-tuhu-a*: *pi–* has a putative meaning in some derivatives. *pituhu* 'to make true, to realise'. *pituhva* 'to observe'. [3] 'it will not be resisted by me (i.e. Mārīca). *–ĕn* denotes the passive form. [4] 'in accordance with (*sa–*) the wish (*iṣṭi*) of'. [5] 'that ought to be followed'. [6] *yadyan* = *yadi* + *yan* 'in case'. [7] 'possible'. [8] *yan pituhun* 'that it be realised by you'. [9] metamorphosis. [10] 'will have hair'.

If you undertake a good prudent line of action (*naya*) I will not resist. Everything good that is desired by the Lord will be followed and realised. Now the plan that can be achieved is that I guise into a deer with golden hair.

ikana si Rāma Lakṣmaṇa ya dohakĕnaṅkva[1] *huvus*[2] |
ri vuri[3] *nikā sakeṣṭi*[4] *nira nātha*[5] *taman varahĕn*[6] |
nahan ujariṅ Marīca vĕkasan madulur[7] *lumaku* |
tĕka ya rikāṅ alas matĕmahan ta kidaṅ kanaka | | 39 | |

[1] *doh* (distance) *akĕn* (to make) *a* (will be) *ṅku* (by me). [2] 'completely, entirely'. [3] 'behind'. *ri vuri nikā* 'after they have gone'. [4] *sakeṣṭi* 'all that is wished'. [5] *nira nātha* 'Your Majesty'. It is = *sira* (honorific sense) and it is not a pronoun here. [6] subjunctive passive. *taman varahĕn* 'you need not be informed' (mss have tam*ad*, d > t refers to the 2nd person). [7] 'having (*ma–*) company (*dulur*). *madulur lumaku* 'they both departed'.

Then I will detract Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to a distant place. After they have gone, all that Your Majesty desires need not be spelt out. Thus spoke Mārīca, and both of them departed. They arrived at the forest, and he changed into a golden deer.

marakatavarṇa rāmya makiris[1] *ta gigir nya katon* |
ikana vulu[2] *nyavak nya malĕṅis*[3] *ya*[4] *kabeh mas abāṅ* |
tĕka ya masö ri saṅ Janakarājasutā ya mariṅ |
kadi giniraṅ-giraṅ[5] *hati nirādbhuta de nya*[6] *jĕnĕk*[7] | | 40 | |

[1] 'gleaming, shining'. [2] 'hair of the body' (*rambut* 'hair of the head'). [3] *mariṅ* 'meak, quiet'. [4] refers to the deer. [5] 'overjoyed' (reduplication means over°), *giraṅ* 'joy'. [6] *de nya* 'its'. [7] to feel at ease.

Its back was emerald-coloured, beautiful, and shining. The hair of its body were gleaming red golden. It stepped up to the place where Sītā was relaxing (*mariṅ*). She was excited and astonished that it (deer) was so tame.

iniṅĕt-iṅĕt nirāhayu kulit nya kĕmul-kĕmula[1] |
apan[2] *alĕṅis katon kanaka rambut alĕmbut*[3] *alit*[4] |
hati nira tībra de nira harĕp[5] *ri hayu nya katon* |
dadi ta[6] *makon makoliha*[7] *rikaṅ mrĕga ratnamāya* || 41 ||

[1] 'blanket, cover'. *–a* has the value of a comparison 'as if it were, like'. [2] 'for'. [3] 'fine'. [4] 'fine'. [5] correct the text to *de nirāharĕp* 'her desire'. *de* gives a substantive function to a verb. [6] *dadi ta* 'and so, and it came to pass'. [7] 'to catch, to capture.'

She looked at it attentively, its coat was beautiful as if it could be a wrap (better: stole) because the fur was smooth (*alĕṅis*), looked like gold, delicate and fine. Her heart was thrilled to see its beauty. She requested [Rāma] to obtain the jewelline deer.

33. KALASAN INSCRIPTION

I wrote to Dr. Roy Jordaan on 3 July 1993:

1. The interpretations of Vogel, his devoted disciple Naerssen, and Bosch have infrastructural assumptions. These spring from the political systems prevalent in their life-times, and specifically those of large states and vast empires, with fast communication networks that kept all parts of the country, nation or empire in constant touch. In ancient times, with poor possibilities of communication, an extensive kingdom was hardly manageable. Naturally, Java should have had a number of small kingdoms. The most powerful of them could exercise suzerein functions, but not actual administrative control. No dynasty need have held sway all over the Island. We have a parallel in the small valley of Nepal, which had separate kingdoms in Kathmandu, Patan, Bhaktapur etc within a short distance. The royal titles show the relative importance of the rulers who bore them, and have no absolute semantics. Even today, Luxemburg is as much a state of Europe as Germany. The two can not be compared in terms of size, economy or political importance. Thus the several royal names in the inscriptions need not be assigned only to the Śailendra and Sañjaya dynasties. There were several ruling kings, with wide-spread family relations and/or political alliances.

2. The sixth stanza of the Kalasan inscription is crucial. Mahārāja Paṇaṁkaraṇa constructed the temple for his guru to worship Tārā. The guru is called Śailendra-rājaguru (st.2, 5), or simply guru (st.3, 6). Thus Mahārāja Paṇaṁkaraṇa himself is the Śailendra king. Though a scion of the Śailendra family, his kingdom in Java was independent of the main line. He has the following royal titles: rājan, rājasiṁha, mahārāja, kariyāna.

St.2, 6	*mahārāja*
St.4	*rājñaḥ*
St.5	*rājñaḥ Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilakasya*
St.8, 10	*rājasiṁha*
St.12	*kariyāna-paṇaṁkaraṇaḥ śrīmān.*

Stanzas 8–9 of the inscription are clear that Rājasiṁha, following the noble (*ārya*) traditions (*santatyā*) to be observed (*anuparipālya*) by kings of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-vaṁśa-bhūpair*) gave munificent donations to the order of monks (*saṅgha*), followed by three officials and other pious dignitaries (*patibhiś ca sādhubhiḥ*). In stanza 10 Rājasiṁha prays again and again to all future kings to protect the religious endowment. This earnest entreaty is reaffirmed in the last stanza 12 that future kings should maintain the monastery in a proper way: here he is called *śrīmān kariyāna-paṇaṁkaraṇaḥ*. The concluding stanzas 8–12 make it clear that Rājasiṁha is a scion of the Śailendra dynasty, and his name is kariyāna Paṇaṁkaraṇa. Paṇaṁkaraṇa or his ancestors should have parted from the main Śailendra house in search of adventure and dominion, to seek

greener pastures in Java. It was common in ancient times for non-ruling princes to leave for conquest, gain victory and found new kingdoms.

3. The inscription is not very clear, because of its poor drafting and stylistic inadequacy. The first draft of the inscritpion was not revised. Its engraving too is careless. It is unusually repetitve. The construction of the temple to Tārā is attributed to the Śailendra-rājaguru in st.2. But in the next stanza 3, three village officials constructed it. It is repeatd in stanza 4. The Śailendra-rājaguru constructed it (st.5). In st.6 Mahārāja Paṇaṁkaraṇa constructed it. The temple is called bhavana (st.3), and Tārā-bhavana (st.4, 5, 6). The stanzas should have been re-written by the author, before they were engraved.

The construction of the image of Tārā (st.3) was the charge of the three officials. So also building the monastery for monks (st.3).

4. The inscription clearly states in st.7 that Kālasa was a village (grāma), and there is no indication that it was an un-inhabited area. Foucher (*Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, part 2) describes miniatures from a Cambridge ms. dated 1015: *Kalaśa-vara-pure Gandhavatyā Bhagavān* (p.191). This is repeated in the Calcutta ms: *Kalaśa-vara-pure Bhagavān* (p.209). These mss show that Kalaśa had other temples as well. Kalaśapura is referred to in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara and in the Ratna-parīkṣā of Buddhabhaṭṭa (L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*, Paris 1876, p.29). Foucher (p.90.179) was not able to localize Kalasapura as Kalasan, and these references remained obscure.

5. The Śailendras created a sacred space at Kalasan and nearby areas with several monumental temple complexes like the Tārā-bhavana, Sewu, Barabudur and others. Indian gurus were invited, and at their bidding different Vajrayāna systems came up in architectonic representations. A guru had the Kalasan temple to Tārā done, while another a Dharmadhātu-maṇḍala of Vāgīśvara Mañjuśrī, and so on. Sacred magnificence was an integral counterpart of the political authority of the Śailendras as a major power in Java. We have a parallel situation in Tibet where the first Samye monastery was founded by the inspiration of Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava who came to Tibet for the purpose, during the reign of Khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan (755–797). Likewise, when Buddhism was introduced in Japan, the state undertook measures to make the country a Buddha-kṣetra or Buddha-land. It was a universal phenomenon in the Buddhist world and Java was no exception. The Śailendras had converted the central part of Java into such a grand and glorious, imposing and stately holy place that even Hindu kings wanted to construct temples, and that is how the Loro Joṅgraṅ temple to Śiva must have come up. The temple did not indicate administrative control over the area. Mathura (India) is holy to Lord Kṛṣṇa and in the mediaeval period Rajas and Maharajas of several states erected temples at this holy city, each vying with the other in opulence and aesthetics.

6. D.G.E. Hall, *A History of South East Asia*, 1968.

7. In *pañca-paṇa*, *paṇa* refers to 'trade' and not 'bet, stake, promise'. *Paṇa* is trade and both *pañca-paṇa* and *Paṇa-ṁ-karaṇa* (*–ṁ–* is a glide) reflect the economic affluence of the Javanese

Śailendras. The reference to Kalaśa in Kathā-sarit-sāgara and in the Ratna-parīkṣā alludes to its prosperity.

8. Let me conclude with the generalisation that in ancient Java there were several local kings. They cannot and should not be telescoped into the framework of two dynasties. The two dynasties were the most powerful and local kings were either related to them by blood or tried to establish matrimonial, economic, religious, political and other connections with them. We will have to work out a new framework for Javanese history, and (inspite of respect to illustrious pioneers) without prejudice to conditions existing in ancient Java, in fact, all over the ancient world. An entirely fresh paradigm, accepting multipolarity as integral to the administrative and economic exigencies of the time, is required. The new paradigm will take into consideration, *inter alia*, the following:

(i) The major ruling dynasties.
(ii) The local rajas and maharajas.
(iii) Construction of temples by kings at other sacred centrums as well as in their own states.
(iv) When the bipolar dynastic model is taken in a more flexible way and the role of local ruling princes is accepted, the equation of names by Casparis and others will need revision. During the British Raj in India there were 600 native princes ruling their respective territories, with their own currencies, postal stamps, etc enjoying treaty rights with the British Crown.

34. WITNESSING AN AVADĀNA IN INDONESIA

Edgerton says that the exact meaning of *avadāna* is much disputed. In the Avadāna-śataka, Avadāna-kalpalatā and other works of the same genre, it refers to legends of the pre-incarnations of Lord Buddha. Speyer (Avadāna-śataka, preface p.1f) discusses its connotation. MW translates it as "a great or glorious act, achievement (object of a legend, Buddh)" and cites Śakuntalā, Raghuvaṁśa 11.21 and Kumārasambhava 7.48: all works of the court poet Kālidāsa. *Avadāna* means 'cutting or dividing into pieces' in Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, 'part, portion' in ŚBr and Kātyāyana-śrauta. Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 1.7.2.6 says *yat kiṁ cāgnau juhvati tad avadānaṁ nāma* 'whatever he offers unto the fire that is *avadāna*'. *Avadāna* goes back to the Vedic tradition and has the profundity of five oblations (*juhvati* from √*hu*). Bhanuji Dīkṣita's commentary on the Amarakośa, clarifies that *avadānaṁ karmavṛttaṁ* of the text are two words for *praśasta-karma* 'glorious achievement' (Nirnaya Sagar edition 1929:387). Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 3.3.226 equates it with *itivṛtta* 'legend'. It has three contexts: (i) its etymology suggests the root 'to cut, divide', (ii) the Vedic context implies sanctity, and (iii) it means a legend of glorious achievements.

Pali has *apadāna* for tales of meritorious exploits and tales of the past karma of Buddhist saints, in great deal of autobiographies in extenso. *Apadāyanti = sodhenti* 'they purify'. The tales were to purify the minds of the devout. Purification reminds of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa cited earlier. *Apadāna* is 'great work' in Rigveda 2.65.4, Śakuntalā (MW).

In Classical Sanskrit the word occurs only in the works of Kālidāsa who was a court poet. Were avadāna narratives connected to royal courts? It is *apadāna* in Pahlavi, as Skt. *va* becomes *pa* in Iranian (compare aś**v**a > as**p**a). The earliest Sassanian court architecture is the palace of Ardashir I which combines the *apadana* (official palace) and the *harem* (private residence, Sanskrit *harmya*). The anteroom to its throne room is an open hall (*aiwān*). The central hall of the palace of Aiwan-i Karkha built under Karvad I (488–531) is roofed with a cupola and is an *open pavilion* with walls replaced by open arches (HCCA[1] 1996:3.59–61). Apadāna or aiwān were open pavilions where the king met officials of the state and the people. Aiwān is a cognate of Sanskrit *avadāna*. A king validated his designation as *rājan* by keeping the people contented and gratified (*rañjana*) (*prakṛti-rañjanād anvartha-rāja-śabdo*). Kālidāsa emphasises that the duties of a King are to see that the people are hale and hearty (Raghuvaṁśa 8.18 *nṛpatiḥ prakṛtīr avekṣitum*), that he has to be beneficent and friendly towards them (Śākuntala 7.35 *pravartatāṁ prakṛti-hitāya pārthivaḥ*).

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[1] B.A. Litvinsky et al., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol.III, Paris (UNESCO Publishing).

In 1967 I and my sister Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Singhal visited Indonesia for the first time, having heard of their scintillating culture for thirty years from our father Prof. RaghuVira. We were staying at the residence of the millionaire Indian magnate Kundan Lal who had participated in the freedom struggle of Indonesia and knew every important political leader as well as the Sultans and other members of the royalty of Solo and Yogya. He had received an invitation to a special wayang wong performance of the Old Javanese Kṛṣṇadūta poem by distinguished actors from hereditary families of wayang.

He took both of us along and in a short while we were in a royal *pĕndopo* (maṇḍapa), about 100 × 100 ft square, open an all four sides with a pleasant breeze. Royal family dignitaries in traditional costumes of Solo, guests and performers sat under the open pavilion (*pĕndopo*), while all around were about two thousand spectators from all walks of life. The performance began with the gamelan orchestra in its hydrophonic instruments, accompanied by the narration of the Kṛṣṇadūta Kakawin in New Javanese. The ingenious dalang would intersperse his narration with jokes (sometimes political) and the audience under the open sky would burst into loud laughter. Royalty, culture and people in the exuberance of vibrant high spirits. Prof. Poerbatjaraka said that *pĕndopo* culture came from India along with the formation of the State as a part of the cakravartin regimen. The *pĕndopo* was a special pavilion *separate* from the palace, so that one could participate in the cooling gentle wind flowing in from the four open sides. So here we were **witnessing an avadāna.**

Likewise, avadānas must have been narrated in ancient India in open pavilions, under royal patronage, by the most talented narrators and performers. Buddhism inherited this tradition, introduced the word *avadāna* for moral narratives to inspire the faithful, to convey pāramitās to simple people in the form of stories and fables. Avadāna originally meant an open pavilion *separated* from the palace which is reflected by the √*dā* 'to cut', *dāna* 'cutting', splitting', and thence its secondary meaning of a 'legend narrated in the *open* pavilion separated from the palace'. Pahlavi has the original architectural meaning of an open pavilion without walls and separate from the main palace. The legends celebrated glorious achievements or dedicated sagely actions to inspire the masses. They became literary masterpieces as well as magnificent reliefs of paintings to convey the message of Dharma, as Visual Dharma. In the Vedic period itself, the word *avadāna* stood for offerings to the holy fire. Avadānas were the sanctity of the ethereal narrated in absorbing tales or stories in the thrilling ambience of royal pavilions.

35. THE KARAṅTĔṅAH INSCRIPTION OF KING SAMARATUṅGA

Dr. Mark Long worked on the Śailendra inscriptions for five years and finally they appeared in 2014 under the title *Voices from the Mountain: the Śailendra inscriptions discovered in Java and on the Malay Peninsula* in the Śatapitaka series (no.648).

Dr. Long sent me a detailed note on strophe 12 of the Karaṅtĕṅah Inscription for being inserted on p.191. It arrived after the book had been published. It is being reproduced hereunder, as a tribute to his memory.

Bosch, F.D.K. 1952 'Boekbespreking, Prasasti Indonesia diterbitkan oleh Djawatan Purbakala Republik Indonesia I.

J.G. de Casparis: *Inscripties uit de Śailendra-tijd*, A.C. Nix & Co. Bandung, 1950, 204 blz.; *BKI* 108–2:191–199.

In the article, Bosch made a point of chiding de Casparis for presenting readings as certain that are either tentative or just plain wrong. He also stressed that he had the sole surviving copy of fragment C (a plaster cast made from a paper-mache impression) at hand and through the direct examination of which he was able to make some priceless corrections.

Published reading of strophe 12 by de Casparis (1950):

Tacchenduvimvaśakalapratimam = vibhāti
rāhor = bhiyā sapadi sampatitaṃ dharitryāṃ|
tasyānupuṇyam = atha *vedim* = *udeti bhūbhṛt*
vṛddhais = sakṛtyataruṇair = uṣitaṃ manojñam ||12||

Clarified reading by Bosch (1952):

Tacchenduvimvaśakalapratimam = vibhāti
rāhor = bhiyā sapadi sampatitaṃ dharitryāṃ|
tasyānupuṇyam = *athaved<a>m* = *udeti<śu>bh<raḥ>*
<bu>ddhais = [sakṛtyataruṇair] = uṣitaṃ manojñam||12||

In other words, strophe 12 neither refers to a king nor mountain (*bhūbhṛt*) nor any high-rise platform (*vedi*). Moreover, the reading *sakṛtya* is proclaimed by Bosch to be impossible, whilst *taruṇair* is dobutful. Additionally, stripped of sandhi *athaved<a>m* is *athavā-idam*.

On p.194, Bosch interprets the first half of the verse as referring to the temple whilst the second half would refer to the image. "And that (sanctuary), shines like a part of the disk of the moon suddenly fallen to the earth in fear of Rāhu. But the radiant (image of the monarch), rises even above (i.e. even surpasses in glory) this charming (sanctuary) suitable to him, which ..."(8). "(8). The reading of the last line of v.12 is too uncertain to allow a translation. This much is clear, that in v.12 a contrast is intended between the piece of the moon fallen (*sampatitam*) to the earth and the rising (*udeti*) sun whereby the latter is being compared with the brilliant (*śubhraḥ*) image of the monarch."

Bosch thought that the image of Śrī Ghananātha would represent the deceased King Samaratuṅga. Noting that Śrīghana is a name for the Buddha, he deduced that Śrīghananātha would be a metrically compatible replacement for Śrībuddhanātha, which means "he who has the Buddha for lord", "pious Buddhist". By way of analogy, Maitreyanātha (either an epithet of Asaṅga or the name of his teacher) does not mean "the lord of Maitreya" but "he who has Maitreya for lord".

Bosch provides support for the conclusion I had independently reached about a reference to Samaratuṅga's queen (*mahīṣyaṃ*) in v.5. He also rejects the suggestion that the image of Śrī Ghananātha could represent anyone else than Samaratuṅga, since it would be "contrary to the adopted court etiquette always strictly observed in charters" for a third royal personage to suddenly appear in v.11 in the guise of Śrī Ghananātha without having been duly glorified in the preceding Sanskrit text.

My comments

Bosch has supplied syllables in three places where the stone of the inscription had chipped off: <śu>bh<raḥ> <bu>ddhais = [sakṛtyataruṇair]. To make the passage meaningful the syllables should be:

<śu>bh <raṁ> <bau>ddhais [sukṛtyataruṇair].

As rightly pointed out by Dr. Long: "a contrast is intended between the piece of the moon fallen (*sampatitam*) to the earth and the rising (*udeti*) sun". The contrast is indicated by *athavedam*. With the newly supplied syllables the strophe will mean: And the [sanctuary] shines like a portion of the disk of the moon suddenly fallen to the earth in fear of Rāhu. And this (*idaṁ*) sacred (*anupuṇyam*) [temple], which is fascinating (*manojñam*) because of the virtuous deeds (*sukṛtya*) of the young (*taruṇa*) Buddhists inhabiting it, shines in brilliant splendour.

The second part does not refer to the image of Ghananātha and Ārya [father-in-law], but to the temple itself which arose (*udeti*) in public piety by the virtue of its young resident monks. After having said that the temple had fallen due to the fear of Rahu, the second half emphasises its special sanctity by the word *udeti* 'rises' [like the sun], because of the virtue of its resident monks. Its glamour could have been dimmed by Rāhu, but it ever rises radiant due to the virtuosity of the monks. The present form *udeti* is in contrast to the past passive participle *patitam*. The qualifying words *idaṁ, uṣitaṁ manojñaṁ* are in neuter gender and can refer only to *mandiraṁ* which is a neuter noun.

Mahiṣya in strophe 5 does not refer to *mahiṣī* 'queen' but to *mahiṣa* 'great, powerful' and *mahiṣya* will mean 'greatness, power, might, majesty, supremacy'. Kings hid (*vigūḍha*) themselves in awe of King Samaratuṅga's might so that they do not have to fight losing battles and he attained (*lebhe*) supremacy in the land by their submission.

I have discussed Ghananātha and Ārya in *Cultural Horizons of India* 4.32, 228. The previous 11th strophe is clear. *sā mā[se śucau] Śrīghananātham ārya-sahitaṁ prātiṣṭhipan mandire*: she set up the portrait statue of Śrighananātha along with that of Ārya (her father-in-law). The names in the inscription are: King Samaratuṅga, his daughter Pramodavardhanī, her husband Ghananātha, and her father-in-law (Ārya) who is not named as required by the social custom that brides do not take the name of their father-in-law.

36. ROCK INSCRIPTIONS (RI) OF PŪRṆAVARMAN

The very first inscriptions found on the island of Java pertain to King Pūrṇavarman. They are inscribed on rocks in Sanskrit. They speak of his capital as *Tārūmanagara* (Ci-Arüton RI), *Tāruma* (Kĕbon Kopi RI), *Tārumā* (Jambu RI). *Tāruma* is the Tamil spelling of Dharma. The *Tamil Lexicon* gives *tarumam* தருமம். The final nasal is preserved in the Chinese transliteration Ta-lu-man 荅魯蠻, a village at the entrance of the river Pasè, mentioned in the Ying-yai Shêng-lan (Pelliot 1956:2.1). This name must have been given by the grandfather of Pūrṇavarman as the new state being founded was to be of righteous rule, a *dharmarājya* தருமராச்சியம் *taruma-rācciyaṁ* in Tamil. Dharmapuram தருமபுரம் *taruma-puram* is a Śaiva hermitage near Māyagaram in Tanjore district. *Dharmapīṭhikā* is a pedestal bearing Buddha's feet, and worshipped in many places (Tamil Lexicon):

> தருமபீடிகை taruma-pīṭikai, *n.* <id. + .Pedestal bearing Buddha's feet, worshipped in many places: புத்தரது பாதங்கள் அமைந்த பீடம்.
>
> புரையோ ரேத்துந் தருமபீடிகை தோன்றியது (மணி.8, 63).

Pūrṇavarman calls his grandfather a *rājarṣi* 'a royal sage' who was of royal descent and learned in dharma like a ṛṣi or sage. When there were two or more princes, the eldest prince inherited the kingdom and the other(s) had to seek fortune elsewhere. The grandfather must have left his native metropolis in South India to seek fortune in the Golden Isles. The etymology of Taruma has always been a conjecture; e.g. *tarum* is indigo in Indonesian (Sarkar p.10 n.21). Tārumapura is a place-name in a South Indian inscription (*South Indian Inscriptions* 2.159). Gomatī river is found in the list of South Indian rivers in the Purāṇas (Sarkar p.11 n.42). The South Indian origin of the dynasty of Pūrṇavarman is clear.

The grandfather founded the new metropolis which he termed *śibirāvani* translated as 'camping ground' by Sarkar. Pūrṇavarman calls himself *avanipati* 'lord of avani'. Perhaps *avani* had become a name of this place. It had acquired a sanctity of the Vedic suffix °*vani*, in line with *kṣatravani* 'favourable to the princely order' (Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā), *rāyas-poṣa-vani* 'procuring increase of riches' (VS), *brahmavani tvā kṣatravani sajātāvany upa dadhāmi bhrātṛvyasya vadhāya* (VS 1.17.5, 27.6). The grandfather was verily a *rājarṣi* or royal sage. He was royal in speaking of the *śibira* 'royal camp or residence' which he had set up on landing and he was a sage as it led to a glorious sanctified metropolis, implied by the ending °*vani*. The Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā or White Yajurveda was given to Yājñavalkya by the Sun, who appeared to him in the form of a *vājin* or horse, gratified by his homage. The Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā can symbolises the horses carried by Indians on ships for going round on landing.

Pūrṇavarman speaks of *rājādhirājena guruṇā pīnabāhunā khātā...candrabhāgā*, which has been translated by Sarkar as "Candrabhāgā dug by the overlord of kings (viz.) the strong-armed guru". Sarkar notes that Pīnabābu may be a proper name, and *guru* may stand for father". Both the terms connote consternation, and so does the omission of the name. Guru does not mean 'teacher' but a fatty fellow. *Guru* is 'heavy, weighty, vehement, violent' (MW) in its negative connotations. Pūrṇavarman would certainly have mentioned his father or even named him. It seems that the grandfather was succeded by his eldest son as *rājādhirāja* and he was the uncle of Pūrṇavarman. The relations between the *rājādhirāja* and the father of Pūrṇavarman must have been strained and tense, whence the awkward adjectives of stout and fatty-armed. He built the Candrabhāgā channel as a communication system to get goods brought by transoceanic merchants from distant lands. It passed by the metropolitan city and reached the ocean. This channel was not welcome to Pūrṇavarman and he replaced it by a more developed Gomatī with clear water, blessed by brāhmaṇas, and it ran by the original royal encampment of the grandfather and as such had his blessings. A thousand cows had been gifted to the brāhmaṇas so that the sanctification was fully ensured.

The *pīnabāhu* must have asserted over tribal chieftains, created a stable polity, ensured the smooth flow of goods from the ocean to the mainland by constructing the Candrabhāgā for economic prosperity, and became the supreme monarch (*rājādhirāja*).

It seems that Pīnabāhu did not have a descendant and Pūrṇavarman, probably his nephew, came to the throne. The Kĕbon Kopi Rock Inscription says that Pūrṇavarman made extensive victories, and he extended his dominions (*jaya-viśāla*) by conquering surrounding chieftains, crushing them like the divine Airāvata elephant of Indra. Lime-stone pillar bases, 1.5 feet in dimension in each direction, were lying in the area where this inscription was incised on a rock. These pillars must have come from the palace of Pūrṇavarman. When feudatory kings came to the palace to offer tribute they had to pay obeisance to the feet of Pūrṇavarman's elephant engraved on the rock. In India we touch the feet of seniors in respect, clasping the feet of a superior as a mark of respectful salutation. It is termed *pāda-grahaṇa* in Manusmṛti and Kumārasambhava (MW). Compare *kepada* in Bahasa Indonesia. In the Saṅgrāma-dhanañjaya Inscription from Kĕlurak, the feudatory kings worship the *dust of the feet* of the Śailendra monarch with their crown jewels and lotus flowers (Mark Long 2014:89). Royal feet are *devapāda* in Pañcatantra 1.111, and Prabodhacandrodaya 2.24 (MW).

As time passed by Pūrṇavarman's sovereignty was cherished over the lands, and his might was acknowledged. As having surpassed (*vikrānta*) all other kings he felt like Viṣṇu, his foot-prints were as of Viṣṇu, and the feudatories felt honoured in paying homage to them. Sarkar (p.10 n.20) says that *vikrānta* "may also possibly mean deceased." He refers to Vogel's suggestion that the find-spot of the inscription is the cremation ground of Pūrṇavarman. His cremation site was the place where the Jambu Rock Inscription was found. This inscription clearly says that the mighty Pūrṇavarman once (*purā*) ruled Tārumā and these footprints are his.

Vikrānta refers to Trivikrama or Viṣṇu who strode over the three worlds in three steps (Harivaṁśa, Rāmāyaṇa, MW). Vikrama is a name of Viṣṇu in the Mahābhārata (MW). *Vikrānta* is the past passive participle of the root *vi√kram* and means that Pūrṇavarman *had* accomplished all the three duties enjoined on a monarch as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Three major royal responsibilities have been spelt out in the OJ Bhīṣmaparva.

yaḥ śrīdharo yavapatiḥ khalu lokapālaḥ |
dṛṣyamāṇo Hariḥ padatrayam eti samrāṭ |
Śrī-Dharmavaṁśo Těguh-ādim ananta-madhyām |
saṁjñāṁ nṛpaḥ praṇidadhāti sa vikramāntām ||

mvaṅ hana ta sira ratu cakravarti sinivi riṅ Yavadvīpa-maṇḍala | *paripūrṇa gön nikaṅ kasamrāṭprabhun hane sira* |

kesyan nirukti nikaṅ hari saṅajña de nira | *vyaktinya n sinaṅguh Hari Viṣṇu sira* | *ri de nira Śrīdhara* | *satata makiṇḍayutan ikaṅ śrī ri bāhudaṇḍa nira* |

sinaṅgah Hari sira vaneh | *ri de nira Lokapāla* | *nityaśa rumakṣeṅ jagat-maṇḍala* |
muvah sinaṅgah ta sira siṅha | *ri de nira Pañcānana* | *makabrata ṅ kapañcāsyan* |
mahārāja samaṅkana katiśayan ira | *sira ta makanāma śrī Dharmavaṁśa Těguh-anantavikrama* |

The Bhīṣmaparva was redacted during the reign of Těguh Anantavikrama and he is compared to Viṣṇu in his trivikrama aspect. His name comprises three elements (*pada-traya*): Těguh, ananta and vikrama. Těguh means 'strong, steadfast' because he stabilized the kingdom. (i) As Śrīdhara he brought prosperity to his domain, (ii) as Lokapāla he provided security to the people by a strong defence, and (iii) as *hari* 'lion' he observed the very strict religious rite of *kapañcāsyan* or *pañcānana-brata*.

Likewise Pūrṇavarman had developed a strong economy by linking the mainland with international trade by the Gomatī channel, he had strengthened the defence of the kingdom by his victories over enemies, and held grand ceremonies with munificent donations to brāhmaṇas. The past passive participle *vikrānta* means that he had accomplished all the *vikramas* of Trivikrama Viṣṇu and had become a veritable Viṣṇu. His footprints were the manifestation of the three strides of Viṣṇu and as such all feudatories had to pay homage to them.

The four inscriptions can be arranged according to the events indicated in them:

Kěbon Kopi Inscription	vast conquest
Tugu Inscription	digging the Gomatī channel for trade and irrigation
Ci-Arüton Inscription	all the development projects are completed.
Jambu Inscription	he is a king of the past.

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37. MAṆḌALAS IN INDONESIA

Kuñjarakarṇa Dharma Kathana 2.1 is dedicated to *bharālipratisāra*. The editors A. Teeuw and S.O. Robson (1981:23) find her a 'rather mysterious figure'. They are intrigued that a whole stanza is devoted to her, and the word *bharāli* itself is enigmatic (explained in CHI.4.188–197). P.J. Zoetmulder has KK(k) Kuñjarakarṇa Kakawin (Teeuw-Robson 1981) in his dictionary in the list of texts used by him but does not cite this passage under *pratisāra*.The correct reading is Bharālī Pratisarā. She is the prime of the Pañcarakṣā goddesses. Her dhāraṇī was translated into Chinese thrice: by Cintāmaṇi in 693 CE, by Bodhiruci who was in China 693–727 CE, and by Amoghavajra in 758 CE. Vajrabodhi was saved by reciting this dhāraṇī to Pratisarā on his way to China when a violent storm destroyed thirty-plus ships of the flotilla. Such an important text as the Pañcarakṣā has been missed in OJ studies. The role of Tantras in Classical Java has to be clarified.

Prof. Jan Fontein curated a marvellous exhibition of Indonesian sculptures at the National Gallery of Art, Washington in 1990 which travelled to Houston Museum of Fine Arts, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), and Asian Art Museum (San Francisco). It was accompanied by a sumptuous volume *The Sculpture of Indonesia*. He identified four bronzes (pp.224–25) of the Surocolo hoard as *male* deities: 66A Vajrarāga, 66B Vajrarakṣa, 66C Vajrakarma (?), 66D Vajrabhāṣa (?). I wrote to him that all have feminine breasts and are goddesses. How has this escaped you. He rang me up, had a hearty laugh and said: the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala has been overwhelming in the identification of bronzes. The four goddesses are Manojavajriṇī, Mānavajriṇī, Rāgavajriṇī and Kelikilavajriṇī from the Naya-maṇḍala of Vajrasattva. Statues of Vajrasattva indicate the wide prevalence of the Nayasūtra in Java. It is recited twice daily in the Shingon monasteries of Japan and amulets with its miniature text for hanging across the neck can be had from temple shops.

The Tantras in Indonesia, as texts and images, have yet to be studied in depth and detail. Several images lie un-identified in the National Museum at Jakarta, as well as in Europe, USA, and elsewhere. There are extensive textual and iconic materials from different periods and countries that complement each other. A comparative study of the sketchy Indonesian tradition, with the elaborate Sanskrit, Sino-Japanese, and Tibeto-Mongol mūla-tantras and comprehensive exegesis thereon, will fill in the gaps to identify majority of the bronzes of Java. The textual contexts will be provided by multiple traditions so that the bewildering variations in the Javanese statuettes can be located. The well-known bronze statuettes from Ṅañjuk and Surocolo can be dated to the 10th century. Alongwith images from unknown sites they present a vivid picture of the presence of the maṇḍalas of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, Vajradhātu-Vairocana, Sarvavid Vairocana (in the Nāgarakṛtagama), Hevajra, Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, Vajrasattva of the Naya-sūtra.

Indonesia was an internationally renowned centre of the Tantras. Two of the greatest Tantric teachers of East Asia, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, went to Indonesia before they travelled to China and introduced the Tantras to China and Japan.

The national motto of Indonesia *tunggal ika bhinneka* is from the Sutasoma, a kāvya of yogatantric inspiration.

Some OJ philosophical works and kāvyas are from the Tantric tradition. The Old Javanese text Mantranaya prescribes the rites of initiation and is close to the Chinese translation of a similar text by Vajrabodhi. The philosophical enunciation of the Prajñāpāramitā practices transcends into the Tantras in the Advaya-sādhana. A succinct description of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala can be seen in the Old Javanese Nāgabāyu-sūtra (correct to Nāgāhvaya's sutra). These works are collectively known as Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (SHK). They are prior to the reign of King Siṇḍok (929–947) who had a Śaiva version of the SHK prepared by Sūryabharaṇa. The narrative Kuñjarakarṇa, dateable to the 12th century, centres around Vairocana. The kāvya Sutasoma narrates the adventures of the Bodhisattva Sutasoma. It was written by Tantular in the reign of King Rājasanagara (1350–1389). It relates to the Vajradhātu system of the tantras. The Nāgarakṛtāgama written by Prapañca in 1365 has ample materials on the sect of Kabajradharan or Vajrayāna. Prapañca was the head of the Buddhist Saṅgha at the height of the power of the Majapahit kingdom.

The vast riches of Tantric iconography in the Indonesian isles are an important patrimony of Asia, as they exercised a crucial influence on East Asian Tantrism. The Gobu-shingan is an illustrated manual by Śubhakarasiṁha (637–735) and it is a valuable source for indentifying Indonesian statuettes. Its manuscript is preserved in the Japanese monastery of Onjo-ji.

Indonesian images evidence the presence of the following Tantric texts:

I. Mahāvairocana-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendra-rāja. Goddess Cundā occurs in the quarter of universal knowledge of the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala based on this Sūtra. Cundī-devī-dhāraṇī was translated into Chinese thrice by Divākara in 685 CE (K314), by Vajrabodhi in 723 CE (K315), and by Amoghavajra (in China 720–774) in the eighth century (K1338). There are Indonesian images, e.g.

Cundā (?), Twelve-armed, c.9/10th century, Radya Pustaka Museum, Solo (Fontein 1990: 220, 219 ill.).

Cundā (?), Eight-armed, Musée Guimet (Bonheur 1971:204–208). Details three images in Leyden and one in Surabaya Coll. Roëner.

II. Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (STTS): vajradhātu-maṇḍala. This maṇḍala is described in the OJ texts Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyu-sūtra and Kalpabuddha. Nāgabāyu is a corruption of Nāgāhvaya the Tantric Nāgārjuna, the first of the eight patriarchs of Japanese Mantrayāna. Statuettes in the Ṅañjuk hoard relate to the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. They have been described in CHI 4.97–120. The Supreme Buddha of this maṇḍala is Vajradhātu Vairocana. There are several of his images:

- Musée Guimet has three images (Bonheur 1971:125–131)
- Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fontein 1990:234), gold image of 9/10th century
- Three images of Vairocana, one of his consort Rocanā (not Locanā, p.92), & V. and consort (p.99) (Scheurleer / Klokke 1988:91–99)

Art Institute of Chicago (Klokke / Scheurleer 1994:95)
Klenteng Sentiong, Jakarta (Klokke / Scheurleer 1994:97)

The second samaya of the STTS. has the great maṇḍala of Trilokavijaya Vairocana. His ferocious form is Trailokyavijaya, whose four bronzes have been found in Java (detailed in DBI.12.3645)

The 504 Buddhas in the Borobudur are the Thousand Buddhas (504 × 2 = 1008) of the outer enceinte of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala.

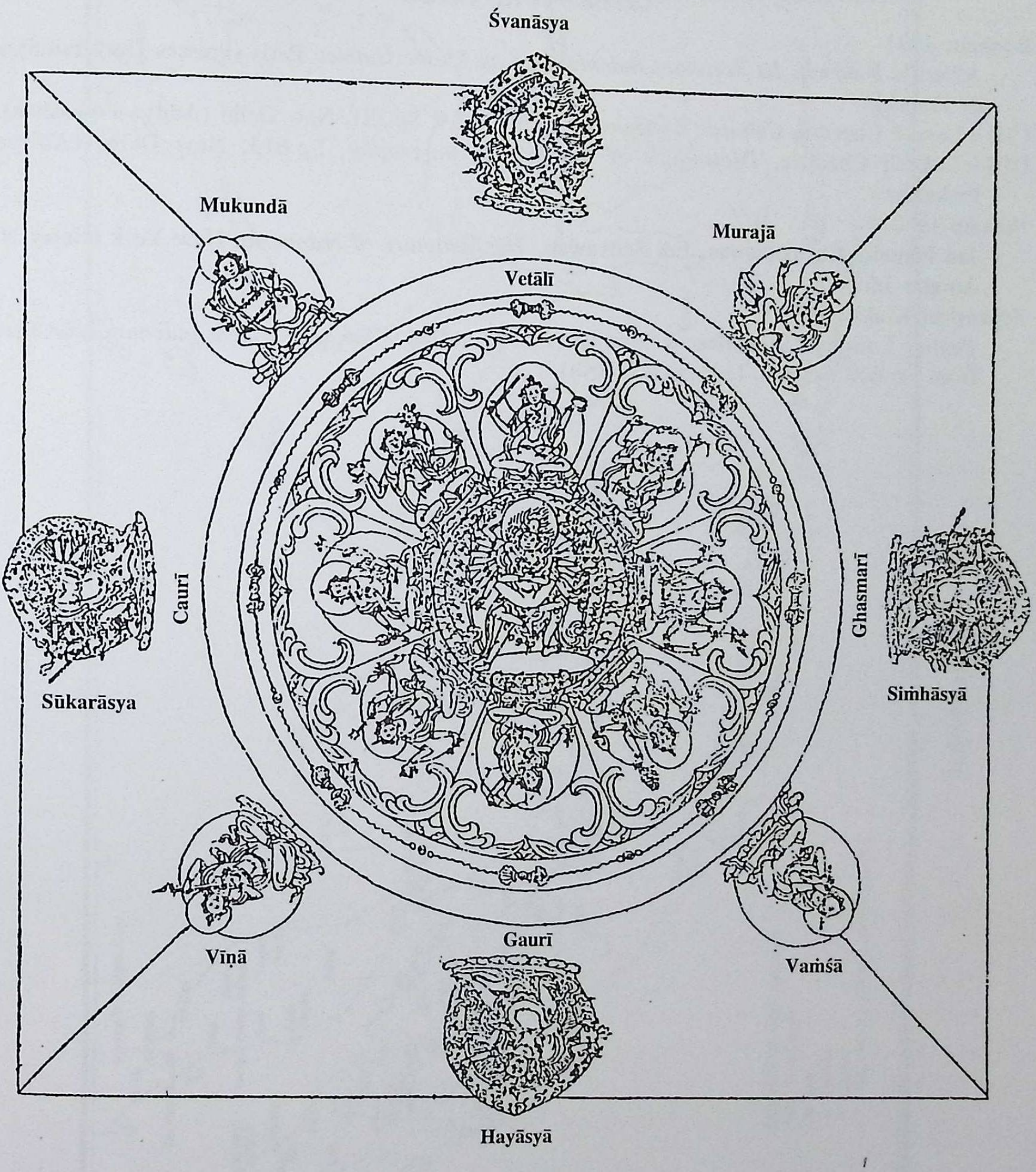
III. Hevajra-maṇḍala derives from the Sampuṭa-tantra. The Surocolo hoard has the statuettes of the following goddesses of the Hevajra-maṇḍala:

Gaurī (Fontein 66 P: Vināyaka with bow and arrow?)
Caurī (Fontein 66 N: unidentified)
Vetālī (Fontein 66 Q: Vajrasphoṭā?)
Ghasmarī: lost
Vaṁśā (Fontein 66 G Vaṁśā)
Vīṇā (Fontein 66 K Vajragītī) plays the harp.
Mukundā (Fontein 66 H Mukundā) plays a drum
Murajā (Fontein 66 J Murajā) three drums are placed in front
Hayāsyā (Fontein 66 M Hayāsyā)
Sūkarāsyā (Fontein 66 L Śūkarāsyā?) Fontein says that she can also be Vajravārāhī or Vajramukhī. As all the goddesses are from one maṇḍala the identification Sūº is correct. Fontein could not identfy the maṇḍala and hence uncertainties
Śvānāsyā and Siṁhāsyā are lost.

IV. Naya-maṇḍala of Mahāsukha Vajrasattva is based on the Nayasūtra. Surocolo bronzes of the Naya-maṇḍala have been identified in CHI 4.121–132. Fontein (1990:224) had named Vajraṅkuśī as Vajralāśī(?) and was unsure of Vajrasattva(?) as it was of larger size. As the main deity Vajrasattva is larger and seated on a large lotus throne.

The Surocolo hoard has two maṇḍalas of Hevajra and Vajrasattva.

V. Dharmadhātu-Vāgiśvara maṇḍala is based on the Māyājāla-tantra, Nāma-saṅgīti and a commentary on a yoga-tantra and has 221 deities in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma, Śp.647, 2015:179–209). The Candi Sewu with its 240 subsidiary temples represents this maṇḍala. While the Borobudur was Vajradhātu, the Sewu was Dharmadhātu, like Kathmandu where these two dhātus are Svayambhu-nath and Bodh-nath.


Śvanāsya
Mukundā
Murajā
Vetālī
Caurī
Ghasmarī
Sūkarāsya
Siṁhāsyā
Gaurī
Vīṇā
Vaṁśā
Hayāsyā

Maṇḍala of Sixteen-armed Hevajra.

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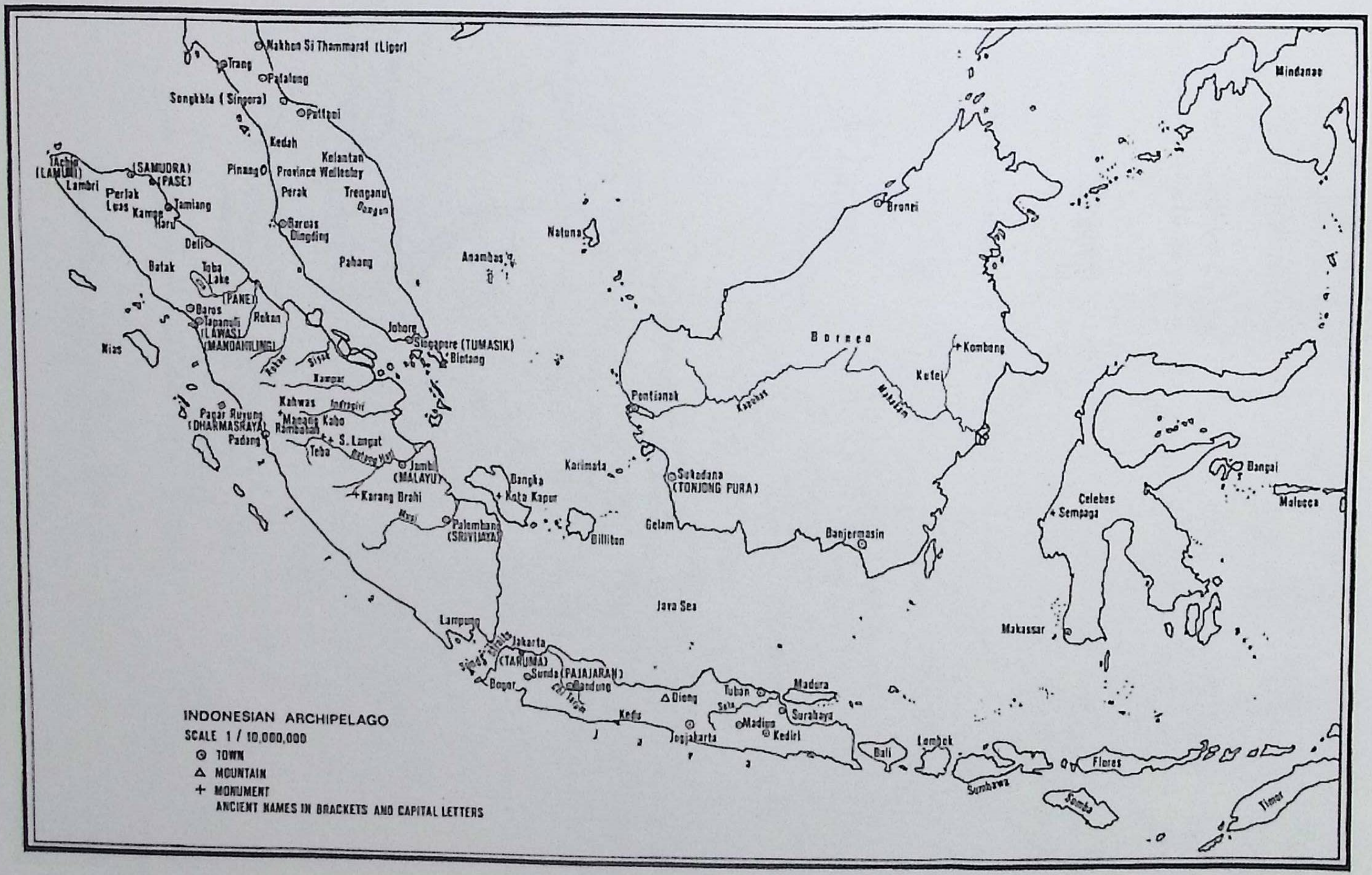
Nakhon Si Thammarat (Ligor)
Trang
Patalung
Songkhla (Singora)
Pattani
Kedah
Kelantan
Pinang
Province Wellesley
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Trengganu
Dungun
Baruas
Dingding
Pahang
Achin
(LAMURI)
Lambri
(SAMUDRA)
(PASE)
Perlak
Luas
Kampe
Tamiang
Haru
Deli
Batak
Toba
Lake
(PANEI)
Baros
Tapanuli
(LAWAS)
(MANDAILING)
Rokan
Nias
Siyak
Kampar
Kahwas
Indragiri
Manang Kabo
Rambahan
Pagar Ruyung
(DHARMASRAYA)
Padang
S. Langat
Teba
Batang Hari
Jambi
(MALAYU)
Karang Brahi
Musi
Palembang
(SRIVIJAYA)
Johore
Singapore (TUMASIK)
Bintang
Anambas
Natuna
Bangka
Kota Kapur
Billiton
Karimata
Lampung
Sunda Straits
Jakarta
(TARUMA)
Sunda (PAJAJARAN)
Bogor
Bandung
Ci Tarum
Kedu
Dieng
Jogjakarta
Java Sea
Tuban
Sala
Madiun
Kediri
Madura
Surabaya
Bali
Lombok
Sumbawa
Flores
Sumba
Timor
Pontianak
Kapuas
Sukadana
(TONJONG PURA)
Gelam
Banjermasin
Borneo
Bronei
Mahakam
Kutei
Kombeng
Celebes
Sempaga
Makassar
Bangai
Malucca
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INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO
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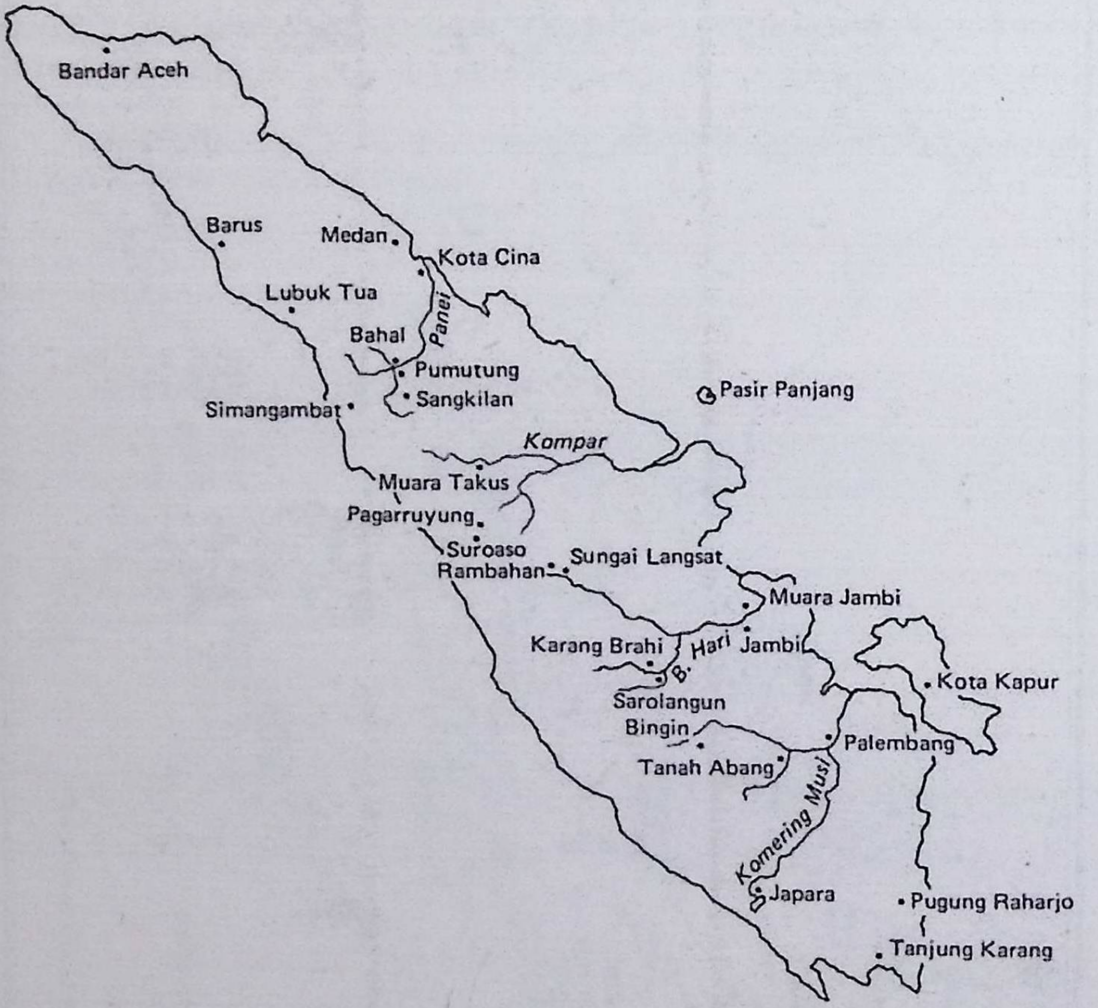
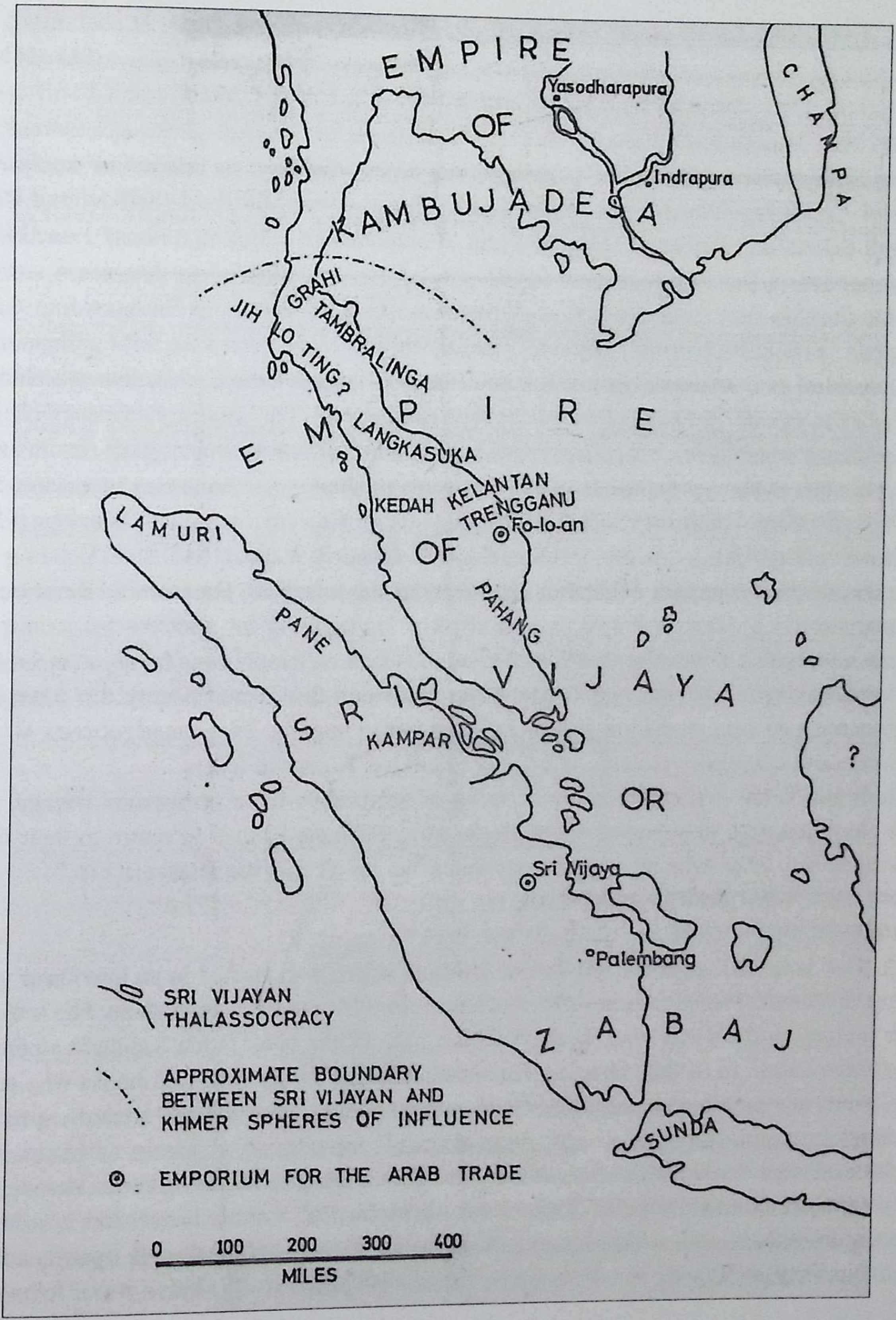
⊙ TOWN
△ MOUNTAIN
+ MONUMENT
ANCIENT NAMES IN BRACKETS AND CAPITAL LETTERS

Indonesian Archipelago.


Bandar Aceh
Barus
Medan
Kota Cina
Lubuk Tua
Panei
Bahal
Pumutung
Sangkilan
Simangambat
Pasir Panjang
Kompar
Muara Takus
Pagarruyung
Suroaso
Rambahan
Sungai Langsat
Muara Jambi
Karang Brahi
B. Hari
Jambi
Kota Kapur
Sarolangun
Bingin
Palembang
Tanah Abang
Komering
Musi
Japara
Pugung Raharjo
Tanjung Karang

Sumatra.


EMPIRE OF KAMBUJADESA
Yasodharapura
Indrapura
CHAMPA
GRAHI
TAMBRALINGA
JIH LO TING?
EMPIRE OF SRI VIJAYA OR ZABAJ
LANGKASUKA
KEDAH
KELANTAN
TRENGGANU
Fo-lo-an
PAHANG
LAMURI
PANE
KAMPAR
Sri Vijaya
Palembang
SUNDA
?
SRI VIJAYAN THALASSOCRACY
APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY BETWEEN SRI VIJAYAN AND KHMER SPHERES OF INFLUENCE
⊙ EMPORIUM FOR THE ARAB TRADE
0 100 200 300 400
MILES

Main centres of Śrīvijaya in Peninsular Malaysia.

38. AMOGHAPĀŚA PENTAD AT CANDI JAGO

J.A. Schoterman wrote on ‘A Surviving Amoghapāśa Sādhana: its relation to the five main statues of Candi Jago’ in *Ancient Indonesian Sculptures* (ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, Leiden, 1994). Its origin, the context in which it was envisioned and its function are being discussed herein.

Amoghapāśa is a symbolisation of **Varuṇa** the God of Oceans as the presiding deity of India’s transoceanic trade across millennia. The harbour of Lothal is from the third millennium BC. The Amarakośa gives the synonyms of Varuṇa: *Pracetāḥ* ‘mindful, wise’, *Pāśī* ‘one who holds the noose’, *Yādasāṁpatiḥ* ‘the Lord of marine beings’ and *Appatiḥ* ‘the Lord of the Oceans’. His right hand holds a noose. Varuṇa had to be invoked constantly because of violent gales, and as the sea rose up in rage, saddening the hearts of the occupants of ships:

भीतेव नौरभ्यधिकं चकम्पे विषादयन्ती हृदयानि तेषाम्।

The Supāraga-jātaka in the Jātakamālā (ed. Hendrik Kern, 1943:88–95) has a vivid description of the oceanic terrors tearing the hearts of the travellers. On reaching the shores, the merchants would dedicate a temple to Varuṇa as a thanksgiving for a successful journey. The Balinese narrate that Dvijendra established Chandi Bruna or temple to Varuṇa when he landed there centuries ago. I Wayan Ardika and Peter Bellwood discovered nearby this Chandi rich pottery-bearing deposits in the low beach cliffs and Indian imports. They range between AD 1–200 on ceramic and epigraphic grounds. A ceramic sherd has Kharosthi letters.

Sudhana is the deification of the longing of sea-traders for a prosperous voyage. Along month- long journeys they prayed to the Bodhisattva Sudhana so that on return to their country they see the ship filled with silver, gold, sapphires, beryls. To cite the Jātakamālā (p.94):

अथ प्रभाते रजतेन्द्रनीलवैडूर्यहेमप्रतिपूर्णनौकाः।
स्वदेशतीरान्तमुपागतास्ते प्रीत्या तमानर्चुरुदीर्णहर्षाः॥ ३३॥

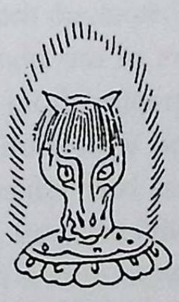
A book is tucked under the left arm of Sudhana which is explained in an interlinear gloss as the Prajñāpāramitā. Pāramita means one who has crossed over to the yonder shore. She is to ensure a safe journey to the destination. In the Sādhanamālā 15 the book is the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (Lotus Sutra). In its 26th chapter, Samantabhadra ensures the safety of monks who read this Sutra, averts any punishment, destroys poison, and no goblins, ghosts, imps, wizards, spectres can lay snares for them. Monks and nuns, male or female lay persons who keep this Sutra become inviolable. Samantabhadra will protect them, take care of their safety, avert blows, destroy poison and give them talismanic spells. Those who write this Sutra and comprehend it, when they disappear from this world, will be reborn among the gods, and 84,000 heavenly nymphs will come near them. They shall dwell among nymphs. The whole chapter is the *phala-śruti* of following the

Lotus Sutra. (see H. Kern, *The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, Sacred Books of the East vol.21, Oxford, 1909:431–439).

The first Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra was completed on 15 Sep 286 by the Yüeh-chih Dharmarakṣa during the reign of Emperor Wu-ti of the Western Chin dynasty (265–317 CE). The Emperor was tossed to and fro between the quarrelling and fighting of the members of the imperial family. The translation played the role of a ritual pacification of the conflicts.

Tārā at Chandi Jago holds a blue lotus in the left hand, which she opens with the right. The lotus represents the oceanic waters and the blossoming refers to her protection against pirates, storms and ferocious marine sharks etc. She saved the voyagers from all hazards across the threatening waters. Her very name Tārā means 'Saviour' (तारयतीति तारा). In ritual, these external dangers become internal negative qualities like pride, ignorance, anger, jealousy, wrong views, covetousnes, passion, and doubt which have to be tranquilized by the invocation of the goddess. She is the dynamic power of saving (*tārayati*) suffering beings. Her name means crossing over the ocean of existence.

Hayagrīva at Candi Jago: his right hand is raised, which seems to express the terrifying nature of the god and the left holds a baton. In the Mongolian Kanjur his right hand holds a sword, and the left a baton. Schoterman points out that a horse (*aśva*) takes the place of H. in the enumeration of the avatāras of Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇupurāṇa 5.17.10. His samaya or symbolic form is a white horse symbolising deep compassion and great devotion (Shinjaku 886–927 CE in Taishō Zuzobu vol.1 no.2 fig.25).



馬頭觀世音菩薩（四）

梵號 [illegible]

密號 迅速金剛。又噉食金剛

種子 [illegible]含[illegible] 因不可得故

三摩耶形 馬口師

He is invoked to conteract the effects of the mantras of the enemy, all sorts of evils due to inauspicious planets etc (Hayagrīva-vidyā, Gilgit Ms. no.33, Dutt 1939: introd 1.61, text 43–46).

In transoceanic travel, princes and merchants took horse(s) as conveyance on shore the island. In his search for a foundling boy King Indrabhūti took a cintāmaṇi horse on the ship to go round the islands. Likewise merchant Siṁhala took a balāha horse to the Siṁhala island in the

Kāraṇḍavyūha. The City Art Museum of St. Louis has thaṅkas of the Jātakamālā. The eighth thaṅka illutrates the master navigator Supāraga leading merchants to Suvarṇadvīpa (Indonesia) for a prosperous voyage. On return, a tiny horse can be seen coming out of the ship. Horse(s) were a *sine qua* non for oceanic journeys and hence the presence of the divine Hayagrīva in the pentad of Amoghapāśa.

Bhṛkuṭī is an ascetic and her four hands carry:

right hands	left hands
vandana mudrā	triple baton (tridaṇḍī)
rosary	water-jar (kuṇḍikā)

The merchants worship Bhṛkuṭī for a happy landing, when she will greet (*vandana*) them to sit down and recite a hymn for having completed a successful journey. The rosary is to count the 108 recitations of the hymn. Then she will sit down in meditation with her hand resting on the tridaṇḍī. The tridaṇḍī represents renunciation of worldly life. Thereafter she will offer the sanctified water to the merchants from the kuṇḍikā. She pours the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*) from the kuṇḍikā into the lotus of the mind. The lotuses emanating from the base on either side of the images of Sudhana, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī are the lotuses of the mind. Rosary is the symbol of crossing to the other shore (pāramitā) of liberation after leaving the worldly shore of delusion (Snodgrass 1988:294–297).

The iconography of Candi Jago is that of 500 Icons: Don.zhags kha.che paṇ.chen.lugs ‘Amoghapāśa of the great paṇḍita of Kashmir Śākyabhadra’. Schoterman is not clear about the 500 Icons. A grand empowerment ceremony was held in Urga in 1810 under His Holiness the Panchen Lama Tenpei Nyima (1781–1852) who had come from Tibet. His Sādhanamālā was illustrated in the 500 Icons for the empowerment rites. Its sādhanas cover illustration nos.4–420. Two appendices were added to cover two other crucial maṇḍala empowerments (i) 421–456 to illustrate the Narthang Gyatsa and (ii) 457–507 to show the Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta. The drawings were xylographed in 1811 by orders of the Jibcundampa. All the copies of the 500 Icons in different collections have been xylographed from the same wood blocks of 1811. Besides, a sumptuous coloured copy was painted with Mongolian names. It is now in the Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich and has been edited by Martin Willson and Martin Brauen (Wisdom Publications, Boston, 2000). In 1986 the great Mongolian artist, Tsultem visited New Delhi and told me that the 500 Burhans were drawn by Agvansharav, Luvsanjamba, Luvsandash, Luvsanchoidog, Luvsantseveg and engraved by Tserendash, Choirov, Choinjur and others.

Schoterman says: “before the names of Tārā and Hayagrīva is written ‘retinue’ (*khor* = Sanskrit *parivāra*). *Khor* applies to Tārā and Sudhana on the left and to Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī on the right.

The restoration of the name Śākyaśrībhadra has to be corrected. In the Tibetan names Śākya.śrī.bzaṅ.po or Śā.kyaḥi.dpal.bzaṅ, śrī or dpal refers to Śākya. In Sanskrit the honorific

Śrī will precede Śākya. So the correct name will be Śrīśākyabhadra or simply Śākyabhadra. Once he went to Bodh Gaya and fell ill. He must have been perturbed by the destruction of Nalanda by the troops of Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1192 and its library smoulderd for months. By the time of the visit of Nag.tsho lotsava in 1235 it had been abandoned. He apprehended the impending destruction of other monasteries. One night he had a vision of Amoghapāśa in his marine aspect with his protective retinue of powerful deities, who could be invoked while seeking refuge beyond the seas. He wrote it down on waking.

Thereafter he was appointed abbot of Vikramaśilā. It was attacked by Muhammad ibn Bakhityar Khilji ca.1197 and was destroyed down to its foundations. He had to go to Jagaddala Vihara, which too was razed to the ground by Muslim forces. He fled to Nepal, thence to Tibet where he stayed for eleven years, returned to Kashmir in 1213 and passed away in 1225.

After the attack on Jagaddala Vihara, the monks fled to Arakan the coastal area of Myanmar, to Myanmar, to Cambodia and in all probability thence to Indonesia.

Kĕrtanagara the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana erected the statue of his father at Candi Jago as Amoghapāśa who is associated with the sea. Kĕrtanagara made east Java's first significant moves overseas, and devotion to Amoghapāśa as a marine deity was natural. He sent an expedition to take Jambi-Malāyu in Sumatra, which had been the first conquest of Śrīvijaya. He subjugated Bali in 1284. He established his hegemony westwards in the Straits region which annoyed Kublai Khan who sent a thousand warships to punish Java. Kĕrtanagara died by the time the Chinese fleet arrived.

The Amoghapāśa of Chandi Jago is the effigy of King Viṣṇuvardhana (r.1248–68 according to the Nagarakĕrtāgama 41.4). Kĕrtanagara had erected a statue showing himself as Akṣobhya, and he could have shown his father as one of the Five Buddhas. But he preferred to show him as Amoghapāśa to bless his overseas expeditions. Amogha is 'unfailing, efficacious, succeeding, hitting the mark'. It was to enhance the might of his kingdom of Singasari with victories overseas.

39. "WHAT THE ODYSSEY IS TO THE GREEKS, THE RAMAYANA IS TO US..."

(Garuda Magazine 1973)

We made the flight from Jakarta specially for the occasion. And we certainly weren't alone! The smart Garuda Fellowship jet was packed as it took off promptly at 9.45 on that hazy October morning. Jogyakarta was only an hour's flight away, and our appetites were already sharpened for the evening ahead. For the Ramayana Ballet is a stupendous happening in Java. And we'd been given such a lyrical account of it from an Indonesian friend as we waited at the airport. He capped it all by relating how, in 1961, **Charles Chaplin** had been so overwhelmed by the beauty of this ballet that he had declared 'I'm deeply moved... dying at such a moment could mean only one thing: happiness'!

A region rich in beautiful temples. Jogya, as the city is familiarly known throughout the country, is very different in flavour from bustling, expanding Jakarta. Lying midway along the southern coastal plain, in an area studded with great temples and shrines, Jogya is a royal, gracious kind of place, the heart of Java's ancient culture and religion.

A few miles east the Hindus have left the most glorious memorial to their 1200-year primacy on the island—the temples of Prambanan. The principal shrine rises 154 feet in honour of Śiva. It is here, in this setting so steeped in history, that the Ramayana Ballet takes place on four successive moonlit nights each month in the dry season—June to October. The open-air theatre is known as Rorojonggrang and the actual performance is on an enormous stone stage in the forecourt of the temples.

'What the Odyssey is to the Greeks', our Indonesian friend had confided, 'the Ramayana is to us.' But, I wondered, would visitors from Europe or the Americas, unfamiliar with Eastern history and art, be able to appreciate the spectacle, which was, after all, rooted in a Hindu legend from the 10th century BC? I recalled a visit to the Chinese opera in Kowloon once, when I had emerged downright bewildered.

The evening came at last, and we joined a cluster of other visitors—Spanish, Australian, American, Japanese, Dutch, at the reception hall in the hotel. A brief summary of the Ramayana in English had been thoughtfully supplied by the hotel management. Within half an hour, the minibus drew up at the theatre entrance.

Setting of unique grandeur. Darkness came in one stride as we settled down on the tiered stone seats. They weren't exactly the most comfortable seats I can remember—and we cast a few envious glances at the habitues who arrived equipped with their own cushions. However, the hardness soon went as the dramatic quality and the setting began to make visual impact. This was for real! The magnificent temple reared up behind the centre of the stage—its amazing reliefs softly illuminated. Even in the silvery light one could discern the abundance and liveliness of the carvings. Yard after yard, terrace upon terrace they ran—scenes from the Ramayana which were soon, and so appropriately, to be brought to life below. Beyond, gleamed two smaller sister temples. The gamelan orchestra and chorus were already in position, sitting cross-legged each side of a central stairway. Bats and swallows flitted around the temple towers. A hint of the kemboja flower (frangipani), drifted in the air, quickly overlaid by puffs of spicy Indonesian kretek, the clove-scented cigarette. The stage, prodigiously large, was bare and open to a sky that had begun to twinkle with stars and a pale yellow, rising moon.

Then, as if by pre-arranged signal, the hub-bub of the audience was suddenly stilled. From behind, and strangely not incongruous, two banks of powerful electric spots flooded the stage with light. The gamelan erupted into sonorous life; the pesinden began to unfold the monumental tale of King Rama in a high insistent voice. Amid a bubbling cauldron of sound, the dancers stole on with silent feet—and nothing had prepared us for the utter magnificence of the costumes; the vibrant colours, the glowing richness of the silks and the elaborate gilded headdresses. Not that the amusing monkey outfits (which appeared later) were less impressive, not the fearsome grotesque gear of Ravana, the giant king, who strutted so nimbly on super-size stilts. The vividness of the ever-changing spectacle defied description. Furnished with an outline of the story, we were able to follow it easily. Something else simplified the action too—all the 'goodies' appeared to enter from the right of the stage, the 'baddies' from the left. And there was no need to fear that an alien technique would be a barrier to enjoyment. Although based on the traditional dancing of the Javanese Theatre (Wayang Wong), this classical drama came in modern form.

More than a dance. For the Indonesian, the Ramayana is more than entertainment. It bears a spiritual significance which can have little impact on a Western audience. This symbolic struggle between absolute Good and Evil carries a moral always relevant to contemporary life. To the Hindu, Rama is the reincarnation of Vishnu, the Preserver. Perhaps then the import for him is greater still, and through the dance his spirit transcends the pattern of man's life to achieve a rare state of elation and peace. Seen through Western eyes it was a spectacle of perfect grace, sinuous movement and astounding vigour. We could not have asked for more.

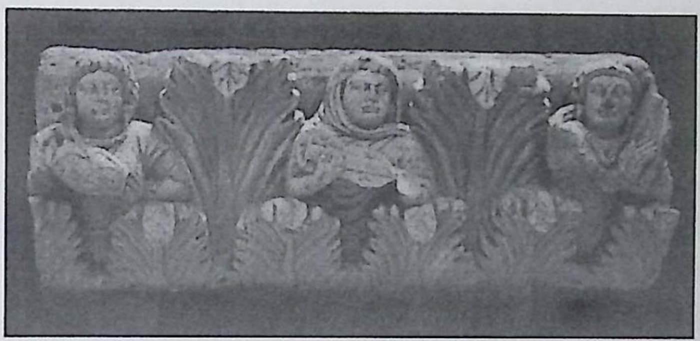
The audience watched in awed silence. To the thunderous reverberations of great songs the monkey armies at length confronted one another. Many of that throng of dancers—and over 100 were on stage at one time—were children, yet they advanced and engaged the enemy in unison with superb discipline.

Only when Rama and the monkeys crushed the villains of Alengka and the kidnapped Sita was rescued was there a slight stir. Suppressed twitters of excitement came from children in the audience as they anticipated the familiar ending. Then Sita, virtuous and triumphant, emerged untouched from the purifying fire, to rejoin Rama and rule with him in Ayodhya.

A fairy-tale finale. Rama and Sita, resplendent and gleaming like fireflies beneath the waxing moon, held the stage. It was over! The gamelan sounds were drowned by mighty applause. Incredibly, two hours had passed. As we boarded the minibus for the journey back companions from the hotel looked delighted and awed. Surprisingly, nobody said much until we turned into the hotel drive. And then an elderly lady came out with a comment that must have reflected the feelings of all who had been to Rorojonggrang that night: 'That's what I call *real* beauty!'

40. RESEARCH NOTES

1. Ayrtam musicians. In 1932 a lime stone block with images of musicians was found on the banks of the Amu Darya in the Ayrtam area, 15km upwards from Termez. The musicians are playing a cylindrical drum, lute and harp (Pidaev 2020:42). They are illustrated below:



They must have been in the 'meditation hall' of some monastery. They represent *nāda-laya* of the yogasūtras. In *nāda-laya* the yogin transcends the noises of chaos and hears the song of the cosmos. There are four levels of the (i) loud sound of drums, (ii) subtle sounds of wind instruments, (iii) subtl**er** sounds of string instruments, and (iv) finally the unstruck sound in which the musical instruments are shown flying in the air and the aspirant is merged into the Supreme in the prolonged resonance of OM.

Pidaev 2020
Shakirdjan Pidaev, On the history of Buddhist structures in Tarmita-Termez, *The Journal of Oriental Studies*, Tokyo 30.42–66.

2. The **Borobudur** shows various stages of spiritual development. It was a widespread practice in the Buddhist world to own the earlier phases. The Tibetan and Japanese formulations make it clear. Mkhas.grub.rje (1385–1438), the chief disciple of Tsoṅ.kha.pa the founder of the Tibetan Gelukpa sect, defines three stages of setting the wheel of Law into motion (dharma-cakra-pravartana): (i) śrāvaka-yāna, (ii) pāramitā-yāna, (iii) mantra-yāna. In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala, the śrāvaka-yāna is represented by the quarter of Śākyamuni at the top, the pāramitā-yāna by Prajñāpāramitā of the quarter of Vidyādharas, and the whole maṇḍala is mantra-yāna. All the stages of spiritual progress were owned and incorporated in the pantheonic sweep of mantra-yāna and its visual representation in the maṇḍala.

This can be seen in Kōbō Daishi's Ten Stages of spiritual development, wherein Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, śrāvaka-yāna, pratyeka-buddha-yāna, etc. show "the timely progress of the human mind" (Takakusu 1956:149):

1. The stage of common people: various paths of blind life driven by the instinctive impulse. 2. The stage of Confucianism: the vehicle of human beings striving to have a moral life. 3. The stage of Taoism and Brahmanism: they are the worldly vehicles. The vehicle of heavenly beings striving to have supernatural power. 4. Stage of direct disciples: the vehicle of the direct pupils of the Buddha (śrāvaka) striving for a higher spiritual life as in Hīnayāna schools, Kusha (= Abhidharmakośa), and Jojtisu (= Tattvasiddhi). 5. The vehicle of the self-enlightened ones (pratyeka-buddha) enjoying self-enlightenment yet falling into egoism. 6, 7. The doctrine of Three Vehicles; holding them as real: the stages of the Sanron (= Mādhyamika) and Hossō (= Yogācāra) schools. 8, 9. The doctrine of One Vehicle (Ekayāna); holding it as real: the stages of the Kegon (= Avataṁsaka) and Tendai schools. 10. The Diamond Vehicle (Vajrayāna) as held by the Shingon school.

The thousand images of the Buddha (504 × 2 = 1008) has a parallel in the thousand images of Lord Śiva in the Raghunath temple in Jammu.

3. Chinese translations of Sanskrit names. The names of Indian or Central Asian translators of Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Chinese have been restored from their transcriptions and/or Chinese translations. Two names have been restored with *°kṣema*: Dommusen = Skt. Dharmakṣema (?) and Shi Rukasen = Lokakṣema (?). They can be Dharmasena and Lokasena or Rokasena (*roka* 'light, brightness, splendour' in the Ṛgveda). *Roka* can be compared to *Rocana* Buddha of the Avataṁsaka. Five translators have names with *°sena*: Buddhasena (Butsudashina), Bodhisena (Bodaisenna), Dharmasena (Datsumaseina), Mandrasena? (Mandarasen), Saṅghasena (Sōgyashina). Kongōsen has been restored as Vajrarṣi(?) because of the Chinese *sien* 仙 ṛṣi. It can better be considered a transcription of *sena* and the name would be Vajrasena. The Chinese character 仙 also ends the name Midasen of Tukhāra, which has been restored as Mitraśānta (?). It is Mitrasena.

The Chinese treated the second component of a Sanskrit name as the family and put it before the first component. For example, Śāntideva's name was reversed as Deva-śānti where Deva was deemed to be his family name and śānti his personal name. The Hōbōgirin restored it as Devaśānti(?) with a question mark (see details in my *Embedded Narratives of Buddhism* 2019:69). Two other names begin with *Deva°* in the Hōbōgirin. They should end with *°deva*: Devakṣema (? Daibasetsuma) should be Kṣemadeva like Kṣemendra, and Devaprajña (Daiunhannya) should be Prajñādeva. Prajñā(?) the translator of the Gaṇḍavyūha should be Prājña 'one endowed with prajñā'. Ratnacinta(?) is Cintāmaṇi.

The Chinese have used Kuan-yin in the sense of Avalokiteśvara the acolyte of Amitābha, and also for the generic term of Lokanātha or Lokeśvara. Tibetan has two separate equivalents for them: *Ḥjig.rten.mgon.po* for Lokanātha (Cordier 3.179 no.14) and *Ḥjig.rten.dbaṅ.phyug* for Lokeśvara.

Cilupa. (Celuka, Celukapāda, Celuki, Tse.lu.ka, Tshim.bu.pa) was of low caste, born (or lived) in Maṅgalapura. He was idle and lethargic. While still a boy, his ḍākinī mother took him to Śambhala where he was initiated into the Kālacakra-tantra and its commentary Vimalaprabhā. He taught Piṇḍo Ācārya at Pulahari. Both of them became central figures in the renaissance of the Kālacakra tradition which had begun in the ninth century (806 CE is the first year of the first Kālacakra cycle). Cilupa is known as Kālacakrapāda Senior and Piṇḍopa is Kālacakrapāda Junior.

Celuka, Cilupa reflect the Tamil *cilukaṉ*, *cilukkaṉ* 'troublesome, or quarrelsome man', Malayalam *cilukan* 'quarrelsome'. They refer to his pre-sādhanā years when he was oppressed by listless indolence. His Tibetan name Tshim.bu.pa means 'one who is content, appeased, satisfied'.

The Blue Annals (Roerich 1949:762) say that Cilupa was the son of a yoginī who took him with her to Śambhala. A monk instructed him in the mūla-tantra (lost), shorter version (included in the Kanjur) and its commentary Vimalaprabhā. He memorized the trinity and proceded to Madhyadeśa (i.e. Magadha). He taught in Kaṭaka (Orissa) and then went to Puṣpahari (Pupahari) a hill near Nalanda.

Dowman (1985:282) places Śambhala in the Northwest whence the Kālacakra travelled to Eastern India. He is tempted to identity Indrabhūti's land Sambhola with the origin of the Kālacakra tradition. Śambhala where Cilupa was initiated into the three basic texts of Kālacakra and where he got the ordination name Cilupa was the great monastery at Śrīparvata (modern Nagarjunakonda) in South India. Indrabhūti ruled in Śambhala a part of Oḍḍiyāna or Kanchi. Srilankan monks were active in Sambhala in propagating Dharma to Gandhara.

Dowman 1985
Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra*, State University of New York.
Roerich 1949
George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta (Asiatic Society of Bengal).

4. The word 'city' is from Śiva. Lord Śiva is the depth of time and the immensity of space as He transforms the universe with his fiery energy. Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* of 1937 says that the Latin word *civitas* for city is akin to Sanskrit *Śiva*. Thus He is the symbol of the city in the depth of Indo-European time. Śiva has been closely associated with the state. Coedès says that the political system in Cambodia was under the deep impact of the

Śaiva concept of monarchy. Nīlakaṇṭha or Śiva sanctified the up-and-coming T'ang dynasty of China. To strengthen the newly emerging order, an Indian monk painted Nīlakaṇṭha in the palace of the first T'ang Emperor Kao-tsu who ruled from 618 to 626. His successors had the hymn and rites of Nīlakaṇṭha translated from Sanskrit into Chinese five times: by Chih-tung in 627–649, by Bhagavaddharma in 650–661, by Bodhiruci in 709, by Vajrabodhi in 731–736 and by Amoghavajra in 723. The hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha became a symbol of the glory and power of the Chinese state since the Golden Age of the T'ang dynasty. It has lived across centuries to our times. The World Olympics held at Shanghai in 2008 began with the Nīlakaṇṭha hymn sung *à la chinoise* by a thousand young beauties. Wherever was the tread of Dharmic culture, across the oceans or beyond the sands, there was the infinite power of Lord Śiva in the angelic beauty of sculptures, murals and hymns in the rapture of solemnity (10 Sep 2019).

5. Deva-bodhisattva = Ṛṣi. Walter Eugene Clark (*Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Cambridge MS, 1937) has identified eight sages (ṛṣi) around Agni in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon:

5A9	Aṅgirodeva (Bodhisattva). The name has to be corrected to Angiras ṛṣi
5A10	Vasisṭḥadeva (Bodhisattva): correct to Vasiṣṭha ṛṣi
5A11	Karkaṭa(?)deva (Bodhisattva): correct to Garga ṛṣi
5A12	Markaṭa(?) (Bodhisattva): correct to Mārkaṇḍeya ṛṣi
5A13	Gautamadeva (Bodhisattva): correct to Gautama ṛṣi
5A49	Kāśyapadeva (Bodhisattva): correct to Kāśyapa ṛṣi
5A50	AGNI (deva)
5A51	Shan-ch'êng-ming-yang (t'ien-p'u-sa = deva-bodhisattva)
5A52	Su-chi-i (t'ien-p'u-sa = deva-bodhisattva)

Deva-bodhisattva (t'ien-p'u-sa in Chinese) means a bodhisattva of the Devas. Hsüan-tsang refers to several Deva temples in Prayāga: 'the number of heretics is very great' (Beal 1884: 1.230). Deva means Hindu. The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (ed. Bunyiu Nanjio 1918:134–135) terms Hinduism as Devayāna:

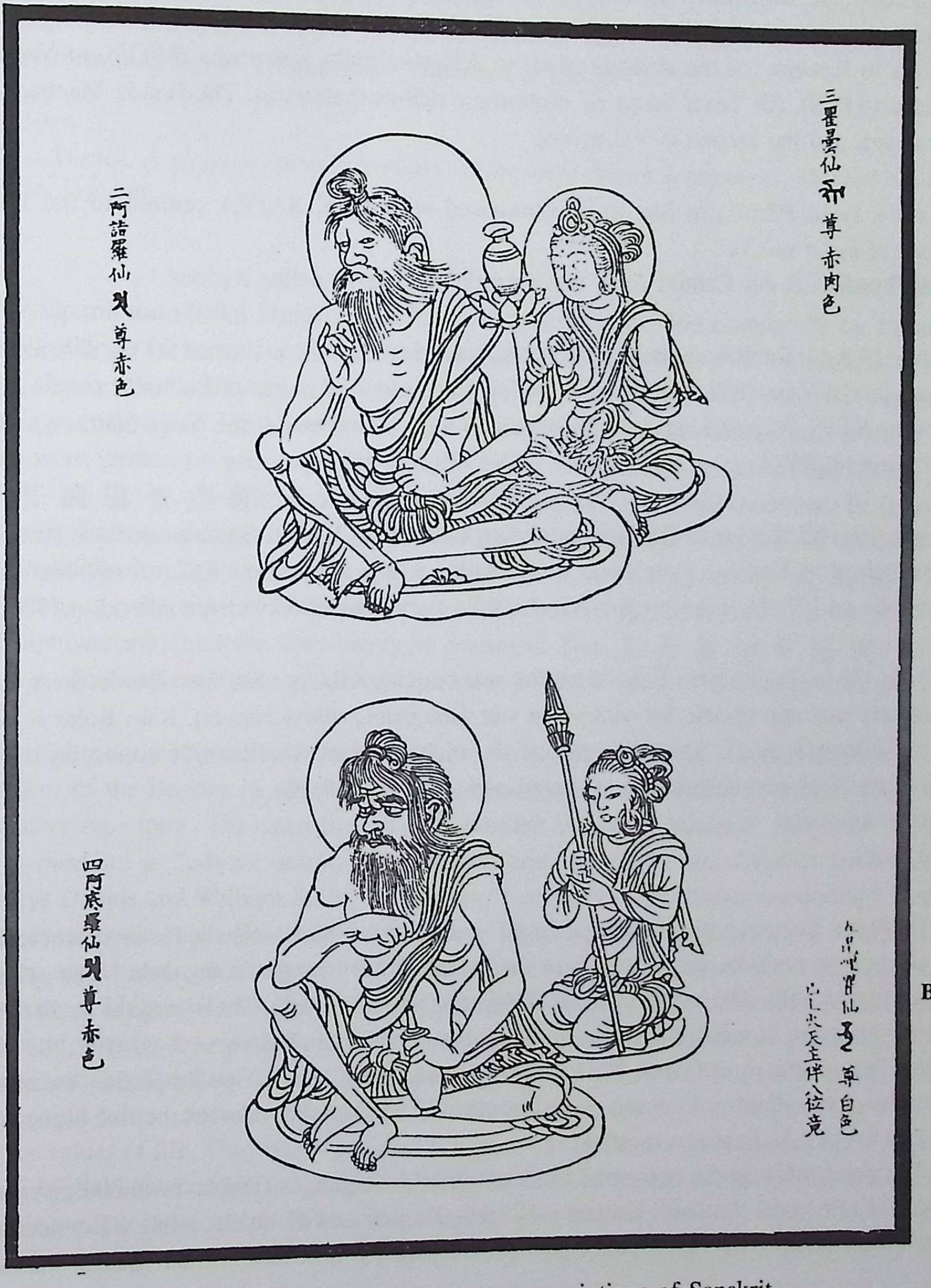
देवयानं ब्रह्मयानं श्रावकीयं तथैव च।
ताथागतं च प्रत्येकं यानानेतान् वदाम्यहम् ॥ २०३ ॥

The Tibetan maṇḍala of 122-deity Abhisambodhi Vairocana in the Ngor set of maṇḍalas (Tachikawa et al. 1991:25) has five ṛṣis: Kāśyapa (Ḥod.sruṅ), Gautama (Gau.ta.ma), Mārkaṇḍeya (Mar.gad.ta), Vasiṣṭha (Ba.śi.pa) and An.gi.ras

The Japanese Mahākaruṇāgarbha (or Garbhadhātu) maṇḍala has Aṅgiras with his consort Aṅgirasī and Gautama with his consort Gautamī (Tajima 2012:148) accompanying Agni in the SE angle. Snodgrass (1988:469–471) also has the same indentifications. The xylographed Hasedera Pantheon of the Twin Maṇḍalas identifies the four as follows:

Aṅgiras
Bīja *A*

Gautamī
Bīja *GAU*


三瞿曇仙 尊赤肉色
二阿詣羅仙 尊赤色
四阿底囉仙 尊赤色
仙 尊白色
已上火天主伴八位竟

Ātreya
Bīja *A*

Bhṛgvī
Bīja: *BHṚ*

All the four names in Japanese are transcriptions of Sanskrit.

6. "Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia", edited by Andrea Acri (2016). Two main streams can be distinguished in the Tantras: (i) Texts based on phototropic deities Amitābha to Rocana (of the Avataṁsaka), to Abhisambodhi Vairocana (MTV), to Vajradhātu Vairocana (STTS). (ii) Texts based on erototropic deities (yab.yum). The first is Mantrayāna (or Mantranaya), and the second is Vajrayāna.

Acri's *Yoga Pātañjala* has to be compared with SHK ŚAIVA (edited in the *Cultural Horizons of India* vol.5).

Madhyadeśa is not Central Asia, but Magadha and surrounding regions.

Page 14 n.44: Śubhakarasimha's Gobu-shingan illustrates the deities of the six divisions of the first maṇḍala of Vajradhātu in the STTS. Yijing was a close associate of Śubhakara and must have known the STTS (Vajraśekhara). Vajraśekhara is a generic term for the Yoga-tantras and not the proper name of STTS.

Page 19 n.65. Suvarṇadvīpa was the region rather than Kedah, Sumatra or Java. Atiśa seems to have stayed in Kedah and/or Java. It is detailed in the chapter on Atiśa in my *The Buddhist Cosmopolis* pp.171–76. Piṇḍo is the Paiṇḍapātika Avadhūta of Yavadvīpa (introd. p.173).

Page 329 n.27. The Ratu Boko complex was dedicated to Āṭavaka for victories over enemies. The mantra was appropriate for victory in war (*sangrāma-vijayī bhavet*). Ratu Boko is Āṭavaka with the honorific prefix *ra*. He is one of the eight generals in I-hsing's comm on the MTV. Detailed in *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* vol.2 pp.411–18.
R a tu bo ko
- Ā ṭa va ka

Ṭakki can be a variant of Rāgirāja (*rāga* 'passion' or better 'anger'). He is a ferocious deity. The cerebral *ṭa* could be the influence of the Tamil *ṭākku* 'strength, robustness'. The syllable *jaḥ* stands for *jahi* 'kill'. The mantra means 'Ṭakki kill [the enemies]'. The visarga is to distinguish it from the anusvāra in *jaṁ* 'be victorious' (*jaya*, the imperative of the root *ji* 'to win', the anusvāra denotes that it is a short form). Both pañcānga and pañca-khaṇḍa 'penta-partite' mean that the mantra has five syllables. Five is a sacred number in Śaivism and denotes the five aspects of Śiva (SA BA TA A I in Balinese mantras).

The word *ṭakki* can be compared to words in NIA languages. Turner 1966:300 gives verbs of Ashkun (Kafiri) *ṭakä* 'broken', Lahndā *ṭakk* 'cut', Panjabi *ṭakkṇā* 'to cut, strike'. The noun *ṭakkarā* 'blow on the head' from the Rājataraṅgiṇī, Prakrit *ṭakkara* 'collision'. Sindhi *ṭakaru* 'knocking the head against anything', Panjabi *ṭakkar* 'pushing, knocking, Nepali *ṭakar* 'collision', Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi *ṭakkar* 'blow'. *Ṭakki* would mean 'one who strikes' i.e. Trailokyavijaya as the angry form (*krodha*) of Trilokavijaya Vairocana in the STTS.

Turner 1966

R.L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Oxford University Press, London.

7. Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti written around the 2nd century CE by Kumāralāta has a collection of 90 narratives. It was translated by Kumārajīva during 402–412 CE in 15 chüan. In the Chinese title Ta-chuan-yen-lun-ching, chuan-yen is a translation of *maṇḍitikā*, *ta* denotes that it is a collection, *lun* shows that it is a śāstra as contradistinguished from a sūtra. The *lun* were written by great teachers and the sūtras are attributed to Lord Buddha. *Ta* in the 大般若波羅蜜多經 means a collection of Prajñapāramitās and should not be restored as Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra (as in Nj.1, K1). Similarly 大寶積經 (Nj.23, K22) does not mean Mahā-ratnakūṭa-sūtra, but a collection of Ratnakūṭa sutras. so also 大方等大集經 (Nj.61, K56) means a collection of Sannipāta-sutras of the Vaīpulya tradition, and the restoration (Mahāvaipulyamahā)sannipāta-sutra has to be corrected. The 大方廣佛華嚴經 has been restored as Buddhāvataṁsaka-mahāvaipulya-sutra by Nj.87 and as (Buddh)āvataṁsaka-sūtra by K79.

The Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā has been relegated to the jātakamālā genre. Jātakas relate to the pre-incarnations of the Buddha in which he practised various pāramitas, while avadānas evolve from the narrative repertoire. The exact meaning of *avadāna* is "much disputed" (Edgerton 1953:72). In Pali, *apadāna* is "advice, admonition, instruction, morals" (*Pali-English Dictionary* by T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede). In the very first story of the Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā Buddhist merchantmen come from Gandhara to Mathura. They worship the pagodas at Mathura. The brāhmaṇas scowl at them. Ultimately the merchantmen convert the hearts of the brāhmaṇas who take the vow of bhikṣus. The Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā actually belongs to the class of *dṛṣṭānta* literature, as is clear from *dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti* which means as collection of *dṛṣṭānta* or precedents. There are works entitled *Dṛṣṭānta-kalikā*, *Dṛṣṭānta-śataka* (MW). When I was a child small books on dṛṣṭānta could be purchased on the roadsides of traditional streets in Lahore. They were read widely for values of life. They were 'peoples' literature'. I still have a 19th century book *Dṛṣṭānta-pradīpinī* by Śukladevīsahāya in the spoken dialectal form of Hindi. It has 93 narratives termed *pradīpa* or guiding lights of life. The 39th story runs:

ईश एकोऽवगन्तव्यो नानामतनिविष्टकैः ॥
भिन्ने काचे यथामूर्तिर्भिद्यते वस्तुतोऽपृथक् ॥१॥
दो॰ घट घट में मूरति वही, लाल जु नहीं विवेक ॥
जैसे फूटे काच में, भिन्न भिन्न मुख एक ॥ १ ॥

अर्थात् नानाप्रकार के मतवादी जनों को वह ईश्वर एकही सर्वत्र जानना चाहिये जैसे फूटे हुए काच में मुख अलग २ देखपड़ता है यथार्थ में वह एकही है (दृष्टान्त) एक मठ में कई सम्प्रदायवाले नानामतवादी अपने २ मत की वड़ाई कररहे थे हरएक अपने को वड़ा और दूसरे को छोटा वताता था इसमें उनका बहुतही विवाद वढ़गया यहांतक कि खप्पर तोंबे भिड़ २ फूटने की नौवत आन पहुँची तो दैववश वहां कहीं से विचरते २ जड़भरतजी सरीखे अवधूतजी आ निकले उन्हों ने इनका विवाद मिटाने के लिये शान्तिपूर्व्वक ऊपर कहे श्लोक का आशय दोहा पढ़ा सव सुन २ कर शून्य होरहे कोई भी कुछ न बोलसका सांझसमय भये पक्षियों के समान चीं २ करते सवके सव चुपचाप हो बैठे ॥

इति श्रीशुक्लदेवीसहायकृतदृष्टान्तप्रदीपिन्यांमिश्रनिवन्धे
एकोनचत्वारिंशत्तमः प्रदीपः ॥ ३९ ॥

8. Kānyakubja. *Karpūra-mañjarī* was composed in Prakrit by the imperial poet-laureate Rājaśekhara (c.890–930) for his wife Avantisundarī. The poet admired the imperial city of Kannauj as the premier centre of fashion, emulated in other lands. In accord with *joie de vivre*, the plot of the poem begins with a Tantric teacher whom the King asks if he had seen a gem of a beauty (*strī-ratna*). The teacher brings the beautiful young princess Karpūramañjarī who appears on the stage in the act of bathing with scanty clothes clinging to the body. The King falls in love with her charm. The boldness of the playright in depicting the contours of her body in diaphanous apparel was softened in the sculptures, as at Khajuraho. The sculptures celebrate the consummation of the carnal in sombre austerity. Eros and transfiguration are a bridge from *rati-līlā* to the the splendour of conscience.

Rājaśekhara admires Kānyakubja as *Mahodayā*, the dress and speech of whose ladies was emulated in other metropolitan cities. The King says in the Kāvya-mīmāṁsā 1.27. "Replacing with one lotus-hand the garment-skirt slipping down from her firm breasts, while the other holding up the waist garment getting displaced by the frequent movements of walking, in no picture could she be portrayed" (Devangana Desai, The Karpūra-mañjarī motif in Indian Art, *Indology's Pulse: Arts in Context*, ed. Corinna Wessels-Mevissen and Gerd J.R. Mevissen, New Delhi, 2019:353–62).

Kānyakubja is an intriguing name, where *kubja* cannot mean ‘hunch-backed’. It can be related to *Kūb-ara* ‘beautiful’ (MW) in Hemacandra’s Anekārtha-saṅgraha and Medinī-kośa (PW). The word *kūbara* occurs in the name of a son of Kubera: Nala-Kūbara. *Nalam* means ‘goodness, virtue, beauty, fame, prosperity’ in Tamil (Burrow and Emeneau 1961:239). The beauties of Kānyakubja can be admired in the sculptures at Khajuraho, Naroli (Mathura), Barwasagar, Queen’s Stepwell at Patan and other places.

Burrow and Emeneau 1961
T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford (Clarendon Press).

9. Etymology of Khotan. Prof. Bailey derives Hvataṁna the Khotanese name of Khotan from *sva* + *tana.* The suffix °*tana* occurs in *tvaṁtana* in the Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmaṇa 14. *hva* is *sva* ‘a man of one’s own people or tribe, kinsman, relative’, the plural *svāḥ* ‘one’s own people’ in the Atharvaveda. In the Rigveda it means ‘property, wealth, riches’. *svatā* in *rāja-svatām upapadyate* ‘it accrues to the king’s ownership’ occurs in Śākuntala (MW).

10. Kushans. 1. (i) Yüeh-chih (Jap. Gesshi) supplied horses to China.
(ii) Hūṇas defeated them in Kansu. They fled from Kansu→Sogdiana (mod. Samarkand)→Oxus (Amu arya)→Bactria.
(iii) Five kingdoms were merged into the Great Yüeh-chih or Kushan State. Chang Ch‘ien who visited them in 139 BC calls them the Great Yüeh-chih.
(iv) Ruled from the 3rd cent BC to 3rd cent CE.

2. Yüeh-chih translated Buddhist texts into Chinese:

167 CE	Lokakṣema | Shi Rukasen
185 CE	Shi Yō
220 CE	Shi Ken (Ch. Chih Ch’ien)
230 CE	Shi Otsu (Ch. Chih yueh)
250 CE	Yüeh-chih took horses to Cambodia
265–313 CE	Dharmarakṣa | Jiku Hōgo
301 CE	Shi Hōdo
373 CE	Shi Seron

3. Etymology of the word Kushan. *Kush* with the suffix *–an* as in Ir-an, Bamiy-an, Aizarbaij –an (आर्याणां वाजः). The word can be related to Persian *Kušk, Košaka, Kušaka* which mean ‘palace’. They were Iranians of royal descent and hence they called themselves ‘people of the palace’.

Kaniṣka calls himself *bagopoo[ro]* translated as *devaputra* by Nicholas Sims-Williams. *Bagopūro* is the Iranian spelling of *bhagaputra*, which is a translation of the Chinese 天子 T'ien-tzu 'Son of Heaven' or Emperor. This term survives in the descendants of the Kushans. Bagapūr was understood as *ba-gapur after the Islamisation of Central Asia: *ba-* was taken as the Arabic prefix meaning 'because of', and the remaining syllables *gapūr* were written as gafur. Gafur is the family name of Muslims, and Kapur of the Hindus.

4. The Yüeh-chih have been *confused* with the Tocharians. Needham 1954:1.173 says: "Yüeh-chih of Indo-European (Tokharian) speech" In the footnote he repeats "It is certain, however, that they were the Tokhari of Strabo and Ptolemy".

The Yüeh-chih were of Iranian ethnicity, returned to the Iranian region when their kingdom in Kansu was vanquished by the Hūṇas. As the Great Yüeh-chih or Kushans, King Kaniṣka replaced Greek by Āryabhāṣā or NorthEastern Iranian. It has been termed Bactrian by Western scholars to avoid misapprehensions attached to the word Aryan. Afghan scholars like Dr. A.K. Rashid term the Iranian family of languages as Aryani.

Two sculptures of Kushan princes are inscribed with their names which are clearly Iranian: *nāysa* (= Nāz, *ys* is *z*) on the head-dress, and *mastana* (Mastana 'carefree, happy go-lucky') on the hem of his garment. Both the names are good Persian. Both the names have been misread so far as: nāya[ka]sa and Caṣṭana.

5. The Kushan script introduced the topline on the letters, as the crown or symbol of lapidary style.

6. The Kushans were in close contact with the Tocharians. Chang Ch'ien took the Mahātukhāra melody from the Yüeh-chih kingdom. The suffix *šk* in the royal names (Kaniṣka, Huviṣka) can be compared to the characteristic name–formative *–śke* in Tocharian B of Kucha. Perhaps the mothers of the Kushan emperors were Tocharian beauties of European descent. They added the Tocharian *šk* in endearment. It was a *priya-nāma.* A Gupta inscription gives the *priya-nāma* of the emperor along with his 'coronation name'. Both the forms of Tocharian A, B belong to the Celtic family of European languages. The mummies of the Tocharians betray European ethnicity. The descendants of the Tocharians are included among the Uigur Turks, but they still look like Europeans. Sometimes even the locals mistake them to be foreigners and ask: from which country have you come?

11. Lotus Sutra. The first Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra was completed by the Yüeh-chih Dharmarakṣa on 15 Sep 286, during the reign of Ssu-ma Yen (Wu-ti) the founder of the Western Chin dynasty. In 265 Ssu-ma Yen had deposed the last figure-head of the Wei dynasty and ascended the throne. In 280 he annexed Wu the last of the Three Kingdoms and created a united South China. After sixty years of division, the empire was united as if the great days of Han had returned (Grousset 1953:103). But soon the princes and members of the imperial family were quarreling and fighting. Ssu-ma Yen was "tortured between conflicting interests, and was himself powerless" (Eberhard 1955:120). By shrewd counter-measures he suceeded in playing off one against the other and continued in power. It was a period of darkness. To put the dynasty on firm foundations, the translation of the Lotus Sutra was the ritual empowerment of the state. The 26th chapter of the Sutra affirms that those who follow the Sutra, Samantabhadra will take care of their safety, avert blows and destroy poison, so that no one laying snares for them may surprise them, neither Māra the Evil One nor his sons, as he will protect them (Kern 1909:433).

Eberhard 1955
    Wolfram Eberhard, *A History of China*, Berkeley (University of California Press).
Grousset 1953
    René Grousset, *The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire*, Berkeley (University of California Press).
Kern 1909
    H. Kern, *The Saddharmapundarika,* Oxford (Clarendon Press), SBE XXI.

12. A **maṇḍala** is a palace in which the inner sanctum has the chief deity, the middle sanctum has Bodhisattvas, and the outer sanctum has non-Buddhist deities. In the Tanjur *saudha* 'palace' is equated with *maṇḍala* (Cordier 3.184 no.30).

Mañjughoṣa or Mañjuśrī is *vādisiṁha* 'lion of debators' (Cordier 3.175 no.2), or *vādirāja* 'chief debator' (ib.3.176 no.2), or *ekavīra* 'supreme hero [among debators]' (ib.3.177 no.6).

13. The word **manuscriptology** was coined by Prof. RaghuVira in 1935 while working on the critical edition of the Virāṭaparva which showed wide divergences in the readings. It seemed impossible, rather undesirable, to claim the Ur-text had been reached. Manucripts represented the evolution of the Mahābhārata in varying social and cultural milieus. He proposed the study of mss themselves to get a fair idea of the long tradition of centuries of copying them and to understand the mind of the copyists. He dictated to me the following points:

1. Mss. libraries in India, and number of mss. in them.
2. Provenance of mss—what type of mss. are found in which places.
3. A history of the research of mss.
4. Mss. outside India.
5. Books on stone, etc.
6. Materials for writing.
7. Different scripts—classified century by century.
8. Dated mss.

9. Dating of undated mss.
10. Allocation of provenance.
11. Confusion of different ligatures—every script to be dealt with separately.
12. Margins: marginal notes and additions.
13. Punctuation marks.
14. Folio numbers.
15. Abbreviated titles on folios.
16. Influence of provincial dialects on the writing of mss.
17. Inks.
18. Size of mss.
19. Illustrated mss.
20. Provision for holes, single or double, on every leaf folio.
21. Paper—quality.
22. Age of mss.
23. Hints on the collection of mss.
24. No ms. is worthless.
25. How to catalogue mss.
26. Incomplete mss.
27. Colophons.
28. Names of copyists and place.

14. Nā[ga]landa. Hsuän-tsang says in the Travels that "to the south of this saṅghārāma, in the middle of an āmra grove, there is a tank. The Nāga of this tank is called Nalanda. By the side of it is built the saṅghārāma, which therefore takes the name [of the Nāga]". He goes on that King Śakrāditya esteemed ekayāna and honoured very highly the Triratna. He selected a lucky spot, and built this saṅghārāma. In digging he wounded the body of the Nāga. A nirgantha prophesied that many people will spit blood because of this wound given to the Nāga (Beal 1984:167–68). I-tsing was satisfied with the explanation of Nalanda from the Nāga of the tank (Watters 1905:2.166, Chavannes, *Mêmoires*, p.84). The Life of Hsüan-tsang: "to the south of the monastery, in the middle of an āmra garden, is a pool. In this pool is a Nāga called Nalanda, and the convent built by the side of the pool is therefore called after his name" (Beal 1911:110). The word Nalanda has been analysed as Nā[ga]landa. It seems to be an explanation given to Hsüan-tsang by some Greek living in Nalanda. The origin of the name Nalanda from a Nāga reminds me of Homer who calls Okeanos the "origin of the gods" (Homer Iliad 14.201) and "the origin of everything" (ib.14.246). "Okeanos was a river-god...in whose waters the girls of Greece used to bathe before marriage ..." (Kerényi 1951:15). ºLanda seems to be the serpent (*ophis*) Ladon, whose name is the same as that of a river in Arcadia... He was appointed guardian of the tree that bore the Golden Apples" (ibid.53). The Golden Apples have become mango. Daphne the daughter of the river-god Ladon and of the Earth was the first love of Apollon (ibid.140). The name of the Greek god Apollo was Indianised as Nāgarāja Apalāla. Nalanda was closely connected with the NW, particularly Bāhlīka (Bactria), whence came Greeks, Iranians and other foreigners for trade. They must have lived near ponds to avoid the scorching heat, or their residences could have been surrounded by moats filled with water to keep cool. Hsüan-tsang must have been in touch with them, whence he originated the name of the monastery from the Greek name of the nāga of tanks.

Beal 1884
Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London (Trubner & Co.).
Beal 1911
Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, London (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd.).
Kerényi 1951
C. Kerényi. *The Gods of the Greeks*, Thames and Hudson.
Watters 1905
Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol.II, London (Royal Asiatic Society).

15. Paper in India goes back to the third century BC. Nearchos (died in 312 BC) refers to well-beaten cotton cloth being used as writing material in India. This 'cotton paper' is evidenced by four manuscripts of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa written on paper made from cotton. Cotton was introduced into China from India around 200 BC, and it came to be used in China for making proto-paper. The lexicon compiled by Chang Chieh in 232 CE says that the Chinese character for paper has the radical 'cloth' in place of silk. The standard character for paper has the radical 'silk' and it is still in common use in China.

The earliest Chinese paper made from hemp was discovered in Sian in 1957 pertaining to the reign of Emperor Wu Ti (140–87 BC).

The 'cotton paper' manufactured in India from pulverished cotton mentioned by Nearchos predates the invention of hemp paper in China by 160 years. Thus India is the first recorded country to have invented proto-paper, which continued down to the 19th century as evidenced by the four manuscripts (I have given them to the National Museum, New Delhi).

3rd century BC	'cotton paper' in India.
200 BC	cotton introduced into China from India.
140 BC	earliest Chinese paper made from hemp.
105 CE	Chinese paper invented by Tsai Lun.
232 CE	Chinese character for paper had the radical 'cloth'.

16. Prambanan. Chandi Loro Joṅgraṅ in Prambanan is situated in an area dominated by Buddhist monuments of the Śailendras. Could it also have been the project of a Śailendra emperor? It was a stupendous complex with several parivāra temples. The lexicon Amaramālā (CHI.6.190) begins with an adoration (*praśasti*) to Śrī-mahārāja-Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty. He started the translation of the Amaramālā into Javanese and added to its synonymy from other lexicons and termed it 'Mahāmaramālā Prākṛta' (ib.191). It begins with a salutation to Śiva (p.191), goes on to general remarks, synomyms of gods, followed by synonyms of Śiva and Umā. The synonyms of the Buddha appear much later after those of Brahmā and Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and Śrī, Indra, Sun, Fire and wind. He seems to have been a Śailendra emperor of Śaiva conviction. Could Śrī-mahārāja Jitendra, the eminent descendent of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendr-ānvaya-puṅgavaḥ*), have been the founder of the sprawling complex of the Śiva temple at Prambanan? This Mah-Āmaramālā is a part of the Chandahkiraṇa which belongs to the 8th century.

17. Pratisarā. Amulets were a crucial element in ancient life. *Rakṣāpratiśara* (or *°rā*) is an amulet in the Mahābhārata (MW). The second part of the compound *pratiśara* 'breaking, going in pieces' is from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. The root *pratiśṛ* 'to break into pieces' occurs in the Rigveda and Taittirīya-saṁhitā. In Buddhism, it changed to Pratisarā or Mahāpratisarā as one of the five goddesses of protection. Pratisara (°rā) is a ribbon used as an amulet worn round the neck or wrist at nuptials etc in the Atharvaveda, etc. The Vedic tradition of amulets continued in Buddhism. The translation of Sanskrit sutras into Chinese was *also* undertaken when the emperors faced insuperable calamities. See charms and amulets in James Hastings, *Encylopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 3.411, 441, 467, 468.

18. Soma. Three meanings of *soma* have to be distinguished:

(i) the plant and its juice from the √*su* 'to distill'.
(ii) moon, from the √*su* 'to go, to move', referring to lunar calculations of time or *samaya* (*sam* + √*i* 'to move' as constant movement.
(iii) God Soma from the √*su* 'to possess supremacy'.

The three roots are differentiated in the Dhātupāṭha (MW), and they belong to different conjugation systems (*gaṇa*).

Dhātupāṭha 22.43	*su (savati)*
Dhātupāṭha 24.21	*su (sūte)*
Dhātulpāṭha 27.01	*su (sunoti)*

Soma the God was guardian of the north, who was replaced later on by Kubera. All the 114 hymns of the Rigveda (9th maṇḍala) are devoted to God Soma. He is called *rājan* and appears among the Eight Vasus 'Gods of Wealth' and the Eight Lokapālas (Manusmṛti 5.96). My father Prof. RaghuVira had worked on the 9th maṇḍala of the Rigveda, but all the papers were lost in the partition in 1947.

The confusion of the three meanings happened due to the theory of Rudolf Roth that one word should have only one meaning in the Rigveda. He followed it in the *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* (St. Petersburg 1855–1875) which has dominated studies via Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* published from Oxford in 1899. If the Rigveda has to be understood correctly, the doctrine of Roth will have to be replaced by polysemics of a word, like motion in physics, in the Parliament and in the stomach (loose motions).

19. Tokharian: forms of the word.

Tukhāra in Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa 51, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa.
Tuḥkhāra in Rājataraṅgiṇī 4.211.
Tukkhāra 'a Tukhāra horse' Vikramāṅka-carita by Bilhaṇa 9.116, 18.93.
Tuṣāra (ṣ is pronounced kh).

It means 'cold, frigid, snow, mist, dew'. Not recorded in MW as the name of a people.

Tuṣita a class of devas in the Mahābhārata 13.1371, Harivaṁśa, Varāhapurāṇa, Bhāgavata-purāṇa, 4.18, Vāyu-purāṇa 2.6.
Tuṣitā, name of the wife of Vedaśiras and mother of the Tuṣitas in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa 8.1.21.
Tuṣita-kāyika 'belonging to the kingdom (kāya) of Tuṣita'. Tuṣita-kāya is Tokharistan.

The Tuṣita devas are Tokharians. Tuṣita as the pureland of Maitreya seems to be derived from Tokharistan, i.e. Bāhlīka or Bamiyan where Tokharian was the spoken language. All the references to Tuṣita in the Mahāvyutpatti, Dharmasaṅgraha, Divyāvadāna, Avadāna-śataka, Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, Bodhisattva-bhūmi need a reappraisal in the Tokharian context.

Pliny: Thochari, Ptolemy: Thaguroi, later writers Tochari
Tibetan: Thod.gar
Uigur: Toxri, Twxr-stn (Tokharastan)

Wandering people. The Tuṣita devas belong to the Kāmāvacaras. *Avacara* means 'wandering'. The Tocharians had kingdoms over vast distances, from Kucha and Karashahr (Agni) to Balkh and Bamiyan and they had to tread long distances.

White people (= European, Celtic in language)

1. The Chinese ethnicon 白 'white' is for monks of Kucha.
2. *tuṣāra* means 'sorrow'. Compare *tūṣārādri* 'Himalaya' in the Meghadūta.

3. Śvetadvīpa occurs in an enumeration of the spread of Vedic recensions. Śvetadvīpa means Kucha. Hsüan-tsang mentions that there was a Deva 'Hindu' temple in Kucha. The Bower Ms. discovered in Kucha has the Pāśaka-kevalī of Garga ṛṣi used in Hindu ritual. The Bower ms that fell down from the cow refers to vaitaraṇī-dāna rite for the deceased Buddhist abbot Yaśomitra (see 'The cow of Kizil and Vaitaraṇī-dāna' in my *Embedded Narratives of Buddhism* 2019:94–101).
4. Hsüan-tsang visited the Buddhist King of Kucha in 630 and found him to be European in appearance.
5. I-tsing (in India 671–695) mentions the opulence of the Tukhara monastery in Gandhāra with its amenities and abundant supply of necessities. Very European in the acceptance of life.

Tokharian music

138 BC	Chang Ch'ien took the Mahātukhāra melodies to China. Military tunes were created on their basis by a son-in-law of Emperor Wu-ti (140–87 BC).
568 CE	Prince Sujīva of Kucha introduced seven keys of Kucha music to Chinese music.
600–650 CE	Musicians painted in a cave at Kizil.
	Guru Granth of the Sikhs has Tukhārī rāg or *chant* (Skt. chandas).

Tokharian mummies

2000–1800 BC	Loulan mummies.
2000 BC	Beauty of Loulan from the Qäwrighul graves: blue eyes and reddish hair.
2000 BC	Cherchen mummies.
900 CE	Cave 20 at Bezeklik near Turfan shows a Tokharian worthy with reddish hair, big nose, round eyes, heavy beard.

Languages of Central Asia

The different tribes have to be understood in the context of their languages.

European	Tokharian
Iranian	Khotanese, Ārśī (Parthian), Bactrian (Aryabasa in the Rabatak Inscription), Sogdian, Yüeh-chih (Kushans)
Altaic	Hūṇa (Hsiung-nu), Saka (Scythian), Mongols
Turki	Turkic tribes in Central Asia

Yüeh-chih are Iranians, Tokharians are Celtic

The Yüeh-chihs and Tokharians are being confused by many authors. The Yüeh-chih, later on Kushans, spoke Western Iranian (called *aryabasa*) and are different from the Tokharians. The Yüeh-chih and Kushans are not Tokharians.

The Uigur term Küsan refers to Kucha. In the *Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary* Kucha is Kucīna. Küsan is not Kushan.

The four Tokharian states in Central Asia were: Aksu, Kucha, Karasahr (Agni) and Turfan.

20. Transcreation. The life of my father Prof. RaghuVira was devoted to the unveiling of the inner language form created by the experiences of India and the outer language form in which these deep levels of thought were expressed. At the beginning of the 20th century renascent India was looking into superindividual life in the tumult of wasternisation. India was gazing herself with new eyes and wanted to convey this Light to the European lands in their own idiom, in the rhythm of their words, in a spirit that gives life to letters. Prof. RaghuVira admired the sheen of Tagore's simple words. Poet Tagore transcreated his Bengali poems into English that stirred the powers of expression, which in the words of poet Heine were:

Du bist wie eine Blume
So schön, so hold und rein.
"So lovely, sweet and pure
That like a flower thou art."

I am here to sing thee songs.
आमि हेथाय थाकि शुधू गाइते तोमार गान,
In this hall of thine I have a corner seat.
दियो तोमार जगत्सभाय एइटुकु मोर स्थान।
In thy world I have no work to do.
आमि तोमार भुवन-माझे लागिनि, नाथ, कोनो काजे,
My useless life can only break out in tunes without a purpose.
(in Tagore's original 'without' is 'devoid of' a purpose)
शुधू केवल सुरे बाजे अकाजेर एइ प्राण।
When the hour strikes for thy silent worship at the dark temple of midnight.
निशाय नीरव देवालये तोमार आराधन
Command me, my master, to stand before thee to sing.
(in Tagore's original: master is king)
तखन मोरे आदेश कोरो गाइते हे राजन्।
When in the morning air the golden harp is tuned.
भोरे यखन आकाश जूड़े बाजबे वीणा सोनार सुरे
Honour me, commanding my presence.
आमि येन ना रइ दूरे एइ दियो मोर मान
(in Tagore's original: honour me, my lord by asking for my presence)
The changes can be by Yates.

21. Tun-huang. Buddha is "mainly depicted at Tun-huang with two disciples, Ānanda and Kāśyapa" (Fan Jinshi 2010:37). Ānanda is portrayed as a young man and Kāśyapa as an old man. In cave 420 of the Sui period, Śākyamuni is flanked by young Ānanda and old Kāśyapa (ib.101). In the Lotus Sutra (Kern/Nanjio 145) Buddha prophesies that Kāśyapa will become a Buddha in times to come (*paśyāmy ahaṁ bhikṣava buddha-cakṣuṣā sthaviro hy ayaṁ Kāśyapa buddha bheṣyati*). "Ānanda is regarded as the second of the Buddha's 24 successors (Mahākāśyapa was the first)" (SGDB 2002:15). Lord Buddha prophesied in the Lotus Sutra (9th chapter) that Ānanda will become a buddha in times to come (*bhaviṣyasi tvam ānand-anāgate 'dhvani ... śāstā devānāṁ ca manuṣyāṇāṁ ca buddho bhagavān,* Kern/Nanjio 216). The depiction of the two great disciples in Tun-huang seems to follow the Lotus Sutra.

Fan Jinshi (2010:28) illustrates "vihāra or monastery type rock-cut Buddhist Cave at Ellora". It is a hall for the recitation of prayers or sūtras in the morning, noon and evening. The raised terraces are for keeping the sutra manuscript. I witnessed sūtra-recitation in such a hall at the Ivolginsky Monastery, Ulanude in Buryatia.

Fan Jinshi (2010:56) shows a passive Bodhisattva in cave 257 dedicated to Maitreya sitting in bhadrāsana. He is not a Bodhisattva, but Asaṅga who received the doctrine from Maitreya. Details are given in my 'pensive images and martial traditions' (CHI:6.1–31).

Fan Jinshi (2010:231) illustrates two banners from the British Museum (1919.0101.0:155 & 156) and identifies them as Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and points out that "banners like these would have been hung on the cave or temple walls during Buddhist festivals or services." The figure stands with hands folded in añjali mudrā. Though aureoled, they are not Avalokiteśvara who never holds his hands in añjali. Both the banners are *patākā* offered by the family members of a deceased relation to go to paradise. The Mahākarmavibhaṅga says that ten types of merit can be gained from the gift of a painted banner. The 9th and 10th merits are: (9) when life comes to an end one will be reborn in heaven; (10) one will soon enter nirvāṇa (Fontein 1989:62–63).

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22. Vajracchedikā was translated into Chinese six times:

CE			
401	Kumārajīva	K13	金剛般若波羅蜜經
509	Bodhiruci	K14	金剛般若波羅蜜經
558–569	Paramārtha	K15	金剛般若波羅蜜經
590–616	Dharmagupta	T238	金剛能斷般若波羅蜜經
648	Hsüan-tsang	K16	能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經
703	I-tsing	K17	能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經

The three early versions translate only *vajra* and leave out *chedikā*. Hsüan-tsang rendered *chedikā* as 能斷 *nêng tuan* (Giles 8184 + 12149) 'well cut'. This literal translation was followed by I-tsing. The Tibetan translation is *Rdo.rje.gcod.pa*. *Gcod.pa* means 'to cut, cut asunder'. The English diamond-cutter is a literal translation. *Vajra* means 'transcendental', or 'supreme'. Vajrajñānaparvata is the name of a Bodhisattva in the Gaṇḍavyūha, in which *vajra-jñāna* means 'supreme knowledge'. *Chedikā* means 'analysis, exploration, enquiry'. It corresponds to Pali *vibhaṅga* 'classification', *sutta-vibhaṅga* 'classification of rules'. Karma-vibhaṅga is a systematic exposition (*vibhaṅga*) of good and evil karmas. Thus Vajra-chedikā will mean a discourse on the supreme, or deliberation on the sublime. It was a new comprehension of the wisdom (*prajñā*) that went beyond (*pāram-itā*) the prevailing philosophical perceptions. Vajra in Vajrayāna denotes an advanced or superior way as compared to earlier modes.

41. AMOGHAVAJRA'S MANUALS FOR PROLONGING LIFE

Dr. Mónica Kiss of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest has written on "The Fugen Enmei Scripture: Samantabhadra becomes a Deity for Longevity" in the *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*, Tokyo 2021:25.111–141. The translation from Chinese could not be precise and the deity Vajrāyuṣ has been rendered as Adamantine Life-span. Kongō-jumyō/Vajrāyuṣ is not the span of life, but the name of the deity who prolongs life. It is clear in the transliterated Sanskrit dhāraṇīs. *Samaya* (on p.122) is a technical term in the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha and is different from *samādhi*. This writeup seeks to clarify the terminology of the long-life manuals.

Amoghavajra (720–774 in China) translated five manuals and wrote one (T1124) himself as a comprehensive work.

T1133	*Kongo-jūmyō*	*darani*	*nenjū*	*hō*
	Vajrāyur	dhāraṇī	jāpa	kalpa
T1134A	*Kongō-jūmyō*	*darani*	*kyō*	*hō*
	Vajrāyur	dhāraṇī		kalpa

Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe svāhā, oṁ ddhāṁ Vajrāyuḥ

T1134B	*Kongō-jūmyō*	*darani*	*kyō*
	Vajrāyur	dhāraṇī	

Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe svāhā, oṁ ddhāṁ Vajrāyuḥ, jaḥ hūṁ vaṁ hoḥ

T1135	*Bussetsu*	*Issai-nyorai*	*Kongō-jūmyō*	*darani kyō*
		Sarvatathāgata	Vajrāyur	dhāraṇī

- Vajradharas enunciated the dhāraṇī: *Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe huṁ huṁ śikhi svāhā*
- Vaiśravaṇa: *Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe śvete śvete śve la.li.li (lalite) svāhā*
- Virūḍhaka: *Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe mātaṅge mātaṅge mātaṅge śūma śūma svāhā*
- Virūpākṣa: *Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe care care care re*
- Dhṛtarāṣṭra: *Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe balini vaḥ vaḥ vaḥ svāhā*

The above four manuals have dhāraṇīs to Vajrāyuṣ the Bodhisattva of Long Life. They are to ensure avoidance of unnatural death, perfect health and long life. Vajrāyuṣ was invoked by continuous recitation (*nenjū = jāpa*) of the dhāraṇī going as far as a hundred thousand times, accompanied by elaborate ceremonial rites (T1133). The next manual (T1134a) is primarily concerned with ritual performances. Vajrāyuṣ is invoked to fulfil the wishes of the devotee in a decisive manner as implied by the interjection *ddhāṁ* uttered in a loud voice. It is from the root *dhā* 'to bring help, to direct attention, to bestow, to impact' (MW). The third manual (T1134B) adds four hieronyms (*bījākṣara*) to vanquish all negative forces: *jaḥ* = *jahi* 'vanquish', *hūṁ* denotes a pushing and forceful wish, *vaṁ* is Vajrāyuṣ, *hoḥ* 'O' to bespeak attention.

The fourth manual (T1135) is more elaborate, and its dhāraṇīs become more effective as Vajrāyuṣ is empowered by the Sarvatathāgata or Supreme Tathāgata. Sarvatathāgata does not mean "all Tathāgatas" in this context. *Sarva* signifies *omni*potent. The dhāraṇī pronounced by the Vajradharas invokes him as *śikhi* (vocative of *śikhin*) 'one who stands at the pinnacle, is the head or chief'. The eminence of Vajrāyuṣ is further enhanced by the four Devarājas (*Shitennō*) imploring him in feminine vocatives. These feminine vocatives for the male Bodhisattva are a cryptic device. It is in accord with the very ancient principle of *parokṣakṛta* 'made enigmatic' which occurs in the Vedic text called Nirukta 7.1. The deity is not addressed directly in the hymn (*ṛc*) but only spoken of in the third person. The gods love the cryptic (*parokṣa-priyāḥ devāḥ*). Dhāraṇī means 'a goddess', besides a sacred mantra. The dhāraṇī-maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu (Kongokai mandara) is dedicated to the consorts of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and others of the main mahāmaṇḍala. This signification may also have led to the feminine vocatives: *Śvete* 'O White / Fair One', *lalite* 'O Charming One'. All the implorations refer to glamorous health and seductive charm: *śvete* from *śvetā* 'fair damsel', *lalite* 'O seductive damsel', *mātaṅge* 'O the most superb', *śuma śuma* can be an intentional aberrant form of *some some* 'O Moon', i.e. one as lovely as the moon, *care* from *carā* 'O young woman' (compare *cari*). The dhāraṇī terminates with *balini* 'O powerful lady', to signify that these dhāraṇīs will be fully effective in prolonging life. The three *vaḥ* are the initial letter of Vajrāyuṣ and constitute a resolute prayer for long life.

Two words in the dhāraṇī can have unusual connotation. *Śikhī* is 'one who has reached the summit of knowledge' in the Brahma-upaniṣad. The moon is *oṣadhipati* 'lord of herbs' in Śiśupāla-vadha and Kādambarī. While *Śikhī* is the unfailing power of the esoteric, the Moon refers to the use of herbs for health on the exoteric level.

The Chinese text is not very clear, e.g. on p.136 Mónika Kiss translates: "At the time, the Tathāgatas of the ten directions empowered all the Vajradharas, and they again preached in unison the dhāraṇī of prolongation of life." It would be better to translate it as: "Empowered by the Tathāgatas of the Ten Directions, the Vajradharas expounded the dhāraṇī of Vajrāyuṣ in unison: *Oṁ Vajrāyuṣe hūṁ hūṁ Śikhi svāhā*. The dhāraṇīs are always addressed to a deity.

Amoghavajra made a shorter and revised version (T1136) of Sarvabuddhāṅgavatī-dhāraṇī translated by Prajñādeva in 691 CE (T1346, Nj.960). It had also been translated into Tibetan. Amoghavajra could have used the Sanskrit original of Prajñādeva, as he did it only after sixty years. The shorter version was to make it more useable. The correct name is Prajñādeva and not Devaprajña. The Chinese inverted the sequence of the two components, took Deva to be the family appellation and Prajña the personal name to correspond to the Chinese convention. This dhāraṇī was translated a third time by Dānapāla in 984 CE (K1114, T1347).

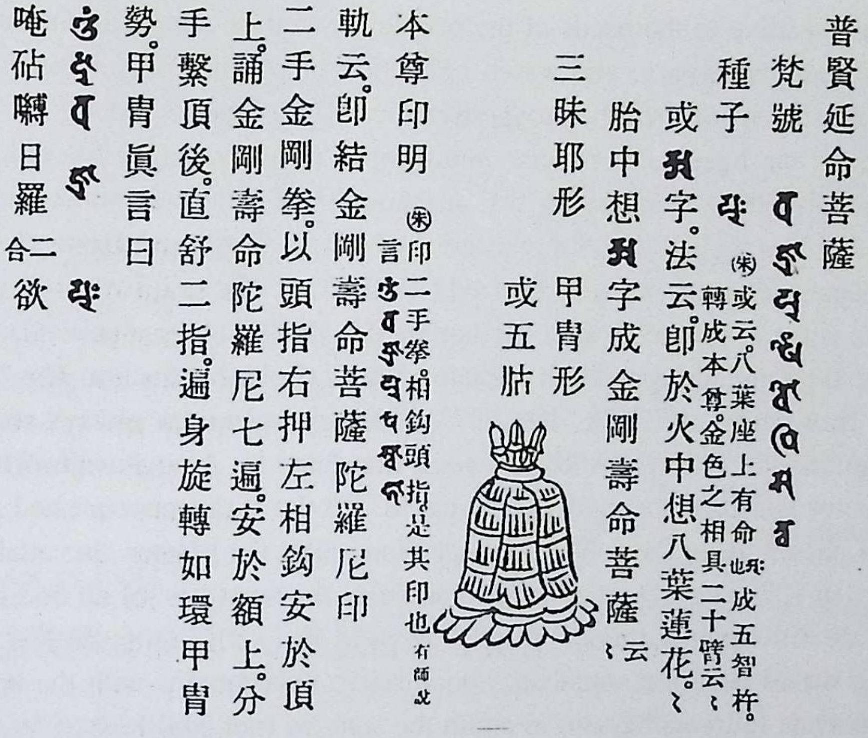
The Chinese title of this Saishō Darani (T1136) is:

Bussetsu *Issai sho nyorai* *shin* *kōmyō* *kaji*
Sarvatathāgata hṛdaya raśmi adhiṣṭhita
Fugen bosatsu *enmei kongō* *saishō* *darani* *kyō*
Samantabhadra āyur vajra uttama dhāraṇī

Mónika Kiss translates it as: "Sutra of the Most Excellent Adamantine Dhāraṇī of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva of Long Life, Empowered by the Light of the Minds of All the Tathāgatas, Preached by the Buddha". It should run: "The Supreme Dhāraṇī of Vajrāyuṣ Samantabhadra Bodhisattva empowered by the rays emanating from the heart of the Supreme Tathāgata". *Bussetsu* 'preached by the Buddha' and *kyō* 'sutra' at the end are stylistic formalities added by the Chinese translators. It is not a sutra, but a dhāraṇī. *Issai sho nyorai* 'Sarvatathāgata' does not mean 'all Tathāgatas' but the omnipotent Supreme Tathāgata. In this context he can be Amitāyus the Buddha of Long Life. He is the Supreme Tathāgata in another dhāraṇī for prolonging life, viz. Wu-kou ching kuang ta t'o-lo-ni ching (T1024, K352, Nj.380) translated by Mitrasena. *Enmei kongō* is Vajrāyuṣ of the dhāraṇīs. He is an epiphany of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva. Rays (*kōmyō, raśmi*) emanate from his heart (*shin*) to empower (*kaji*) Vajrāyuṣ. Divine rays or *raśmi* are Viśvedevāḥ 'All the Gods' in the Śatapatha- brāhmaṇa 3.9.2.6. The rays of the Sun are Viśvedevāḥ 'All the Gods'. *Raśmi* or supernal radiance are also present in Buddhism. They are paramount in the Buddhist perception of Khotan's identity. Khotan had become a lake because of adharma. It was converted into land by the rays of Śākyamuni. *Saishō* is *uttama* in the title of Suvarṇa-bhās-ottama-sutrendrarāja (*Konkōmyō-saishō-ō-kyō*). *Uttama* is the adjective of sutra, and means the 'supreme sutra'. Likewise, *saishō* goes with *darani* and means the 'supreme dhāraṇī'.

The restoration of *Enmei Kongō* as Vajrāyuṣ comes from five dhāraṇīs in the body of this very text (Kiss.2021:136–137). The dhāraṇīs in three other manuals of Amoghavajra (T1133, 1134A, 1134B) call him Kongō-jumyo = Vajrāyuṣ. The Zuzōshō of Yōgen (1075–1159, TZ.86.31–32) gives seven items: (i) Fugen-enmei Bodhisattva (Chinese name), (ii) Vajrāyuṣ Bodhisattva (Sanskrit name), (iii) bīja: *YUḤ*, (IV) Five-Buddha Crown (samaya symbol), (v) *oṁ Vajrāyuṣe svāhā* (mantra), (vi) ritual of worship with mudrās, (vii) farewell: *oṁ ddhāḥ vajra yuḥ* (original text on p.328).

Short ritual manuals were common in ancient times and continue in India to this day, to conduct sacred ceremonies for health (*āyuṣya*), to prevent calamities (*śāntika*), for prosperity (*pauṣṭika*), to subdue enemies (*ābhicāruka*), and so on. All the long-life manuals are very short: T1133 is 3 columns, T1134A is 4 columns, T1134B is only 2 columns, T1135 is again 2 columns and the Saishō darani is just 3 columns. Amoghavajra wrote (not translated) a very long text (11 columns in the Taisho Tripiṭaka 1124, Mónika Kiss 2021:115 n.11) for *ryaku* (concentration), *yuga* (yoga) and *nenju* (jāpa) on Samantabhadra the Vajrasattva. Nenju (jāpa) is recitation of the mantra of the deity for a hundred thousand times for days on end. He holds the vajra and vajra-bell



普賢延命菩薩
梵號
種子　(朱)（或云八葉座上有命也成五智杵。轉成本尊。金色之相具二十臂云云）
或字。法云。即於火中想八葉蓮花。云云
胎中想字成金剛壽命菩薩云云
三昧耶形　甲冑形
或五胋
本尊印明　(朱)（印二手拳相鉤頭指是共印也有師說　言）
軌云。即結金剛壽命菩薩陀羅尼印
二手金剛拳。以頭指右押左相鉤安於頂
上。誦金剛壽命陀羅尼七遍。安於額上。分
手繫頂後。直舒二指。遍身旋轉如環甲冑
勢。甲冑眞言曰
唵砧嚩日羅（二合）欲

Vajrāyuṣ Bodhisattva in the Zuzōshō of Yōgen (1075–1159) TZ.86.31.

the two attributes of Vajrasattva. As such he enters the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala. Samantabhadra is a Bodhisattva in the exoteric tradition. He is the subject of chapter 26 of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra and he will preach Dharma riding on an elephant with six white tusks. In the Avataṁsaka (Kegon) sutra of Gaṇḍavyūha, young Sudhana ultimately attains Enlightenment from Samantabhadra who imparts to him the Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna (K1029, T296). In the esoteric tradition he becomes a Vajrasattva, which is a generic term in the present context. It is not the merging of two deities as stated by Mónika Kiss. The Avataṁsaka-sutras had become central to Chinese Buddhism under Empress Wu and they gave prominence to Samantabhadra. As stated in T1124 Samantabhadra entered the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala which is a depiction of the first part of the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha translated by Amoghavajra in 753 CE (K1274, T865). The fondness of Amoghavajra for Samantabhadra was due to his prime role in several traditions, as well as for ensuring the well-being of emperors. Two emperors passed away during Amoghavajra's residence in China: Hsüan-tsung Ming-huang-ti in 755 CE and Su-tsung in 762 CE. Long-life rites must have been performed during the last years of these emperors who must have also done yoga (*yuga*), concentration, chanting, and silent recitation of mantras (*nenju*, *jāpa*) themselves. Amoghavajra seems to have written the long treatise for the emperors and of course for others. Besides being the longest of all manuals for prolonging life it has a profusion of mantras and as such must have commanded more confidence and respect of the imperial patrons.

Amoghavajra was sensitive to the needs of the people, as well as conversant in Sanskrit. He must have had a well-equipped library, and a rich collection of popular prayer manuals which were floating ritual texts to ensure health, prosperity, security, long life and for exorcising against enemies. Even now, we have such concise hand books of a few pages for religious rites. The hymn to thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was topmost in all state ceremonies during the T'ang dynasty. To this day it is recited in the monasteries of China, Korea and Japan thrice daily. It was translated by Bhagavaddharma between 650–611 (T1060) at Khotan. Amoghavajra made minor corrections in this version. But he created another version (T1056) with a new dhāraṇī praying that one may gain his imperium along with all feudatory states (Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara*, New Delhi, IGNCA, 1987:273). Amoghavajra was always responding to the times. The Saishō darani (T1136) could have been translated by Amoghavajra for the long-ailing daughter of Emperor Daizong, Princess Qionghua. In 773 the Emperor requested Amoghavajra to save her, but she passed away the following year. Soon after the Master also attained nirvāṇa.

Mónika Kiss (p.122) says: The bodhisattva acquires the heart seal of all buddhas, then dwells in the adamantine life-span samādhi"普賢菩薩得諸佛心印即住金剛壽命三昧 耶. The precise rendering would be: "Samantabhadra bodhisattva concentrates with the hṛdaya-mudrās of the Supreme Tathāgata (Sarvatathāgata) to attain the *samaya* (not *samādhi*) of Vajrāyuṣ". *Samaya* is a technical term representing the highest school of Tantras. The realization of *samaya* comes from the Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha which is the root tantra dedicated to four samayas. Samantabhadra as Vajrāyuṣ wears a Five Buddha Crown representing the Five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, which represents the highest of the four *samayas*, the *abhisamaya* (*abhi-* denotes that it is the highest). *Samayas* are detailed in my *The Earliest Maṇḍala of Śubhakarasiṁha*, New Delhi, 2021.

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The book begins with new interpretations of various facets of Aśoka's inscriptions, clarification of technical terms like *vigaḍa-bhīcā*, or the practice of Vedic rites by the Emperor. Symbolism of the Aurangabad Cave 7, the suppression of Apollo in the Hellenic-Buddhist discord in Swat, the Vedic tradition of *mauneya* as *the* Way of Śākyamuni, development of Indic scripts from Brāhmī, and the Inscription of King Indravarman of Cambodia whose Preceptor was a direct disciple of Śaṅkarācārya, are expounded. Indological studies in the Netherlands, variations of the Five Buddhas, and Buddhism for the protection of the state are followed by echoes of Lord Kṛṣṇa's flute in Sufism, Padmasambhava's entire opus on the eastern flank of India from Laṅkā to Kanchi, thence to Bengal, Nepal and finally to Tibet, and representations of Lord Kṛṣṇa from Central Asia to Japan are detailed. Etymologies of Buk̲h̲ārā and Samarkand show their rise from Buddhism. The Siddha Kambala was a Kangar Turk. The title of the most popular Avalokiteśvarasūtra is imprecise in Chinese. Rites for the long life of Empress Wu of China (r.684–705) and Empress Kōken of Japan (r.749–758, 764–769), were conducted with a special Kalparāja from Khotan. Its dhāraṇī-mantras used on both occasions have been restored from Chinese and Tibetan transliterations. The first light house (*ākāśa-dīpa*) of Asia was established in Indonesia by the Kuṇḍuṅga dynasty from Kerala. Extracts from Old Javanese Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa are an overview of literary creativity in Asian lands. Statues of the Amoghapāśa pentad at Candi Jago reveal the continuous contacts of India and Indonesia. Research notes on 41 topics are precise interpretations of long-sought doubts, e.g. Lord Buddha flanked by young Ānanda and old Kāśyapa in Chinese monasteries is from the Lotus Sutra. At times, Buddhism is a revaluation of prevailing earlier concepts even of the Vedic period. New identifications, resolution of long-sought doubts, new elucidations, and chronological changes (e.g. paper was made in India earlier than in China) open up new vistas of research.

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